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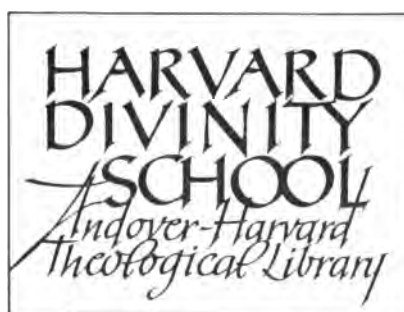
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THE HEXATEUCH

ACCORDING TO THE REVISED VERSION

Oxford

HORACE HART, PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

Bible, O.T. Revised, 1900

THE HEXATEUCH

ACCORDING TO THE REVISED VERSION

ARRANGED IN ITS CONSTITUENT DOCUMENTS

BY MEMBERS OF THE

SOCIETY OF HISTORICAL THEOLOGY, OXFORD

EDITED

*WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, MARGINAL REFERENCES
AND SYNOPTICAL TABLES*

BY

J. ESTLIN CARPENTER, M.A. LOND.

AND

G. HARFORD-BATTERSBY, M.A. OXON.

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. II: TEXT AND NOTES

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

Gen 2⁴ (text and note) read 2^{4a}.

Gen 13¹³ read 13^a before 'Abraham' P.

Page 21 line 1 read 13^b before 'and moved his tent' J.

Gen 23¹ bracket [these were], for b 188^a read b 182.

Gen 32⁴ remove ^d from before 'sojourned.'

Ex 4^{6k} add cp Lev 14⁸ 5.

Ex 8^{10w} line 2 for 7^{17b} read 7^{17a}.

Ex 13^{3e} for ^D28^b read ^D28^b.

Ex 22^{28c'} for ^P126 read ^P131.

Ex 30²⁸ transfer 28 to follow 'and the altar of incense.'

Lev 16²¹ for p 45 read p 44.

Lev 20^{2an} line 5 for 17⁷ read 17⁸ and add ('so that 2a above may be P^h').

Lev 25⁸ margin for 8-18 read 8-17.

Lev 26⁴⁰ for q 45 read q 44.

Deut 1²¹ dole ^{e'} and ^{e'} 64.

Deut 10⁸ margin for ^L111d read c.

Deut 17⁸ margin for ^L111g read d.

Deut 22^{8bw} for Num 17³³ read 16³⁷.

Deut 25^{2d} add Neh 5^a.

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THE HEXATEUCH

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ABBREVIATIONS

1 ABBREVIATED TITLES OF BOOKS OFTEN CITED

COT, Schrader's *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*.
 DB, Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*.
 DB², Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol 1, 2nd ed.
 ICC, *International Critical Commentary*.
 JQR, *Jewish Quarterly Review*.
 LOT², Driver's *Introduction to the Literature of the OT*, 6th ed.
 NDJ, Dillmann on *Num-Deut-Josh* in *Kurzeres Hdbuch* (1886).
 NKZ, *Neue Kirchlliche Zeitschrift*.
 OTJC², W. Robertson Smith, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, 2nd ed.
 PSBA, *Proceedings of the Society for Biblical Archaeology*.
 RHR, *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*.
 RS, Budde, *Die Bücher Richter und Samuel* (1890).
 RV, *Revised Version*.
 EBOT, *Sacred Books of the Old Testament*, edited by Prof Paul Haupt.
 ZATW, *Zeitschrift für Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*.
 ZDMG, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.

It has not been thought necessary to supply any complete list of the modern literature upon the Hexateuch. The references in the following work will, it is hoped, enable the reader to identify the authorities cited without difficulty. In a few cases the views of scholars have been mentioned without direct quotation. A short list of the least obvious of these is here appended.
 Baudissin, *Die Geschichte des Alttest Priestertums* (1889).
 Giesebrecht, *Jeremia, in die Handkommentar* (1894).
 Kautsch, *Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments* (1894).
 Kautsch and Socin, *Die Genesis mit unserer Unterscheidung der Quellenschriften* (2nd ed 1891).
 Meisner, *Der Dekalog*, Teil 1 (1893).
 Montet (F.), *Le Deuteronomie et la Question de l'Hexateuque* (1891).
 Oetli, *Deut und Josh in die Kurzfasser Kommentar* (1893).
 Strack, *Gen-Num in die Kurzfasser Kommentar* (1894).
 Wildeboer, *Die Litteratur des Alten Testaments* [German Translation] (1895).

KEY TO VOLUME II—ABBREVIATIONS

KEY TO THE ANALYSIS

The text is printed consecutively in one or other of two columns divided by a vertical line, JE being on the left and P on the right. Wherever JE and P are much interwoven (cp Ex 14 Num 13-16) the columns are both of the same width. Elsewhere the occupied column is widened to save space. Thus it is only the relative position, and not the width, of a column or section of a column that is significant. See also footnote on D.

Left-hand margin	J E	JE	J E	P ^h or ⁱ	P ^s	P ^t	Right-hand margin
a b c in the text point to references given here to parallel or contrasted passages	Large roman type on the left is used for the main thread of J; <i>large italic type for supplements by writers of the same school</i> (J ^s cp Gen 12 ^{9a}); small roman type for harmonizing additions, &c by R ^j (cp 15 ^{12a}) or R ^d (cp 1 ^{1a}); <i>small italics for ditto by R^p</i> (cp 7 ^{7a}). Small roman type in separate paragraphs denotes longer and later J ^s supplements (cp 12 ^{10a}).	Large roman type on the right is used for the main thread of E from Gen 15 ¹ ; <i>large italics for supplements by writers of the same school</i> (E ^s cp 30 ^{36a}); small roman type for harmonizing additions, &c by R ^j (cp 31 ^{10a}) or R ^d (cp Josh 3 ^{3a}); <i>small italic type for similar additions by R^p</i> (cp 35 ^{5a}). Small roman type in separate paragraphs denotes longer and later E ^s supplements (cp Num 12).	Large roman type in the centre (or up to Ex 29 across the whole column) is used for the main stock or priestly groundwork (P ^s); <i>small italics for editorial additions by R^p</i> (cp Gen 48 ⁷). Small roman type in separate paragraphs denotes longer supplements (P ^s) up to Ex 29 (cp Gen 34).	Large roman type on the left is used after Ex 29 for the main stock of P ^h and P ⁱ ; <i>large italic type for supplements by writers of the same school</i> ; <i>small italic type for editorial and other additions by R^p</i> . Small roman and italic types are used in separate paragraphs for later strata of P ^t .	Large roman type on the right denotes material in harmony with P ^s but written later (P ⁱ); <i>large italic type is used for supplements of the same school, and small italic type for later editorial additions</i> . Small roman type is used in separate paragraphs for supplements of a later school; <i>small italic type sometimes distinguishing the latest strata</i> .		a b c in the text point to references given here to the appropriate Word List in vol I, Appendix A, where three lists are given, for J.E. D, and P respectively
B in the text points to a reference given here to the Tables of Laws and Institutions in vol I, the verses covered by the reference being specified							
See below for * † § &c							
	; Up to Gen 15 large roman type on the right is used for early and substantial J ^s supplements to J ^s .						

Footnotes.

- * in the text points to a footnote given below.
- † in the text indicates that an alternative marginal rendering of the RV will be found below.
- ‡ in the text indicates that the margin of the RV, or a rendering used elsewhere for the same Hebrew word or phrase, has been adopted, and that the rejected rendering will be found below. In all cases notes are given in order under the number

of the verse in which the * or † occurs. Where more than one note refers to a single verse, the verse number is repeated with a b c affixed.

D The arrangement of the text of Deut is on a similar plan. The main stock (D^s) is on the left in an additional central column, later supplements (D^p) are on the right, a few passages distinct from D^s but not clearly later being placed in the centre. Distinctions of type mark minor insertions or alterations.

ABBREVIATIONS (continued)

2 GENERAL ABBREVIATIONS AND SIGNS

- J, the Yahwist document (*Introd* i 41).
- E, the Elohist document (*Introd* i 41).
- JE, the combined document formed from these two sources.
- D, the main Deuteronomistic documents (*Introd* i 41).
- J^s E^s D^s, secondary elements in J E D (*Introd* i 108 119 92).
- P^s, the 'Priestly Law and History' (*Introd* i 40).
- P^h, the 'Grundchrift' or groundwork of P (*Introd* i 141).
- P^t, the Holiness-legislation incorporated in P^s (*Introd* i 143, § 8).
- Pⁱ, earlier and independent groups of Priestly Teaching incorporated in P^s (*Introd* i 152, § 9).
- P^a, secondary extensions of P^s (*Introd* i 153, § 10).
- R^j, the editorial hands which united and revised J and E.
- R^d, the editorial hands which united and revised JE and D.
- R^p, the editorial hands which united and revised JED and P.
- R^b, before thick figures (as 22²⁷) refer to the documentary word-lists.
- T, RV text. M, RV margin. Additions to the words of RV M are separated by —.
- ... before or after a passage in the text denotes that its original context has not been preserved by the compiler.
- [] enclose words printed in italics by the Revisers.
- * after references, indicates all occurrences in the Hexateuch.
- † all occurrences in the Old Testament.

- || introduces a parallel from another context.
- § means 'in part, for details see analysis or full text.'
- (or ..) after a verse numeral e.g. 2⁴. (or ..) means 'and following verse (or verses).'
- indicates the connexion of passages believed to have been transposed.
- mark passages transposed from their context and now replaced.
- a b c &c after numerals (e.g. 2^a 4^b) mark successive portions of verses (without reference to the Hebrew punctuation).
- al = *alibi*. Cp = *compare*. Ct = *contrast*.
- () enclosing a figure after the name of a book show the number of occurrences in that book, e.g. Ezek (17), seventeen times in Ezekiel.
- Ⲛ, the Massoretic Hebrew text.
- Ⲅ, the Greek text (edited by H B Swete): Ⲅ^a &c, the codices: Ⲅ^b is occasionally employed to denote the Lucian recension edited by Lagarde.
- Ⲙ, the Latin version of Jerome: l, the Old Latin.
- ⲥ, the Syriac text of the Peshitta.
- Sam, the Samaritan Pentateuch.
- Ⲛ, the Targum of Onkelos.

GENESIS

J	P	
<p>or 4²²†</p> <p>14</p> <p>14 20 24</p> <p>15 24 30</p> <p>121 25 31</p>	<p>24 "THESE ARE THE GENERATIONS of the heaven and of the earth when they were ^bcreated.</p> <p>1¹ "In the beginning God ^bcreated the heaven and the earth. 2 And the earth was "waste and void"; and darkness was upon the face of the ^bdeep: and the spirit of God "^cmoved upon the face of the waters. 3 And God ^dsaid, Let there be light: and there ^cwas light. 4 And God ^esaw the light, that it was good: and God ^ddivided the light from the darkness. 5 And God ^ecalled</p>	<p>a 77^a</p> <p>b 48</p> <p>c 53</p>

has long been recognized that the Book of Genesis is really based upon a document containing a series of introductions by the formula 'These are the generations of...' (Introd chap XIII 1 p 121). To this document we give the name of the 'Book of Origins,' and it was also designated the *Grundchrift*, the ground-work or on-document. Beginning with a survey of the creation of the heavens and the earth, it proceeds to trace the descent of Adam through Seth to Noah 5¹... After narrating it, it describes three great groups of nations, under the epithets, Ham, and Shem 10¹... and then follows a special account of Shem through Arpachshad to Terah. At this point the writer's view concentrates itself on Abraham, from whom red Ishmael and Isaac. A summary enumeration of the descendants of Ishmael prepares the way for the division of the land of Canaan under the names of Esau and Jacob. The fulfilment of Esau's marriage-alliances with their results finally leads the author to dismiss Edom from view, and limit himself to the children of Israel. At each stage of advance towards the crisis of the narrative—the revelation of El Shaddai as the name Yahweh—the historic connexion is by the method of genealogical filiation, which does not disappear till the family history of the founder of the nation has been related Num 3¹. The *tol'dhoth* formula of 'these are the generations' is not appropriate to the narrative which follows it in this says nothing about the creation of the heavens and earth, but deals with the formation of the first man and woman. On the other hand its form and substance are both congruous with the account of the creation of the world in 1¹-2³. In other sections, however, the formula recedes the matter which it designates. It is probable, therefore, that it originally stood before 1¹, and was transposed later who combined the two documents, to serve as the combination. Bacon (*Genesis* 97) conjectures that it originally read 'These are the generations of the heaven and the earth in the beginning of their creation, created,' &c. But the words 'when they were created' have been added by the compiler, as other similar formulae do not present analogous expressions. Ball (in *SBOT*) reads 'This is the book of the generations of the world as at 5¹: but does not attempt to decide 'whether the formula originally stood also, or only, at the head of 1¹.' The historical introduction to the Priestly Code fits it well with a survey of the 'origins' of the world. The formula of the creation of the heavens and the earth with all its simplicity of their contents is marked by a stately order

and precision partially reflected in the careful descriptions, the detailed enumerations, and the numerous identities of phrase. Each step in the series of creative acts is preceded by a creative utterance 3 6 9 11 14 20 24 26 in which the divine Thought at once announces and executes its purpose. The entire process is distributed into eight stages, which apparently fall into two groups of four, having a certain harmony in their constituent members:—

- | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------|
| (1) Light 3-4 | (5) The Heavenly bodies 14-18 |
| (2) The Firmament 6-7 | (6) Fishes and birds 20-22 |
| (3) The Earth 9-10 | (7) Land animals 24-25 |
| (4) Plants 11-12 | (8) Man 26-27. |

It has been often conjectured (cp Dillmann, *Genesis* i 49-50) that an earlier story presented these two series in clearer sequence, and that they were subsequently adapted to the scheme of the creative week with its six days of work, by throwing the related pairs (3-4) and (7-8) each into a single day. It may be surmised that originally each creative utterance was accompanied by the record of its execution and of the divine approval. The corresponding formulae, however, now appear only seven times 3 7 9 11 15 24 26 and 4 10 12 18 21 25 31. The source of this representation it is difficult to determine. In many other portions of his narrative P seems to be founded on prior materials: is he wholly fresh and independent in his presentation of the creation? Analogies with the Babylonian tablets have often been pointed out, and some eminent Assyriologists have recognized in Gen i distinct traces of the influence of Babylonian ideas (cp G Smith, *Chald Genesis* 73; Jensen, *Kosmos der Babylonier* 301-306; Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos* 114; Sayce, *Expos Times* vii 206 ff; cp *Introd* 135). Was that influence exerted direct, or did it pass through other channels on the way? The question belongs rather to a commentary than to analysis, and can only be answered here on grounds of general probability. It will be indicated hereafter that the narrative of the Flood assigned to J^a (cp *Introd* chap XI 6a p 108) cannot be derived from the author of the story of Eden and the first pair. Was it, however, an isolated fragment, or was it originally part of a primeval history, which had its own account of the origin of the world and its inhabitants? In the latter case may not this narrative (J^a) have served in its turn as the antecedent of P? The suggestion was first made by Budde, *Urgeschichte* 486, and has been widely adopted (cp Holzinger, *Gen* 23, and *Encyclopaedia Biblica* art 'Creation'). See Ex 20¹¹.

² M Or, was brooding upon.

J

P

A Cp 8 13 19 23 31

† 6†
j 12 Lev 12 2 6† cp
29

† Ex 25 37 Num 8 2
† 6† Ps 136 8

m Ct Deut 4 17 6†
n Ex 7 12 Deut
32 38 6

o Cp 26 6 = All 9¹

p 5 1 3 5 Ezek (15)

q Num 32 22 29
Josh 18 1 6

29 16a/

r 9†

the light Day, and the darkness he called Night. ^aAnd there was evening and there was morning, one day.

⁶ And God said, Let there be a ^{ad}firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it ^ddivide the waters from the waters. ⁷ And God made the ^dfirmament, and ^ddivided the waters which were under the firmament from the waters which were above the firmament: and it was so. ⁸ And God called the firmament Heaven. And there was evening and there was morning, a second day.

⁹ And God said, Let the waters under the heaven be ^ogathered together unto one place, and let the dry land appear: and it was so. ¹⁰ And God called the dry land Earth; and the ^ogathering together of the waters called he Seas: and God saw that it was good. ¹¹ And God said, Let the earth ^fput forth grass, herb ^fyielding seed, [and] fruit tree bearing fruit ^fafter its kind, wherein is the seed thereof, upon the earth: and it was so. ¹² And the earth brought forth grass, herb ^fyielding seed ^fafter its kind, and tree bearing fruit, wherein is the seed thereof, after its kind: and God saw that it was good. ¹³ And there was evening and there was morning, a third day.

¹⁴ And God said, Let there be ^glights in the ^dfirmament of the heaven to ^gdivide the day from the night; and let them ^hbe for ^hsigns, and for ^hseasons, and for days and years: ¹⁵ and let them ^hbe for ^hlights in the ^dfirmament of the heaven to ^hgive light upon the earth: and it was so. ¹⁶ And God made the two great ^hlights; the greater light to ^hrule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night: [he made] the stars also. ¹⁷ And God set them in the ^dfirmament of the heaven to give light upon the earth, ¹⁸ and to rule over the day and over the night, and to ^hdivide the light from the darkness: and God saw that it was good. ¹⁹ And there was evening and there was morning, a fourth day.

²⁰ And God said, Let the waters ^kbring forth abundantly the ^kmoving creature that hath life, and let fowl ^lfly above the earth ^lin the open ^dfirmament of heaven. ²¹ And God ^lcreated the great ^msea-monsters, and every living creature that ^mmoveth, which the waters ^mbrought forth abundantly, ²² after their kinds, and every winged fowl after its kind: and God saw that it was good. ²³ And God ⁿblessed them, saying, ^oBe fruitful, and multiply, and ^ofill the waters in the seas, and let fowl multiply in the earth. ²⁴ And there was evening and there was morning, a fifth day.

²⁵ And God said, Let the earth bring forth the living creature ^pafter its kind, cattle, and ^pcreeping thing, and ^pbeast of the earth ^pafter its kind: and it was so. ²⁶ And God made the ^pbeast of the earth ^pafter its kind, and the cattle after their kind, and every thing that ^qcreepeth upon the ground after its kind: and God saw that it was good. ²⁷ And God ^qcreated man in his own image, in the image of God created he him; ^rmale and female created he them. ²⁸ And God ^rblessed them: and God said unto them, Be ^rfruitful, and multiply, and ^rreplenish the earth, and ^rsubdue it; and have ^rdominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that ^rmoveth upon the earth. ²⁹ ^rAnd God said, Behold, I have given you every herb ^ryielding seed, which is upon the face of all the earth, and every tree, in the which is the fruit of a tree yielding seed; to you it shall ^rbe for ^rmeat: ³⁰ and to every ^rbeast of the earth, and to every fowl of the air, and to every thing that ^rcreepeth upon the earth, wherein there is ^rlife, [I have given] every ^rgreen

1 6 M 6 expanse.

20a M 6 swarm with swarms of living creatures.

20b M 6 On the face of the expanse of the heaven.

28 M Or, creepeth

30 M 6 a living soul.

J	P	
Ex 2 ²⁸	herb for 'meat: and it was so. ³¹ And God 'saw every thing that he had made, and, 'behold, it was very good. And there was evening and there was morning, the sixth day.	
out 4 ¹⁰ 17 ³	2 ¹ And the heaven and the earth were finished, and all the 'host of them.	a 177
49 ²⁸ Ex	2 ² And on the seventh day God 'finished his 'work which he had made; and he 'rested on the seventh day from all his work which he had made. ³ And God 'blessed the seventh day, and 'hallowed it: because that in it he 'rested from all his 'work which God had 'created and made.	b 137 ^b c 33 d 33 e 48
90 ²⁸ 6		
Job 30 ⁴ 7 ¹	. . . 2 ^{4b} "In the day that "Yahweh "God 'made earth and heaven. J ¹	f 6
13 ² cp 21 ³	5 And no 'plant of the field was 'yet in the earth, and no herb of the field had 'yet sprung up: for Yahweh God had not caused it to 'rain upon the earth, and there was not a man to 'till the ground'; ⁶ but there went up a 'mist from the earth, and 'watered the whole 'face of the ground.	g 195
68 ⁷ 4	7 And Yahweh God 'formed man of the 'dust of the ground, and 'breathed into his nostrils the 'breath of life'; and man became a living soul.	h 225
8 ²	8 And Yahweh God 'planted a 'garden 'eastward, in Eden; and there he 'put the man whom he had 'formed. ⁹ And out of the ground made Yahweh God to 'grow every tree that is 'pleasant to the sight, and good for food; the 'tree of life also in the midst of the 'garden, and the tree of the knowledge of 'good and evil.	i 40
18 ²⁷	10 "And a river went out of Eden to 'water the 'garden; and from thence it was 'parted, and became four heads. ¹¹ The name of the first is Pishon: that is it which compasseth the whole land of Havilah, where there is gold; ¹² and the gold of that land is good: there is bdellium and the 'onyx stone. ¹³ And the name of the second river is Gihon:	j 37 k 37 l 193 m 159 n 165
25 ²⁸ cp		

The story of the 'generations of the heaven and of the ' is followed by a second narrative which cannot be said to the same source, and is marked by striking differences both in substance and in style. The character of its ng is somewhat obscured by grammatical peculiarities an English version cannot exactly reproduce. In ^{4b} the ng of earth and heaven (this order occurs only in Ps 148¹³) named without further description; the condition of an without vegetation or man is indicated in a series of dent clauses ⁵, constituting really a long parenthesis might be rendered 'when no plant . . . ' and the writer on to the first main fact ⁷, the formation of a man out dust of the ground. The beginning of the narrative has vently, therefore, been removed by the compiler in favour e *toledoth* section of P, and at the junction some comon may have taken place to prevent needless repetition. at follows, accordingly, there is no analysis of the parts universe, nor any determination of their several functions, the order of production on the earth is quite different. was in 1²⁶. the creation of man, male and female together, s the climax of the series of divine acts, a single man med in 2⁷ before either trees or animals: none of the s proves a suitable mate for him; and finally a woman dils' ²² out of one of his ribs ¹⁸⁻²². To these diversities of ial fact correspond other varieties both in thought and e. The story is distinguished by the entry of a new e name, Yahweh (on the combination 'Yahweh Elohim,' low). No attempt is made to adapt the creative process eak of six days' labour followed by a seventh day of rest. recurring formulae defining the divisions of the divine and recording the divine inspection and approval, are all t. Fresh terms are employed to describe the modes of action: Yahweh makes earth and heaven ^{4b}, forms a man ⁷, beast and bird ¹⁹, breathes into the man's nostrils ⁷, plants den ⁸, takes the man, and puts him into it ¹⁶ (cp the ling' of the woman ²¹, and ct the creation of male and e in God's image ¹²⁷). These divergences can only be ned by the assumption that a new document is here loed. The assumption is justified by the narratives follow, for corresponding groups of differences may be through the whole series of stories of the early history akin. Each document, J and P, had its account of the

origin of the race, and traced the connexion between the first Man and the ancestors of the people of Israel. Cp *Introd* XI.

^{4b} M 6 *Jehovah*, as in other places where Loam is put in capitals.—See vol i preface.

^{4c} The juxtaposition of these two names, Yahweh and God (*Elohim*), is very rare in the Old Testament. In the Hexateuch, after Gen 2-3 where it appears twenty times, it occurs only in Ex 5²⁰: elsewhere it is found in 2 Sam 7²³ 25 1 Chron 17¹⁶ 2 Chron 6⁴¹ Ps 84⁸ 11 Jonah 4⁶+. The combination, begun in 2^{4b}, ceases at 3²², and in 4¹ 'Yahweh' is read alone, though (9) employs 'the Lord God' down to 8³¹ and even in 9¹. It is commonly supposed to be due to the compiler, who desired thus to show that the 'Yahweh' of the second story was identical with the 'Elohim' of the first (cp Dillmann, *Genesis* i 97). Klostermann has suggested that it was an instruction to the reader, when 1¹⁻³ was regarded as one section, to pronounce the same divine name (*Elohim*) throughout, cp *der Pentateuch* 37.

⁹ Some difficulty attaches to the mention of two trees in this verse. In 3³ the divine prohibition appears limited to one tree, described as 'the tree which is in the midst of the garden.' From the sequel (cp 2¹⁷) it is plain that the words really designate the 'tree of the knowledge of good and evil,' and not (as in ⁹) the tree of life. The permission in 3³ (as in 2¹⁶) really extends to the tree of life, whereas in 3³ the danger that its fruit also may be eaten is only averted by the expulsion of the first pair from the garden. Budde, accordingly, has conjectured that the original Eden-story contained but one tree; a later hand incorporated the second from another source; and he thus accounts for the somewhat awkward order of 2¹⁶. This leads also to the suggestion that in 1⁷ the tree was originally distinguished as 'the tree that is in the midst of the garden.' See further on 3²².

¹⁰ It was surmised by Ewald that the Four Rivers 10-14 had no place in the ancient conception of Eden. At what time, and from what source, this passage was introduced into the text, it is not possible to determine. But it does not contribute to the development of the story: the account of the divine action in ⁹ 10 is somewhat suddenly interrupted to give it room: the geographical and antiquarian details which it contains have no connexion with anything else in the narrative; and it may be regarded with great probability as a secondary addition.

¹² M Or, *beryl*.

	J		J ^a	P
24 ¹⁴		the same is it that compasseth the whole land of Cush. ¹⁴ And the name of the third river is "Hiddekel: that is it which goeth "in "front of Assyria. And the fourth river is Euphrates.		
18-25 L ¹ ha		¹⁵ And Yahweh God took the man, and put him into the 'garden of Eden to dress it and to keep it. ¹⁶ And Yahweh God commanded the man, saying, Of every tree of the garden thou mayest 'freely eat: ¹⁷ but of the tree of the knowledge of "good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it: for in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt 'surely die.	o 237	
o 30 3 ¹ 14 ct 1 ²⁴ p Ct 1 ²¹		¹⁸ ^L And Yahweh God said, It is not good that the man should be 'alone; I will make him an help "meet for him. ¹⁹ And out of the ground Yahweh God 'formed every "beast of the field", and every "fowl of the air; and brought them unto the man to see what he would call them: and whatsoever the man called "every living creature, that was the name thereof. ²⁰ And the man gave names to all cattle, and to the fowl of the air, and to every "beast of the field; but for "man there was not 'found an help meet for him. ²¹ And Yahweh God caused a 'deep sleep to fall upon the man, and he slept; and he took one of his ribs, and 'closed up the flesh instead thereof: ²² and the rib, which Yahweh God had taken from the man, "made he a woman, and brought her unto the man.		p 125
q 15 ¹² r 7 ¹⁶ cp 209		²³ And the man said, This is 'now 'bone of my bones, and 'flesh of my flesh: she shall be called "Woman, because she was taken out of "Man. ²⁴ Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall "cleave unto his wife: and they shall be one flesh. ²⁵ And they were both 'naked, the man and his wife, and were not "ashamed.	q 157	
s 20 ¹⁴ t 37 ²⁷		³¹ Now the "serpent was more "subtil than any "beast of the field which Yahweh God had made. And he said unto the woman, Yea, hath God said, Ye shall not eat of "any tree of the 'garden? ² And the woman said unto the serpent, Of the fruit of the trees of the garden we may eat: ³ but of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden, God hath said, Ye shall not eat of it, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die. ⁴ And the serpent said unto the woman, Ye shall not 'surely die: ⁵ for God doth know that 'in the day ye eat thereof, then your "eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as "God, knowing "good and evil. ⁶ And when the woman saw that the tree was good for food, and that it was a "delight to the eyes, and that the tree was "to be desired to make one wise, she took of the fruit thereof, and did eat; and she gave 'also unto her husband with her, and he did eat. ⁷ And the "eyes of them both were opened, and they knew that they were 'naked; and they 'sewed fig leaves together, and made themselves "aprons. ⁸ And they heard the "voice of Yahweh God walking in the garden in the "cool of the day: and the man and his wife 'hid themselves from the presence of Yahweh God amongst the trees of the garden. ⁹ And Yahweh God "called unto the man, and said unto him, "Where art thou? ¹⁰ And he said, I heard thy "voice in the garden, and I was afraid, because I was 'naked; and I 'hid myself. ¹¹ And he said, Who 'told thee that thou wast naked? Hast thou eaten of the tree, whereof I commanded thee that thou shouldest 'not eat? ¹² And the man said, The woman whom thou gavest to be with me, she gave me of the tree, and I did eat. ¹³ And Yahweh God said unto the woman, "What is this thou hast done? And the woman	r 62	
u 3 ⁷ 10 v 5 ¹ w 5 ¹ x 2 ¹⁹			a 206	
c 2 ¹⁷ d 5 ⁷ 21 ¹⁹			b 37	
e 2 ²⁵ f 5 ¹			c 237	
g 8 ¹⁰ 31 ²⁷ 5			d 165	
			e 152	
			f 126	
			g 139	
			h 90	
			i 218	
			j 61	
			k 146 ^a	

24¹⁴ M. That is, Tigris.14^b M. Or, toward the east of.18 M. Or, answering to.—5¹19 The awkward order of 5¹ 'and whatsoever the man called it, a living creature,' suggests that the last words were a later addition for purposes of editorial definition.20 M. Or, Adam.—5 may be read 'for (to) the man,' which should perhaps be substituted for 'Adam' in 3¹⁷ 21.22 M. 5¹ builded he into.23a M. 5¹ Issah.23b M. 5¹ Ish.3¹ M. Or, all the trees.

5 M. Or, gods.

6 M. Or, desirable to look upon.

7 M. Or, girdles.—5¹

8a M. Or, sound.—Cp 236.

8b M. 5¹ wind.

10 M. Or, sound.

J	J'	P
<p>14^o</p> <p>i Lev 11⁴² cp Mic 7¹⁷ Is 65²⁵ j 14 17 cp D130</p> <p>k Cp 49¹⁹ 25³⁵ Josh 8¹⁸ i 1610 22¹⁷† m 16 19 24 † n 4⁷ Cant 7¹⁰† o 4⁷</p> <p>p 21⁷ q Hos 10³† r † = make to grow 2⁹ s 2⁷</p> <p>t 4¹⁷ 26 53⁹ cp 15</p> <p>u Cp 17</p> <p>v 25</p>	<p>said, The serpent ^hbeguiled me, and I did eat. ¹⁴ And Yahweh God said unto the serpent, Because thou hast ¹done this, ^mcursed art thou ¹above all cattle, and ¹above every ^bbeast of the field; upon thy ¹belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat ¹all the days of thy life: ¹⁵ and I will ¹put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed: it shall ¹bruise thy head, and thou shalt ¹bruise his ^hheel. ¹⁶ Unto the woman he said, I will ¹greatly multiply thy ¹sorrow and thy ¹conception; in sorrow thou shalt bring forth children; and thy ¹desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall ¹rule over thee. ¹⁷ And unto ¹Adam he said, Because thou hast ¹hearkened unto the voice of thy wife, and hast eaten of the tree, of which I commanded thee, saying, ¹Thou shalt not eat of it: ^mcursed is the ¹ground for thy ¹sake; in ¹toil shalt thou eat of it ¹all the days of thy life; ¹⁸ ¹thorns ¹also and ¹thistles ¹shall it ¹bring forth to thee; and thou shalt eat the ¹herb of the field; ¹⁹ in the ¹sweat of thy face shalt thou ¹eat bread, till thou return unto the ¹ground; for out of it wast thou taken: for ¹dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return. ²⁰ ¹And the man ¹called his wife's name Eve [^h <i>Havvah</i>, that is, <i>Living</i>, or <i>Life</i>]; because she was the mother of all living. ²¹ And Yahweh God made for ¹Adam and for his wife coats of skins, and clothed them.</p> <p>²² ¹And Yahweh God said, Behold, the man is become as one of us, to know ¹good and evil; and ¹now, lest he ¹put forth his hand, and take ¹also of the tree of life, and eat, and live for ever . . .</p> <p>²³ ¹And Yahweh God sent him forth from the ¹garden of Eden, to ¹till the ¹ground from whence he was taken.</p> <p>²⁴ ¹And he ¹drove out the man; and he placed at the ¹east of the garden of Eden the Cherubim, and the ¹flame of a sword which turned every way, to keep the way of the tree of life.</p> <p>⁴¹ ¹And the man ¹knew ¹Eve his wife; and she ¹conceived, and bare Cain, and said, I have gotten [^h <i>Kanah</i>, to get] a man with [the help of] Yahweh.</p>	<p>1 146^a m 24</p> <p>n 194</p> <p>o 79</p> <p>p 44</p> <p>q 40 r 71</p> <p>s 46 t 149^a</p> <p>u 187^a v 205^b</p> <p>w 148 x 27</p> <p>a 50 b 21</p>

³¹⁴ M Or, *from among*.

¹⁵ M Or, *lie in wait for*.—Job 9¹⁷ Ps 139¹¹†.

^{17a} See note on ²⁰; cp ²¹.

^{17b} M Or, *sorrow*.

²⁰ This verse seems inserted here prematurely: the man has already given his wife a name ²³, and the new designation would hardly seem appropriate till after the record of the birth of a son. Did it once follow ⁴¹? Many scholars regard it as an interpolation, but whether it was an early addition from an annotator's hand or was an after-thought of the writer himself, cannot be determined. In ⁴¹ 'Eve' is probably redactional: similar formulae in ⁴¹ ²⁵ contain no name.

²³ The sequence of verses ²²–²⁴ seems to contain repetitions implying a combination of passages. The statement in ²⁴ 'and he drove out the man' appears superfluous after the expulsion of ²³ 'and Yahweh sent him forth,' and reads like a doublet from another source. But ²³ plainly belongs to ¹⁰, and is the natural sequel of the doom there pronounced. On the other hand ²³ supplies a different reason in the divine apprehension lest the man should eat of a fruit that had not been prohibited and stood unguarded, and might thus acquire immortality. This incongruity confirms Budde's conjecture that the original story of Eden contained but one tree cp ²³. In that view ²³ and ²⁴ were incorporated into the recital of the events following the Fall when the second tree was received into the narrative. On Budde's further conjecture that ⁶ originally followed ³²¹ see ⁶²¹.

²³ T *therefore*, ^h and.

²⁴ T so, ^h and.

⁴¹ The distinction between the two accounts of the origins of the world and man is unmistakable; but the group of narratives which follow the expulsion from Eden presents many difficulties. The document relating the generations of the heaven and the earth in 1–²⁴ is resumed with the 'generations of Adam' in 5, and the line of pre-diluvian patriarchs is carried down to Noah,

the hero of the Flood. After the great destruction, the earth is peopled with a new race derived from him, and the survey of human history is then narrowed to the descent of Abraham from Shem. When these sections of P are arranged in their natural order, can the residue be all ascribed to J? Does it form a complete and homogeneous story, allowing for occasional omissions through the process of compilation? The tendency of recent investigation is to answer this question in the negative. Broadly speaking, the passages which remain are marked by the general phraseology and modes of thought already noted in ²⁴³. They may be ascribed, therefore, with the greatest probability to the school of writers represented by the symbol J. Yet they show incongruities of conception which make it also probable that they are not all from the same hand, or at any rate are not all derived from the same source. Any collection of ancient materials must contain elements of various dates. But the question here is whether these different strata were arranged in their present order by a single writer, or whether they show such traces of manipulation as would lead to the conclusion that independent narratives have been editorially combined within the group designated as J. Thus, for example, in 4 three themes may be discriminated, ¹–¹⁶ the murder of Abel by Cain, ¹⁷–²⁴ the origin of the early arts among Cain's posterity, ²⁵–²⁶ the beginning of a new line from Adam through Seth. (In this last passage it is noticeable that 'Adam' [Man] appears as a proper name for the first time, cf ⁴¹ and the usage 'the man' in ²⁷–³⁴.) The assumptions underlying these three sections are by no means uniform. Thus in ¹–³ the name of Yahweh is familiarly known, and his cultus is practised: but in ²⁵ it is affirmed that the worship of Yahweh only began after the birth of Enosh, while (9) actually attributes its introduction to him. The complaint of Cain in ¹⁴ implies the existence of a population of which nothing has yet been said, while in ¹⁷ Cain begets a son, though as yet the only recorded human beings beside himself are Adam, Eve, and the dead

J		J P
	... ^{2a} And 'again she bare his brother Abel. And Abel was a 'keeper of sheep.	c 123 d 208
b 28 3 27a-1	^{2b} And Cain was a 'tiller of the 'ground.	e 40
c 5 = at the end of days cp 24 ⁵⁸	³ And in 'process of time it came to pass, that Cain brought of the fruit of the 'ground an 'offering unto Yahweh. ⁴ And Abel, he 'also brought of the firstlings of his flock and of the fat thereof. And Yahweh 'had respect unto Abel and to his offering: ⁵ but unto Cain and to his offering he had not 'respect. And Cain was very 'wroth, and his countenance 'fell. ⁶ And Yahweh said unto Cain, 'Why art thou 'wroth? and why is thy countenance 'fallen? ⁷ If thou 'doest well, 'shalt thou not be accepted? and if thou doest not well, sin 'coucheth at the door: and unto thee 'shall be his 'desire, and thou shalt 'rule over him. ⁸ And Cain 'told Abel his brother. And 'it came to pass, 'when they were in the field, that Cain rose up against Abel his brother, and 'slew him. ⁹ And Yahweh said unto Cain, 'Where is Abel thy brother? And he said, I know not: am I my brother's keeper? ¹⁰ And he said, 'What hast thou done? the voice of thy brother's blood 'crieth unto me from the ground. ¹¹ And now 'cursed art thou from the ground, which hath 'opened her mouth' to receive thy brother's blood from thy hand; ¹² 'when thou 'tillest the ground, it shall not 'henceforth yield unto thee her strength; a 'fugitive and a 'wanderer shalt thou be in the earth. ¹³ And Cain said unto Yahweh, 'My punishment is greater 'than I can bear. ¹⁴ Behold, thou hast 'driven me out 'this day from the 'face of the ground; and from thy face shall I be	f 126 g 233 ^b h 228 i 38
d 5 = present 321b-4311... at 7118a e Ex 3 ¹⁸ f Cp Jer 31 ²		j 210
g 29 ² 49 ² 14 25 Ex 23 ⁶ Num 22 ²⁷ Deut 22 ⁶ 29 ²⁰		k 146a l 141 m 24
h 331 ¹⁸ i 12 29b j 112 3517. 22 382a k 3 ¹⁸		
l 1821 1913		
m Num 1690 22 Deut 11 ⁶		
n 14 Ex 2018 5 ¹ o 5 ¹ add ² p 2412 3148 41 ⁹		

Abel. Moreover, the city-builder of ¹⁷ can hardly be the Cain already doomed to the nomad life; the founder of organized communities, the progenitor of the fathers of civilization, is quite a different type from the accursed and fugitive fratricide. Once more, why should the lineage begun in ²⁵, be so abruptly closed? This question is partly answered by the extract from the 'Book of the Generations of Adam' in 51... This opens with Seth and Enos in the same order as in 4²⁵, but it further contains names found in the list of Cain's descendants—Enoch 51²⁴⁻²⁴ cp 417, Lamech 52²⁵⁻²⁵ cp 418-22—while Methuselah 52²¹⁻²⁷ seems connected with Methusael 41⁸. The editor, however, inserts in 5²⁹ a precious fragment from J's account of the descent of Noah, which justifies the belief that the Noachic line through Seth has been abruptly cut-short at 4²⁵ to make room for P's fuller genealogy, compiled apparently from both Cainite and Sethite lists. There seem thus to be three sets of material, (1) the story of Cain and Abel, (2) the progress of the arts among the descendants of Cain, (3) the lineage of Noah from Adam through Seth. Among these, the main portions of (1) and (3) plainly belong to J, as they recognize the worship of Yahweh. It may, however, be doubted if they are altogether homogeneous, as the incongruity of ²⁵ with ¹ 3... points to distinct diversity of view: nor can this be overcome by the suggestion that ²⁵, formerly stood before ¹... in a simpler form (Dillmann, Gen i 182). 'The man' of 4¹ is converted in ²⁵ into the proper name Adam, and these passages are probably, therefore, from different hands, ¹ being derived from the same source as 21^{b-3}. In ⁷ an independent use seems made of the language of 31⁶, and ¹⁵ appears to be founded on ²⁴ which would 'more readily' (Dillm) read, 'If Cain takes vengeance sevenfold, then Lamech seventy-seven fold': ^{3-16a} would then be secondary in relation to 21^{b-41} and also to 417-24, while ²⁵⁻²⁶ would be secondary in relation to both. To what source, then, is the Cainite line in 17-24 to be ascribed, and why should a Sethite list have been needed at all? Dillmann is inclined to turn to E for the fragment on primitive civilization which he would like to connect with the 'Phœnician circle of legend' (Gen i 181), but the usage of language (see the Margins) does not lend any support to the ascription in the midst of the numerous parallels with J. It will, however, be noticed that the account of the rise of the various crafts in 17-22 is entirely independent of the catastrophe which subsequently submerged all the race but Noah and his family. Were all the arts then concentrated in the ark, or did any of them need rediscovery afterwards?

A clue to the answer to this query is found in the narrative in Gen 11¹⁻⁹. After a survey of the distribution of the nations according to their languages in 10, the earth is still of one speech 11¹. Who are the people that are there journeying in the East? May they not be the posterity of Cain 41⁸, still in possession of the builder's skill? In that case, one group of traditions traced the early history of mankind without a Flood. When the narrative of the Deluge was adopted into the cycle of Israel's ancestral beliefs, some modifications were inevitable in the process of welding together stories which were not based on the same conceptions of the past. The details of these changes, omissions, curtailments, cannot now be recovered with any certainty, and the indications of the text must be regarded as probabilities only. If ^{3-16a} and 17-24 belong to different cycles grouped together by the redactor of J, it is possible that Abel (אָבֶל) and Jabal (יָבָל) who were both breeders of animals, had some original connexion. Cp the Introductions of Cornill and König, together with Stade's article ZATW (1894) especially pp 254-83. Most readers will endorse a former remark of Dillmann's, that no theory has yet been propounded which satisfactorily solves all the difficulties arising out of Gen 4. On J's cp *Introd* i 108.

^{42a} The story of Abel has perhaps been fitted in with the idiom אָבֶל, or this may be the continuation of a previous narrative which has been eliminated. It is noticeable that Abel's name does not receive any explanation like Cain's in ¹.

²⁵ T but. The conjunction is the same as in ^{2a}. On the use of וְיָבָל here, see Budde, *Urgesch* 217, who compares 17 20. 22a 10⁹ 25²⁷ and adds 1613 35 9²⁰.

^{7a} M Or, shall it not be lifted up.

^{7b} M Or, is its desire, but thou shouldst rule over it.—The reminiscence of 31⁶ seems here unmistakable, but the difference in imagery and application rather suggests diversity of authorship.

⁸ M 5 said unto. Many ancient authorities have, said unto Abel his brother, Let us go into the field.

¹² The critics who regard this section as part of a later stratum in J's early history of mankind, find in this passage a slightly different point of view compared with 317-19. Cain's occupation as a tiller of the ground is not in any way connected with the primeval curse: and the refusal of its strength in the future rather implies that it had been bountiful to him in the past.

¹³ M Or, mine iniquity.—Cp 1915 441⁶ Ex 34⁷ Num 141¹⁸ al.

^{13b} M Or, than can be forgiven.

J		J ¹	P
9 31 ¹⁰ 5 cp 26 3 ⁸ face = presence 15 24 Ex 21 ²¹ 5 Hophi	'hid; and I shall be a "fugitive and a "wanderer in the earth; and it shall come to pass, that whosoever "findeth me shall 'slay me. ¹⁵ And Yahweh said unto him, Therefore whosoever slayeth Cain, 'vengeance shall be taken on him sevenfold. And Yahweh appointed a sign for Cain, 'lest any finding him should smite him. ¹⁶ And Cain went out from the presence [face ¹⁴] of Yahweh.		n 157 o 61
1 21 ¹⁰	16 ¹⁰ "And [he] dwelt in the land of "Nod, "on the 'east of Eden. ¹⁷ And Cain "knew his wife; and she 'conceived, and bare Enoch: and he 'builded a city, and "called the name of the city, after the name of his son, Enoch. ¹⁸ And 'unto Enoch was born Irad: and Irad 'begat Mehujael: and Mehujael begat Methushael: and Methushael begat Lamech. ¹⁹ And Lamech 'took unto him two wives: the "name of the one was Adah, and the name of the other Zillah. ²⁰ And Adah bare Jabal: he was the father of such as dwell in 'tents and [have] 'cattle. ²¹ And his 'brother's name was Jubal: he was the father of all such as handle the 'harp and 'pipe, ²² And Zillah, she 'also bare Tubal-cain, "the 'forger of every cutting instrument of "brass and iron: and the sister of Tubal-cain was Naamah. ²³ And Lamech said unto his wives:		p 7 q 82 r 220 s 18 t 14
10 ¹¹ 11 ⁴ Ex 11 ¹¹ CP 137 u 17 28 30 v Cp 26 10 ¹ al w 10 ²⁸	Adah and Zillah, hear my voice; Ye wives of Lamech, hearken unto my "speech: For "I have 'slain a man "for 'b'wounding me, And a "young man for 'b'bruising me: ²⁴ If Cain shall be 'avenged sevenfold, Truly Lamech seventy and sevenfold.		u 234
2 31 ²⁷ y Job 21 ¹² 30 ¹¹ z 150 ⁴ 1 5 ¹⁰ 22 'aha	²⁵ And Adam "knew his wife "again; and she bare a son, and "called his name Seth [5 <i>Sheth</i>]: For [said she] God hath 'appointed [5 <i>Shath</i>] me another seed <i>instead of Abel</i> ; "for Cain slew him. ²⁶ And to Seth, to him 'also there was 'born a son; and he called his name Enosh: then "began men to 'call upon the name of Yahweh. . .		v 194
4 Deut 32 ⁸ v Ex 12 ¹⁰			w 8 x 15
1 61 10 ²¹ 28 24 ¹⁸ al 5.			
a Cp 127 b 128 c 128 d 128 e 127	51 "THIS IS THE "BOOK OF THE 'GENERATIONS of Adam. In the day that God 'created "man, in the 'likeness of God made he him; ² 'male and female 'created he them; and 'blessed them, and called their name Adam [Man], in the day "when they were created. ³ And Adam lived an "hundred and thirty years, and 'begat 'a son in his own 'likeness, after his 'image; and called his name Seth: ⁴ and the days of Adam after he 'begat Seth were eight hundred years: and he begat sons and daughters. ⁵ And all the 'days that Adam lived were nine hundred and thirty years: and he died. ⁶ And Seth lived an "hundred and five years, and 'begat Enosh: ⁷ and		a 183 ^b b 77 c 48 d 107 e 93 f 30 g 181

41¹⁰ The story which assigns to Cain a particular country east of Eden in which he married and built a city, does not seem homogeneous with that which represents him as doomed to a life of constant wandering. The traditional name Nod has apparently suggested the employment of the term *nid* (wanderer) in 4¹⁴ by one of the assonances or word-plays characteristic especially of J.

16¹⁰ M That is, *Wandering*.

16^c M Or, *in front of*.

22^a M Or, *an instructor of every artificer*.

22^b M Or, *copper*, and so elsewhere.

22^c M Or, *I will slay*.

22^d M Or, *to my wounding, and a young man to my hurt*.

23^e This word is perhaps due to the compiler who has linked the stories together, or even to still later editorial transcription. G omits it.

25^f An explanation by the annotator of the combined narratives. Other traces of the same hand may possibly be found in the clause 'another seed *instead of Abel*.' In reality, however, it was the line of Cain that was replaced by the Sethite genealogy, the ancestry of Israel being traced through Noah and Shem, while the progeny of Cain perished in the Flood.

51^g The 'generations of man' form the obvious sequel to the narrative of the 'generations of the heaven and the earth' in 1-2¹⁰. A new subject, the line of ten patriarchs from Adam to

Noah, is marked by fresh phrases. Each step in the series is narrated in the same bare outline. Compared with the vivid presentments of J in 4, these abstractions seem only to have a numerical significance. On the coincidences of names, cp 4¹⁸. The structure of the description 'And Seth lived an hundred and five years and begat Enosh: and Seth lived after he begat Enosh eight hundred and seven years and begat sons and daughters: and all the days of Seth were nine hundred and twelve years, and he died' recurs with rhythmic regularity. The interruptions are indicated in 24¹⁸ and 29¹. It will be observed that the age of Noah at the birth of Shem is much greater than the corresponding ages of his predecessors. A combination of the numbers in 26 28 32 and 7² indicates the reason. The chronological adjustments close the life of Methuselah with the year of the Flood (cp *Introd XIII 28 i 122-3*). On the differences of the numbers in Sam and G cp *Dillm Gen i 217-21*.

1^b Holzinger observes that this is the title of a book rather than of a section, and suggests that P may once have begun without a creation-story. The lengthy phrases of 1-2, the double occurrence of 'in the day' (which Holzinger supposes to be borrowed from 2¹⁰), and the incongruities of the pronoun which vibrates from sing to pl (though this occurs also in 1²⁷), may be due to editorial expansion after the union of P and J.

J

P

Seth lived after he begat Enosh eight hundred and seven years, and begat sons and daughters: ⁸ and all the 'days of Seth were nine hundred and twelve years: and he died.

⁹ And Enosh lived ninety years, and begat Kenan: ¹⁰ and Enosh lived after he begat Kenan eight hundred and fifteen years, and begat sons and daughters: ¹¹ and all the days of Enosh were nine hundred and five years: and he died.

¹² And Kenan lived seventy years, and begat Mahalalel: ¹³ and Kenan lived after he begat Mahalalel eight hundred and forty years, and begat sons and daughters: ¹⁴ and all the days of Kenan were nine hundred and ten years: and he died.

¹⁵ And Mahalalel lived sixty and five years, and begat Jared: ¹⁶ and Mahalalel lived after he begat Jared eight hundred and thirty years, and begat sons and daughters: ¹⁷ and all the days of Mahalalel were eight hundred ninety and five years: and he died.

¹⁸ And Jared lived an hundred sixty and two years, and begat Enoch: ¹⁹ and Jared lived after he begat Enoch eight hundred years, and begat sons and daughters: ²⁰ and all the days of Jared were nine hundred sixty and two years: and he died.

²¹ And Enoch lived sixty and five years, and begat Methuselah: ²² and Enoch 'walked with God after he begat Methuselah three hundred years, and begat sons and daughters: ²³ and all the days of Enoch were three hundred sixty and five years: ²⁴ and Enoch 'walked with God: and he was not; for God took him.

²⁵ And Methuselah lived an hundred eighty and seven years, and begat Lamech: ²⁶ and Methuselah lived after he begat Lamech seven hundred eighty and two years, and begat sons and daughters: ²⁷ and all the days of Methuselah were nine hundred sixty and nine years: and he died.

²⁸ And Lamech lived an hundred eighty and two years, and begat . . .

f 6⁹ op 17¹g 3⁸⁰h 3¹⁷

. . . 'a son: ²⁹ And he 'called his name Noah, saying, 'This same shall 'comfort us for our work and for the 'toil of our hands,' because of the 'ground which Yahweh hath 'cursed.

h 20^ai 7⁹j 4⁰

³⁰ And Lamech lived after he begat Noah five hundred ninety and five years, and begat sons and daughters: ³¹ and all the days of Lamech were seven hundred seventy and seven years: and he died.

³² And Noah was five hundred years 'old: and Noah begat Shem, Ham, and Japheth.

k 11⁹

a 4³⁶
b Job 1⁶ 21 38⁷
c Ps 29¹ 89⁷
d .

⁶¹ 'And 'it came to pass, when men 'began to multiply on the 'face of the ground, and daughters 'were born unto them, ² that the 'sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair; and they 'took them wives of all that they chose. ³ 'And Yahweh said, My spirit shall not 'strive with man for ever, 'for that he 'also is flesh: 'yet shall his days

a 3^a

b 8

c 4⁰d 8^ae 12⁶

⁵²² The recurrence of these words in ²⁴, the awkwardness of their introduction here, as if Enoch had not walked with God before Methuselah was begotten, and the indications in ⁶¹ that the original formula 'lived' still lingered on, all point to some editorial manipulation. Budde conjectures that in the source which P here employed, the story ran that Enoch 'walked before Yahweh' op 24⁴⁰ 48¹⁵.

²⁸ The uniformity of P's style leads us to expect here the name of Noah. The compiler, however, wishing apparently to utilize J's explanation of it, has inserted it at this point, having no doubt found it in the list which traced Noah's descent through Seth ⁴³⁵. That pedigree has apparently been rejected by the editor in favour of the more highly systematized scheme of P, but the attempt to give significance to Noah's name is preserved: op 3²⁰ 4¹. The prediction prepares the way for the account of the vine-culture in ⁹³⁰, by which the ground under the curse is made to yield comfort.

^{29a} M. ⁶ *nahem*, to comfort.

^{29b} M. Or, which cometh from the ground.

⁶¹⁻⁴ A passage of great obscurity, apparently designed to explain the origin of an ancient race of giant stature. The story, with its unusual terms, 'sons of Elohim,' 'Nephilim,' 'mighty men of old,' 'men of renown,' seems to have been drawn from some unknown cycle of antique legends, and incorporated into the J series.

^{2a} In a well-known conjecture Budde has suggested that this verse originally recorded Yahweh's sentence on 'the man' who was expelled from Eden lest he should eat of the tree of life, so that its proper place was after ³¹. Its present position certainly seems to interrupt ³ and ⁴. But difficulties both of text and interpretation render Budde's proposal in the highest degree precarious. Further discussion belongs rather to a commentary than to this analysis.

^{3b} M. Or, rule in. Or, according to many ancient versions, abide in [involving a change of a letter].

^{3c} M. Or, in their going astray they are flesh.

^{3d} M. Or, therefore.

J		J	P
<p>13²³† 1 am 27⁵ m 16⁴ mt 31²¹* 31⁶ 35³². the day 28²⁸ cp 24⁴⁸ 27⁴¹ 8 tit 20 1 9⁶ : 12⁵ al</p>	<p>be an hundred and twenty years. ⁴ The ^{ac}Nephilim were in the earth "in those days, "and also after that, when the sons of God 'came in unto the daughters of men, and they bare children to them: "the same were the "mighty men which were 'of old, the 'men of renown. ... ⁵ "And Yahweh saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every 'imagination of the ⁴thoughts of his heart was 'only evil 'continually. ⁶ And it 'repented Yahweh that he had made man on the earth, and it 'grieved him at his 'heart. ⁷ And Yahweh said, I will 'blot out man ^{whom I have 'created} from the 'face of the ground; both man, and 'beast, and ^{mc}creeping thing, and fowl of the air; for it 'repenteth me that I have made them. ⁸ But Noah 'found grace in the eyes of Yahweh.</p>		<p>f 163 g 184 h 189 i 206 j 79 k 136 l 31^a</p>
	<p>⁹ ^{mc}THESE ARE THE GENERATIONS^m of Noah. Noah was a "righteous man, [and] ^{mc}perfect in his "generations: Noah "walked with God. ¹⁰ And Noah "began three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japheth. ¹¹ And the earth was</p>		<p>m 188 n 76 o 30</p>

Or, *giants*.

perplexing clause which may perhaps be regarded as
note to explain the fact that the Nephilim reappear in
dition of the Wanderings. They did not, therefore, all
in the flood.

another addition, probably, to the original tale; but
r due to the compiler of the J series, or to a later
r, can hardly be determined.

this point the increase of human wickedness draws
on man the sentence that Yahweh will 'blot him out'
he face of the ground ⁷. In ¹¹ a similar condition of
al corruption is again portrayed with varying termino-
'All flesh' are guilty before Elohim ¹¹. et ⁶. There is no
l in P to Yahweh's repentance for having called man
sing ⁶, but his destruction is solemnly announced ¹³.
duplicate explanations are really independent intro-
ns to the narrative of the flood which follows, and they
t that it may be woven out of two strands. This is
rendered certain by subsequent repetitions and in-
encies. Some of these can perhaps be most readily
ended by exhibiting them in parallel columns.

P	J
<p>Elohim commands Noah one pair of each kind al into the ark.</p>	<p>⁷ Yahweh enjoins Noah to take seven pairs of clean beasts, and only one pair of the un- clean.</p>

he record of the actual entry of the animals into the ark
editor has combined J's distinction of clean and unclean
"s record of Noah's obedience to the divine instruction.)

<p>Elohim announces that 'bring the flood.'</p>	<p>⁴ Yahweh warns Noah that he will 'cause it to rain' ¹⁹5.</p>
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¹ ¹⁷ The fountains of the
leep are broken up, and
indows of heaven are
, and the flood comes.
o fixed duration is pre-
for the flood by Elohim:
waters increase for 150
, and a combination of
es in ¹¹ 8³. ¹³. makes it
le that the writer in-
the flood and its con-
ces to occupy 365 days,
lar year (cp 5²³).
lohim blesses Noah and
spring, and covenants
he race never again to
'all flesh with a flood

¹² The catastrophe is
brought about by forty days'
rain.
⁴ ¹⁰ Seven days pass before
the rain begins; this lasts forty
days ⁴ ¹³ cp 8⁶; and after two
(or three) periods (cp 8²⁴) of
seven days each, the ground
is apparently dry enough for
Noah to leave the ark.

Yahweh receives from Noah
a sacrifice of each kind of
clean beast and bird, and de-
clares that he will not again
smite every living thing ⁸20-22.

e differences of substance are accompanied by corre-
ing differences in form and phrase: from among those
ed in the margins the following may be noted:—

P	J
<p>(1) Elohim throughout. (2) ⁶13 All flesh had cor- rupted his way. (3) ¹³ ¹⁷ ²¹ ¹⁵ destroy. (4) ⁶17 Behold, I bring the flood. (5) ¹⁷ All flesh wherein is the breath of life. (6) ¹⁷ From under heaven. (7) ¹⁸ Thou and thy sons . . . with thee. (8) ¹⁹ Every living thing of all flesh, two of every sort. (9) ¹⁹ Male and female. (10) ²⁰ Fowl after their kind ... two of every sort. (11) ²⁰ To keep them alive. (12) ²² Thus did Noah . . . so did he. (13) ⁷11. Fountains of the great deep broken up, windows of heaven opened. (14) ¹⁸. ²⁴ The waters pre- vailed, . . . prevailed exceed- ingly. (15) ²¹ All flesh gave up the ghost (נָפַח). (16) ⁸24 The windows of heaven were stopped. (17) ³⁵ The waters decreased. (18) ¹⁴ The earth was dry.</p>	<p>Yahweh throughout. ⁶ Every imagination . . . evil continually. ⁷ ²³ blot out. ⁷ I will cause it to rain. ⁴ Every living thing that I have made. ⁴ From off the face of the ground. ¹ Thou and all thy house. ² Of every clean beast seven and seven, and of the beasts that are not clean, two. ² Man and his wife ♀. ³ Fowl of the air . . . seven and seven. ³ To keep seed alive. ⁵ And Noah did accord- ing. . . ¹³ Rain upon the earth. ¹⁷ The waters increased. ²² All in whose nostrils . . . died (נָפַח). ⁸24 The rain was restrained. ³⁵ The waters returned. ¹⁵ The face of the ground was dried (דָּבַח different).</p>

The Elohim document, connected by many links of conception
and phrase with the creation story in 1-2⁴ and the pedigree in
5, has been made the basis of the combined narrative and has
been preserved with substantial completeness. When it is
withdrawn it becomes apparent that the Yahweh passages must
originally have themselves constituted a whole. They cannot
be regarded as merely supplementary, for they sometimes
relate the same incident, e.g. the directions about the animals,
and their entry into the ark, in incompatible terms, that is,
they contradict, instead of merely developing, the statements
amid which they are inserted. They are derived, therefore,
from an independent source which has not been fully retained.
For instance in ⁷1 the ark is evidently already made; but J's
account of its construction has been set aside in favour of P's
⁶14., which was probably the more elaborate. Similarly the
erection of the altar in ⁸20 implies a previous description of
the departure from the ark, which P's statement in ¹⁸. rendered
superfluous.

^{7a} So ♀ M. T destroy.

^{7b} This verse seems to show phraseological traces of redaction
in the style of P.

⁹ M Or, blameless.

J

P

g 131

r Enak 7⁶s 17 9⁸ 17⁴ 48⁶t 17 9¹¹ 16 6t 7u Num 10⁸ opv 22⁸ Josh 5⁸w 6¹x Ex 25¹¹ 37²y Lev 14¹¹ 2 opz Num 18⁷a Ex 25¹⁰ 17b 6¹ 6t 8⁶c 9⁸ 17⁴ Ex 14¹⁷d 31⁶ Num 3¹⁸e 18⁸ 8⁶f Ct 7⁴g Ct 7⁴h 7¹² 18¹⁶ 18i Ct 7¹j Ct 7²k Ct 7²l Ct 7²m Ex 30²⁸ Enakn 4⁶ 6¹o Ct 7²

corrupt before God, and the earth was filled with violence. ¹² And God 'saw the earth, and, behold, it was corrupt; for 'all flesh had corrupted his way upon the earth.

¹³ And God said unto Noah, The 'end of 'all flesh is 'come before me; for the earth is filled with violence through them; and, 'behold, I will 'destroy them with the earth. ¹⁴ "Make thee an ark of 'gopher wood; "rooms shalt thou make in the ark, and shalt 'pitch it "within and without with pitch.

¹⁵ And this is how thou shalt make it: the 'length of the ark three hundred cubits, the breadth of it fifty cubits, and the height of it thirty cubits.

¹⁶ A "light shalt thou make to the ark, and to a cubit shalt thou finish it "upward; and the door of the ark shalt thou set in the side thereof; with lower, second, and third stories shalt thou make it. ¹⁷ "And 'I, 'behold,

I do 'bring the "flood [of] waters upon the earth, to 'destroy 'all flesh, 'wherein is the breath of life, from under heaven; every thing that is in the earth shall 'die. ¹⁸ But I will 'establish my covenant with thee;

and thou shalt 'come into the ark, thou, and 'thy sons, and thy wife, and thy sons' wives "with thee. ¹⁹ And of 'every living thing of 'all flesh,

two of every sort shalt thou bring into the ark, to keep them alive with thee; they shall be 'male and 'female. ²⁰ "Of the 'fowl after their "kind,

and of the cattle after their kind, of every 'creeping thing of the "ground after its kind, two of every sort shall come unto thee, to "keep them alive.

²¹ 'And take thou unto thee of all food that is eaten, and gather it to thee; and it shall be for 'food for thee, and for them. ²² 'Thus did Noah; 'according to all that God commanded him, so did he'.

p 21⁸q 18⁶r 9⁴s 5¹t 6¹u 7⁶v 10⁷w 18¹x 49⁵

y 110

z 18⁹

J

J

a Ct 6¹⁸b Ex 1⁶c 10¹ 2d Ct 6¹⁸ cp 7⁴²e 6¹ = man andhis wife of 6¹⁸f 10²² 24¹ op 12¹²g Ex 1²² alh 8⁹ 11⁴ 8 9

i 10 cp 810 12

j 2⁵ 6t 61⁷k 18 8⁶l 28 Dent 11⁶m ct 61⁷n Ct 6²²o 5²² 7¹¹p 61⁷

⁷ And Yahweh said unto Noah, Come 'thou and all thy house into the ark; for thee have I seen 'righteous before me in this 'generation.

² "Of every 'clean beast thou shalt take to thee seven and seven, the 'male and his female; and of the beasts that are not clean two, the 'male and his female; ³ of the fowl also of the air, seven and seven, "male and female:

to 'keep seed alive' upon the 'face of all the earth. ⁴ For yet 'seven days, and I will 'cause it to rain upon the earth 'forty days and forty nights;

and every 'living thing that I have made will I "blot out from off the 'face of the ground. ⁵ "And Noah did according unto all that Yahweh commanded him.

⁶ And Noah was 'six hundred years 'old when the "flood [of] waters was upon the earth.

⁷ "And Noah went in, and his sons, and his wife, and his sons' wives "with him,

a 199

b 135

c 40

d 119⁸

e 176

6¹⁴ M 6 nests.18⁶ M Or, from above.

¹⁷ Literally, 'the flood, waters,' in apposition, cp 7⁴. 'Waters' defines the ancient word for flood, *hamabbul*, and is possibly an explanatory insertion. J inverts the phrase, 'waters of the flood' 7¹⁰.

²⁰ A slight difference in the representation here suggests the possibility of later expansion: the animals, instead of being collected by Noah, will spontaneously assemble. Moreover, the

18⁶ M Or, roof.

last clause does not quite fit its predecessor, as it implies a different subject, and seems to be borrowed from ¹⁹.

⁷³ This pair of words seems borrowed from P, cp ¹⁰⁷, as in 61⁹ 7¹⁶ &c, and has been inserted here by the harmonizing editor. Sam (9) &c, however, read 'the clean fowl,' and (9) adds the further clause 'and of all the fowl that are not clean, two and two, male and female.'

⁷⁻⁹ These verses present a mixed text, taking the place of J's account of the entry into the ark. The elements probably

J	J'	P	
a 10 et 617 but cp 911	into the ark, because of the "waters of the flood. ⁸ Of ^c clean beasts, and of beasts that are not ^c clean, and of fowls, and of every thing that ^c creepeth upon the ground, ⁹ there went in two and two unto Noah into the ark, male and female, as ^o God com- manded Noah;— ^{18b} "and Yahweh ^p shut him in.— ¹⁰ And it came to pass after the ^c seven days, that the "waters of the flood were upon the earth.		f 749
o 1 Sam 2 Yah- weh p 5 = closed 271 19 ^a 10 Josh 27			
q Num 33 ³⁸ 5			
r 82 cp Lev 11 ³⁸ Josh 15 ⁹ 1819 ^a s 13 t 85 ^a			
u Cp 4	12 And the "rain was upon the earth 'forty days and forty nights.	11 In the six hundredth 'year of Noah's life, in the "second month, on the seven- teenth day of the month, on the same day were all the 'fountains of the great 'deep broken up, and the 'windows of heaven were opened.	g 183
v 5 = sent in et 7		13 In the "selfsame day "entered Noah, and Shem, and Ham, and Japheth, the sons of Noah, and Noah's wife, and the three wives of his sons "with them, into the ark; ¹⁴ they, and every "beast after its 'kind, and all the cattle after their 'kind, and every 'creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth after its kind, and every fowl after its kind, every bird of every "sort. ¹⁵ And they went in unto Noah into the ark, "two and two of "all flesh "wherein is the breath of life. ^{16a} And they that went in, went in 'male and female of "all flesh, as God commanded him. ^{17a} And the flood was "forty days upon the earth;	h 138
w 21 cp 124		18 And the waters "prevailed, and in- creased greatly upon the earth; and the ark went upon the face of the waters.	i 181
x 618 et 3 y 617		19 And the waters "prevailed "exceedingly upon the earth; and all the high moun- tains that were under the whole heaven were covered. ²⁰ "Fifteen cubits ^b upward did the waters "prevail; and the moun- tains were covered. ²¹ And "all flesh "died that 'moved upon the earth, "both fowl, and cattle, and "beast, and every "swarm-	j 49b
z Ct 'prevailed' 12-26 24	17 ^b And the waters 'increased, and bare up the ark, and it was lift up above the earth.		k 21b
aa' 20 24 et 'increased' 17 ^b			l 107 ^a
b' 616			m 63
			n 51
			o 35
			p 157

derived by BP from P are indicated in smaller type, ⁷ cp 618 21^a 18; ⁸ the distinction between clean and unclean belongs to J ⁷, but is accommodated to P 618; ⁹ 'two and two,' i.e. one pair of each, as in P 618 71^b; ⁹ 'male and female,' cp B in ² and 619.

^{716b} This clause must have preceded the arrival of the waters of the flood ¹⁰, and is the natural close of J's account of Noah's entry into the ark. But in combining J and P, the addition of P's version of the same incident ^{13-14a} necessitated the transposition of the recital of Yahweh's protecting care in fastening the aperture. ¹⁴ M 5 wing.

¹⁷ Regarded by some critics as an attempt to bring P's narrative into accord with J ¹², whereas P really makes the duration of the flood much longer ⁷²⁴ 85^{b-5}. Others ascribe the whole of ¹⁷ to J. But J does not speak of 'the flood' by itself, and ^{17b} follows quite naturally on ¹⁰ ¹².

²¹ This number seems related to the height of the ark, thirty cubits 616. The ark was apparently regarded as immersed up to half its height: accordingly, when the waters begin to decrease, it can just touch the summit of the loftiest mountain ⁸⁴. Cp *Introd* XIII 2e i 125.

²¹ T Or, creeping thing that creepeth.

J	J'	P
e' 27	... ²² all in whose 'nostrils was	ing thing that swarmeth upon the earth, and every man.
d' מַדּוּם et יָצָא 21	the "breath of the <i>spirit of life</i> , of all that was in the 'dry land <i>died</i> . ²³ "And every 'living thing was <i>blotted out</i> which was upon the 'face of the ground, <i>both man, and cattle, and creeping thing, and fowl of the heaven; and they were blotted out from the earth; and Noah only was left, and they that were with him in the ark.</i>	q 26
e' 42 ³⁸ Ex 10 ³⁰ cp 69		
a 6 = beast 7 ¹⁴		
b Cp Num 17 ⁵ 6 ¹ c 7 ¹¹ et 26		
d 6 ¹		
e Cp 4 ¹ 11 Num 12 ²⁸ f 7 ¹³	— ^{6a} "And it came to pass 'at the end of 'forty days— ^{2b} that the 'rain from heaven was restrained; ^{3a} and the waters returned from off the earth 'continually.	²⁴ And the waters 'prevailed upon the earth an 'hundred and fifty days. ^{8¹} And God 'remembered Noah, and every 'living thing, and all the cattle that were with him in the ark: and God made a wind to pass over the earth, and the waters 'assuaged; ^{2a} the 'fountains also of the deep and the windows of heaven were 'stopped,
g 6 ¹ 7 12 ⁹ 26 ¹³ h 7 ²⁴		
i 26 ⁵ Josh 21 ¹⁵ 18 21 ^a	^{6b} And Noah opened the 'window of the ark which he had made: ⁷ and he 'sent forth a raven, and it went forth 'to and fro, until the waters were dried up from off the earth. ⁸ "And he sent forth a dove from him, to see if the waters were 'abated from off the 'face of the ground; ⁹ but the dove 'found no 'rest for the sole of her foot, and she returned unto him to the ark, for the waters were on the 'face of the whole earth': and he put forth his hand, and took her, and brought	^{3b} and after the end of 'an 'hundred and fifty days the waters decreased. ⁴ And the ark rested in the 'seventh month, on the seventeenth day of the month, upon the mountains of Ararat. ⁵ And the waters decreased continually until the 'tenth month: in the tenth month, on the first day of the month, were the tops of the mountains seen.
j 11 cp 16 ⁴ 6 ¹		d 205
k Deut 28 ⁶⁵		e 40 f 157
l 7 ⁵		

⁷²² A composite phrase occurring nowhere else. R^p has apparently tried to unite J's terminology 'all in whose nostrils was the *nishmath* of life' with P's 'all in whom was the *ruah* of life,' cp 61⁷. The process results in the unique combination 'the *nishmath* of the *ruah* of life.'

^{21a} M Or, and he blotted out every living thing.—Cp 6¹.

^{2b} R^p following 6³⁰ 7¹⁴ 21. The idiom 'both . . . and' is the same as in 6¹, ct 7²¹.

^{86a} This clause, standing in the text at the opening of 6, probably preceded ^{2b}, fixing the date of the cessation of the

rain 7¹². In combining this passage with P's longer duration of the flood, R has transposed the clause, but in doing so deprived it of its meaning, for after ⁵ what is the starting-point of the reckoning?

⁵ The formula at the opening of 10 13 implies a preceding period of seven days' waiting not now found in the text. The conjecture that some words have here dropped out, such as 'and he stayed seven days,' has been widely adopted. So Olshausen, Schrader, Delitzsch, Budde, Dillmann, &c.

J	J'	P	
= 5†	her in unto him into the ark. ¹⁰ And he ^{stayed} yet other seven days; and ^{again} he sent forth the dove out of the ark; ¹¹ and the dove came in to him at ^{eventide} ; and, lo, in her mouth ^{an olive leaf} ^{plucked off} : so Noah knew that the waters were ^{abated} from off the earth. ¹² And he ^{stayed} yet other seven days; and sent forth the dove; and she returned not ^{again} unto him any more.		g 193 h 236
n Ck 7 5 cp 7 ²² o Cp 7 ⁴⁷¹	^{13b} And Noah ^{removed} the ^{covering} of the ark, and ^{looked} , and, behold, the ^{face} of the ground was ^{dried} . . .	^{13a} And it came to pass in the six hundred and first year, in the ^{first} month, the first day of the month, the waters were ^{dried up} from off the earth.	i 224 ^b j 55 k 25
p Ck 7 cp 1 ^a q 618		¹⁴ And in the ^{second} month, on the seven and twentieth day of the month, was the earth ^{dry} . ¹⁵ And God ^{spake} unto Noah, saying, ¹⁶ Go forth of the ark, ^{thou} , and thy wife, and thy sons, and thy sons' wives ^{with thee} . ¹⁷ Bring forth with thee every ^{living thing} that is with thee of ^{all flesh} , ^{both} fowl, and cattle, and every ^{creeping thing} that creepeth upon the earth; that they may ^{breed} abundantly in the earth, and be ^{fruitful} , and multiply ^{upon the earth} . ¹⁸ And Noah went forth, and his sons, and his wife, and his sons' wives ^{with him} : ¹⁹ every ^{beast} , every ^{creeping thing} , and every fowl, whatsoever ^{moveth} upon the earth, ^{after their families} , went forth out of the ark.	l 185 m 176 n 21 ^b o 85 p 49 q 157 r 73 s 18 ^c t 137 u 110 v 45 w 71
20 ^a 170da 20b 161a r 7 ² 20 ^c 17ba s ct 7118 5 t Cp 27 ²⁷ Lev 26 ⁵¹ ct 7158 u Cp 317 v 65 w 4694 ^a	²⁰ ²¹ And Noah ^{builded} an altar unto Yahweh; ^{and took of every} ^{clean beast} , ^{and of every clean fowl} , and ^{offered} burnt offerings on the altar. ²¹ And Yahweh ^{smelled} the sweet savour; and Yahweh ^{said} in his heart, ^{I will not} ^{again} ^{curse} the ground any more ^{for man's} ^{sake} , for that the ^{imagination} of man's heart is evil ^{from his youth} ;		

8¹⁰ לָרִי should be corrected to לָרִי as in 12, 5^a.

11 M Or, a fresh olive leaf.

12 This was probably followed in J by Noah's departure from the ark, now related in P 15-18.

20 The cultus of Yahweh, already established in 4 according to J, is not yet revealed according to P. Yahweh's promise not to smite every living thing again ²¹ stands in contrast with the covenant established by Elohim with Noah and his posterity, 9⁸⁻¹⁷.

21^a This reference to the curse pronounced on the ground

after the first transgression seems open to some suspicion, if the narrative of the deluge be from a different hand, J^a. It may be noticed that the word 'curse' is not that employed in 31⁷, and is an unusual one in the person of Yahweh; moreover (3) omits the particle 'and' in the next clause, as if each began 'I will not again. . .'. There is reason therefore to ascribe the allusion to the curse to an early compiler already acquainted with 31⁷ and 6⁵, i.e. R1. Cp Holzinger, Gen 82.

21^b M Or, sake; for the.

J	J'	P
x 181 6* y 6 = rest of 23	neither will I 'again smite any more every thing living, as I have done. 22 While the earth remaineth, seed-time and harvest, and 'cold and 'heat, and 'summer and 'winter, and day and night shall not 'cease.	
a 128 b Cp Deut 11:25 c Job 41:25†	9 ¹ And God 'blessed Noah and his sons, and said unto them, 'Be fruitful, and multiply', and replenish the earth'. 2 And the 'fear of you and the 'dread of you shall be upon every 'beast of the earth, and upon every fowl of the air; 'with all wherewith the ground 'teemeth, and all the fishes of the sea, into your hand are they delivered. 3 'Every 'moving thing that liveth shall be 'food for you; as the 'green herb have I given you all. 4 'But flesh 'with the life thereof, [which is] the blood thereof, shall ye not eat. 5 'And surely your blood, [the blood] of your lives, will I require; at the hand of every beast will I require it: and at the hand of man, even at the hand of 'every man's brother, will I require the life of man. 6 Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed: for in the 'image of God made he man. 7 And you, 'be ye fruitful, and multiply; 'bring forth abundantly in the earth, and multiply therein. 8 And God 'spake unto Noah, and to his sons 'with him, saying, 9 'And 'I, behold, I 'establish my covenant with 'you, and with your seed after you'; 10 and with every living creature that is with you, 'the fowl, the cattle, and every 'beast of the earth with you; 'of all that go out of the ark, 'even every 'beast of the earth. 11 And I will 'establish my covenant with you; neither shall 'all flesh be 'cut off any more by the 'waters of the flood; neither shall there any more be a flood to 'destroy the earth. 12 And God said, 'This is the token of the covenant which 'I make between me and you and every living creature that is with you, for 'perpetual generations': 13 'I do set my 'bow in the cloud, and it shall 'be for a token of a covenant between me and the earth. 14 And it shall come to pass, when I 'bring a cloud' over the earth, that the bow shall be seen in the cloud, 15 and I will 'remember my covenant, which is between me and you and every living creature of 'all flesh; and the waters shall no more 'become a flood to 'destroy 'all flesh. 16 And the bow shall be in the cloud; and I will look upon it, that I may 'remember the 'everlasting covenant between 'God and every living creature of 'all flesh that is upon the earth. 17 And God said unto Noah, 'This is the token of the covenant which I have 'established between me and 'all flesh that is upon the earth.	a 73 b 29 c 35 d 49a e 49b f 110
s 16a: d 150 t 16a: s 16ht		g 184
e 126.		h 157
f 167		i 185 j 276 k 94 l 60a m 102a n 21a
g 77		o 21b
h 613		p 50
i Ezek 1:20		q 183b
j 6†		r 62b
k Cp 27		s 27
l 6 me		t 135
		u 62a
m cp 177a	18 'And the sons of Noah, that went forth of the ark, were Shem, and Ham, and Japheth: and Ham is the father of Canaan. 19 These three were the sons of Noah: and of these was the whole earth 'overspread.	
n 26	20 'And Noah 'began to be an husbandman, and 'planted a vineyard:	v 8

9² M Or, *creepeth*.

4 Holzinger Gen 74 points out that the prohibition of eating with the blood 4 is elsewhere closely connected with regulations of sacrifice, which according to P² was not instituted till the Mosaic age. He suggests, therefore, that its insertion here is due to P². The awkwardness of 7¹⁴ followed by 7¹⁵ may be explained by the conjecture that 6. is later still. In that case 7 is the editorial close reproduced from 1, cp Ex 612 and 30.

10 These words seem due to later legal effort at precision (for the preposition 5 cp Driver, LOT⁶ 132). The clause is absent from G, and the usage of the term 'beast of the earth' to include the whole animal world differs from that earlier in the verse where it denotes wild animals in contrast to domesticated cattle.

15 M Or, *I have set*.

16 This verse is assigned to J² as the sequel of the flood story. It does not appear to belong to P, who has already named

Noah's sons 5³² 610 7¹³. The last clause is probably the editorial preparation for the episode which follows 20-27. But 19 is independent of this, and makes for the account of the dispersion in 10.

20 The story of the invention of vine-culture and its consequences does not seem to belong to the same cycle as the flood. It has its analogies rather with the sketch of the growth of the arts and crafts in 417-23, cp 418, and is here regarded as belonging to the group of early materials gathered by J before the incorporation of the Deluge narrative. The opening words 'and Noah the husbandman began and planted a vineyard' (Dillm, Strack, Kautzsch and Socin, Spurrall) suggest its connexion with other stories in which he had already appeared in that character. But in its present form it is supposed that it has been adapted to the later scheme of Noah's three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japheth. The writer intends to account for the enslaved condition of the Canaanites in after times; and the explanation implies that Canaan really played the part attributed

	J	J ¹ P
<p>• 27²⁵ P 43²¹ Deut 32²⁸ q Prov 18² q†</p>	<p>21 and he 'drank of the wine, and 'was drunken; and he 'was uncovered within his "tent. 22 And <i>Ham, the father of Canaan</i>, saw the nakedness of his father, and 'told his two brethren without. 23 And Shem and Japheth took a 'garment, and 'laid it upon both their shoulders, and went backward, and covered the nakedness of their father; and their faces were backward, and they saw not their father's nakedness. 24 And Noah 'awoke from his wine, and knew what his 'youngest son had 'done unto him. 25 And he said, 'Curst be Canaan; A 'servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren. 26 And he said, 'Blessed be Yahweh, the 'God of Shem; And let Canaan be "his servant. 27 God 'enlarge Japheth, And "let him 'dwell in the "tents of Shem; And let Canaan be "his servant.</p>	<p>w 220 x 218 y 161 z 193 a' 146^b b' 24 c' 207 d' 10^c e' 120</p>
<p>• q† cp 26²² i 161² 26² 35²² q¹⁸ Num 23⁹ Deut 33¹² al at 75⁴ u Cp 57¹...</p>	<p>28 And Noah "lived "after the flood three hundred and fifty years. 29 And all the 'days of Noah were nine hundred and fifty years: and he died.</p>	<p>f' 181</p>
<p>a 21 25 41²⁰</p>	<p>...1^b "And "unto them were sons born after the flood. . .</p>	<p>a 77</p>
<p>b 2. 4. 22- cp 46¹.</p>	<p>2^b The sons of Japheth; Gomer, and Magog, and Madai, and Javan, and Tubal, and Meshech, and Tiras. 3 And ^bthe sons of Gomer; Ashkenaz, and "Riphath, and Togarmah. 4 And ^bthe sons of Javan; Elishah, and Tarshish, Kittim, and "Dodanim. 5 "Of these were the "isles of the nations ^ddivided "in their lands, every one "after his tongue; "after their families, "in their nations. 6 And ^bthe sons of Ham; Cush, and Mizraim, and Put, and Canaan. 7 And ^bthe sons of Cush; Seba, and Havilah, and Sabtah, and Raamah, and Sabteca: and ^bthe sons of Raamah; Sheba, and Dedan.</p>	<p>b 18 c 65 d 35</p>
<p>c Cp 20 21 d 20 13¹¹ cp 21⁶ e 20 21</p>		

to Ham. From ²⁶ it appears that the act of filial dishonour was committed by Noah's youngest son; whereas Ham is always enumerated in the second place. Further, the curse does not alight on Ham, but on Canaan ²⁵, 'brother' of Shem and Japheth, which has led to the conjecture (Wellh, Budde, Kuen, and others) that according to the original narrative the three sons were Shem, Japheth, and Canaan. In that case, the words in ²² *Ham the father of* belong to the later harmonist.

q²⁶ M Or, younger.—Cp 27¹⁰ 43 29¹⁶ 18.

26 M Or, *their*.

27 M Or, *he shall*.

27^b M Or, *their*.

10¹² T now, q and. The framework of the Table of Nations in 10 consists of a *tol'dhoth* section concerning the three Sons of Noah, cp 6⁵ 1¹⁴. The descendants of each progenitor are briefly enumerated, the survey beginning from Japheth and finally contracting to Shem, the ancestor of Abraham, cp 11¹⁰. . . Each group opens and closes with the recurring formulae so frequent in P. But the compiler has incorporated material in a totally different style. At ⁸ attention is at once arrested by the form of the word 'begat,' ct '30. The passage thus opened soon shows other linguistic peculiarities (see margin ⁸) and

contains a quantity of detail by no means consonant with what has just preceded, eg the descendants of Mizraim ¹⁵. . . and Canaan ¹⁶. . ., which have apparently replaced the parallel statements of P, Mizraim, Put, and Canaan having there no recorded offspring. Similarly the line of Shem ²¹ through Arpachshad ²⁴. . . is traced in a manner wholly unlike P's genealogy in 11¹⁰. . . (cp the two pedigrees in 4 and 5); Sheba ¹⁸ Havilah ²⁹ are Cushite ⁷ not Joktanite and ²⁵⁻³⁰ is phraseologically connected with ²⁻¹⁰. The use of the name Yahweh ⁹, the proverbial citation ⁹, the historic reminiscence ¹⁰. . ., the geographical detail ^{19 30}, the derivation ²⁵ are all in the manner of J. It may be doubted, however, whether the portions thus recovered for J are quite homogeneous; see 1^b 9 16 ²⁴.

1^b It is not the method of P to insert such a clause after his *tol'dhoth* formula by means of the copula: moreover this bears the form of the J sections in this chapter, and of corresponding passages previously. It is possible that it originally followed q¹⁸, and was transposed when 1^b was editorially inserted.

3 M In 1 Chron 1⁶, *Diphath*.

4 M In 1 Chron 1⁷, *Rodanim*.

5 M Or. *coastlands*.

J	J	P	
	<p>⁸ And Cush ⁹begat Nimrod: he ¹⁰began to be a ¹¹'mighty one in the earth. ⁹ <i>"He was a ¹¹'mighty ¹²'hunter before Yahweh: ¹³'wherefore it is said, Like Nimrod a mighty hunter before Yahweh.</i> ¹⁰ And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar. ¹¹ Out of that land ¹²he went forth into Assyria, and ¹³'builed Nineveh, and Rehoboth-Ir, and Calah, ¹² and Resen between Nineveh and Calah (<i>the same is the great city</i>). ¹³ And Mizraim ¹⁴'begat Ludim, and Anamim, and Lehabim, and Naphtuhim, ¹⁴ and Pathrusim, and Casluhim (<i>whence went forth ¹⁵'the Philistines</i>), and Caphtorim.</p> <p>¹⁵ And Canaan ¹⁶'begat Zidon his firstborn, and Heth; ¹⁶ <i>"and the Jebusite, and the Amorite, and the Girgashite; ¹⁷and the Hivite, and the Arkite, and the Sinite; ¹⁸and the Arvadite, and the Zemarite, and the Hamathite:</i> and afterward were the families of the ¹⁹'Canaanite ²⁰'spread abroad. ¹⁹ And the border of the ²⁰'Canaanite was from Zidon, ²¹as thou goest toward Gerar, unto Gaza; as thou goest toward Sodom and Gomorrah and Admah and Zebaiim, unto Lasha.</p> <p>²¹ And unto Shem, ²²'the father of all the children of Eber, ²³'the elder brother of Japheth, to him ²⁴'also ²⁵'were children born. . .</p> <p>²⁴ ²⁴ "And Arpachshad ²⁵'begat Shelah; and Shelah ²⁶'begat Eber. ²⁵ And ²⁶'unto Eber ²⁷'were born two sons:</p>		<p>c 7 f 8 g 184 h 5 172 i 85</p>
f 112 141 9 Josh 721 9 417			
A Cp 1272			J 17 k 6
i 426 6		<p>²⁰ 'These are the sons of Ham, ²¹'after their families, ²²'after their tongues, ²³'in their lands, ²⁴'in their nations.</p> <p>²² 'The sons of Shem; Elam, and Asshur, and Arpachshad, and Lud, and Aram. ²³ And ²⁴'the sons of Aram; Uz, and Hul, and Gether, and Mash.</p>	l 188 m 196

¹⁰ The description of Nimrod in ⁸ as a mighty one (*Gibbor*) suggests power and dominion such as is indicated in ¹⁰ by the mention of his kingdom. The intervening statement that he was a 'mighty one at hunting' implies some different connexion (unless it is simply founded on the proverb cited in ^{9b}), and is apparently attached to its context only by the occurrence of the term *gibbor*.

¹¹ M Or, *went forth Asshur*.

¹⁴ M 6 *Pelishtim*.—This clause seems to be a misplaced gloss belonging to the word Caphtorim, cp Am 9⁷ Deut 23² Jer 47⁴.

¹⁸ This long enumeration of Canaanite tribes seems inconsistent with the subsequent affirmation in ^{18b}, for it implies the very dispersion there said to have taken place 'afterwards.' The peculiar forms of the names are unlike other names in

this table, but resemble lists elsewhere, eg 15¹⁸⁻²¹, which have often the air of additions to the text.

^{21a} The words 'father of all the children of Eber' have been sometimes regarded as a harmonizing addition. Or the original may have run 'father of Eber.'

^{21b} M Or, *the brother of Japheth the elder*.

^{24a} The origin of this verse is uncertain. Dillmann regards it as really derived by the compiler from 11¹⁰⁻¹⁴ and inserted here to connect Shem ²¹ with Eber ²⁵. But if so, why did not the borrower transfer also P's customary form for *begat* ²⁵, i.e. 'cause to bear,' instead of adopting the unusual application of the word 'to bear'? The comparison of the genealogies in 4 and 5 suggests that in 11¹⁰, also P worked upon previous material, of which a trace may have been here preserved.

^{24b} M 6 reads, *begat Cainan, and Cainan begat Shelah*.

J

J'

P

¹the name of the one was ²Peleg; for in his days was the earth ³divided; and his ⁴brother's name was Joktan. ²⁶And Joktan ⁵begat Almodad, and Sheleph, and Hazarmaveth, and Jerah; ²⁷and Hadoram, and Uzal, and Diklah; ²⁸and ⁶Obal, and Abimael, and Sheba; ²⁹and Ophir, and Havilah, and Jobab: all these were the sons of Joktan. ³⁰And their ⁷dwell-
ing was from Mesha, ⁸as thou goest toward Sephar, the ⁹mountain of the east.

³¹These are the sons of Shem, ¹after their families, ²after their tongues, ³in their lands, ⁴after their nations.

³²These are the families of the sons of Noah, ⁵after their generations, ⁶in their nations: and of these were the nations ⁷divided in the earth after the flood.

¹¹And the whole earth was of one ²language and of one ³speech. ⁴And ⁵it came to pass, ⁶as they ⁷journeyed ⁸east, that they ⁹found a plain in the land of ¹⁰Shinar; and they dwelt there. ¹¹And they said ¹²one to another, ¹³Go to, let us ¹⁴make brick, and burn them throughly. And they had brick for stone, and ¹⁵slime had they for ¹⁶mortar. ¹⁷And they said, ¹⁸Go to, let us ¹⁹build us a city, and a ²⁰tower, whose top [may reach] unto heaven, and let us make us a name; lest we be ²¹scattered abroad upon the ²²face of the whole earth. ²³And Yahweh ²⁴came down to ²⁵see the city and the tower, which the children of men builded. ²⁶And Yahweh said, Behold, they are one people, and they have all one language; and this is what they ²⁷begin to do: and ²⁸now nothing will be ²⁹withholden from them, which they ³⁰purpose to do. ³¹Go to, let us ³²go down, and there ³³confound their language, that they may not understand ³⁴one another's speech. ³⁵So Yahweh ³⁶scattered them abroad from thence upon the ³⁷face of all the earth: and they ³⁸left off to build the city. ³⁹Therefore was the name of it called Babel; because Yahweh did there ⁴⁰confound the language of all the earth: and from thence did Yahweh ⁴¹scatter them abroad upon the ⁴²face of all the earth.

¹⁰THESE ARE THE GENERATIONS of Shem. Shem was an ¹¹hundred years ¹²old, and ¹³begat Arpachshad ¹⁴two years after the flood: ¹⁵and ¹⁶Shem lived after he begat Arpachshad five hundred years, and begat sons and daughters. ¹⁷And Arpachshad lived five and thirty years, and begat Shelah: ¹⁸and

[That is, Division. — The following clause may be a later

n 1 Chron 1²², Ebal.

r, hill country.

his story is plainly derived from a cycle of traditions ant of those now contained in 10. It is excluded from share assigned in it to Yahweh, as well as by its contents. But it further appears incompatible with sentation of the dispersion of the new race derived h in J¹. That was the issue of a natural process of ; here, the ambition of youthful humanity draws m it a divine doom. The description of the united n of the earth speaking one language and travelling shion eastward cannot therefore apply to the peoples already taken up their geographical positions; it her to fit the race whose advance is sketched in 4¹⁶. . already learned the art of city-building; and the the land of Shinar apparently belongs to an earlier stories before the historical glimpses in 10¹⁰⁻¹². But

in the process of incorporation into J's series, the narrative has received the impress of his style.

¹⁵ M ⁵ lip.—¹ 6. ² et 10⁵.

² M Or, in the east.

³ M ⁵ balal, to confound.

^{10a} The sequel of the *tol'dhoth* of the sons of Noah 10¹. From among the sons of Shem 10²² the line of Israel's ancestry is now traced through Arpachshad. For the forms of recurring phrases see 5.

^{10b} As it is difficult to reconcile this figure with other numerical data in P, the words are possibly a later addition. After completing his 500th year Noah begets Shem 5²², whose birth may be therefore assigned to Noah's 501st. The flood arrives in Noah's 600th 7¹¹, i.e. Shem's ninety-ninth, and lasts till Noah's 601st 8¹³; i.e. Shem's 100th. Two years 'after the flood,' therefore—the phrase denotes not its beginning but its end cp 9²⁸—Shem would be in his 102nd year, or 101 years old. The error appears to arise from neglect of the year occupied by the flood.

J

P

Arpachshad lived after he begat Shelah four hundred and three years, and begat sons and daughters.

¹⁴ And Shelah lived thirty years, and begat Eber : ¹⁵ and Shelah lived after he begat Eber four hundred and three years, and begat sons and daughters.

¹⁶ And Eber lived four and thirty years, and begat Peleg : ¹⁷ and Eber lived after he begat Peleg four hundred and thirty years, and begat sons and daughters.

¹⁸ And Peleg lived thirty years, and begat Reu : ¹⁹ and Peleg lived after he begat Reu two hundred and nine years, and begat sons and daughters.

²⁰ And Reu lived two and thirty years, and begat Serug : ²¹ and Reu lived after he begat Serug two hundred and seven years, and begat sons and daughters.

²² And Serug lived thirty years, and begat Nahor : ²³ and Serug lived after he begat Nahor two hundred years, and begat sons and daughters.

²⁴ And Nahor lived nine and twenty years, and begat Terah : ²⁵ and Nahor lived after he begat Terah an hundred and nineteen years, and begat sons and daughters.

²⁶ And Terah lived seventy years, and begat Abram, Nahor, and Haran.

²⁷ *AND *THESE ARE THE GENERATIONS of Terah. Terah *begat Abram, Nahor, and Haran ; and Haran begat Lot.

... ²⁸ *And Haran died in the presence of his father Terah in the land of his *nativity, *in *Ur of the Chaldees. ²⁹ And Abram and Nahor *took them wives : the name of Abram's wife was Sarai ; and the name of Nahor's wife, Milcah, the daughter of Haran, the father of Milcah, and the father of Iscah. ³⁰ And Sarai was *barren ; she had no *child.

³¹ *And Terah *took Abram his son, and Lot the son of Haran, his son's son, and Sarai his daughter in law, his son Abram's wife ; and they *went forth with them from *Ur of the Chaldees, to go into the land of *Canaan ; and they came unto *Haran, and dwelt there. ³² And the *days of Terah were two hundred and five years : and Terah died in Haran.

¹²¹ *Now Yahweh said unto Abram, *Get thee out of thy *country, and from

* 28 31 157 Neh
9st

o 25st 20st Ex
23rd Deut 7th 14th
p Op 2 Sam 6th 23rd
q 12th

r 12th

a 22nd 5th of 11th 31
b 24th 30th 32nd
Num 10th

p 60
q 82

r 4
s 18

¹¹⁷ T Nov. 5 as in 10¹.

^{28a} The descent of Abram in J has apparently been omitted in favour of the more elaborate genealogy in P (cp Noah in 4-5). But the fragment in ²⁸⁻³⁰, obviously not homogeneous with P, is naturally referred to it, as the phraseological indications all belong to J.

^{28b} It is doubtful whether the reference to Ur of the Chaldees is original in this verse. Ur is named three times in Gen as the original home of Abram, cp ³¹ 15⁷. But a difficulty arises about its locality. It is prevailingly identified with the modern Mugheir on the right bank of the Euphrates in southern Babylonia. But other statements in J imply that Abram's birthplace was by no means so far south. In ²⁷ 28¹⁰ 29⁵ Abraham's kindred ²² 20¹ are all at Haran, and this apparently is the 'land of his nativity' ²⁴ 10 whence Yahweh brought him. Dillmann therefore supposes that the allusions to Ur in J have been inserted by the compiler, from some unknown source. Similar reasoning is applied by him to the occurrence of the name ³¹ in P. The general references in ⁸⁴ 11¹⁰⁻²⁰ connect the line of Terah with northern Mesopotamia, cp ²⁵ 20 28²; the intrusion of a southern name, therefore, must be due to an effort to incorporate a different tradition. But of this further source

Dillmann does not produce any other trace, and the suggestion of triple interpolation seems rather forced. Assuming the correctness of the geographical identification, it is possible to account for the name on the hypothesis that it belongs to the cycle of the flood story, the Babylonian prototype of which was located in the south. Or it is conceivable that there was more than one Ur, and that this must be sought in some other district. Chased, the eponymous ancestor of Chaldees (the Chaldees), is not mentioned till ²² 22².

³¹ The minuteness of description in ^{31a} is quite after the manner of P, cp ⁷ 13 8¹⁵ &c. The emigration-formula in ³² harmonizes with that in ¹² 5 and its parallels, while ³² follows P's well-known method of numerical precision. The announcement of Terah's death might seem to prepare the way for 'these are the generations of Abram.' But if that title ever existed, cp ¹¹ 27 25¹⁹, it has disappeared in the process of combining J and P.

¹²¹ The regularity of P's plan suggests that the *tot'd'edh* of Terah ²⁷ led to a similar section for Abram, its introductory formula having been removed in the process of compilation. The group of narratives in which Abraham is the chief figure 12-26 is found on analysis to be of mixed nature.

J	P
<p>thy 'kindred, and from thy 'father's house, unto the land that I will shew thee: ² and I will 'make of thee a great nation, and I will 'bless thee, and 'make thy name 'great: and be thou a blessing: ³ and I will bless them that bless thee, and him that 'curseth thee will I 'curse: and in thee shall all the 'families of the earth be 'blessed. ⁴ So Abram went, 'as Yahweh had spoken unto him; and Lot went with him.</p>	<p>a 60 b 153 c 166 d 10^b</p>
<p>⁵ And Abram passed through the land unto the place of 'Shechem, unto the 'oak of Moreh. ⁶ And the 'Canaanite was then in the land. ⁷ And Yahweh appeared unto Abram, and said, Unto thy seed will I 'give this land: and there 'builded he an altar unto Yahweh, 'who appeared unto him. ⁸ And he 'removed from thence unto the mountain 'on the east of 'Beth-el, and 'pitched his 'tent, having Beth-el on the west, and 'Ai on the east: and there he 'builded an altar unto Yahweh, and 'called upon the name of Yahweh. ⁹ And Abram 'journeyed, 'going on still toward the 'South.</p>	<p>e 155 f 146 g 4 h 119^a i 17^a j 137 k 27 l 220 m 15^a</p>
<p>¹⁰ And there was a famine in the land: and Abram 'went down into Egypt to 'sojourn there; for the 'famine was sore in the land. ¹¹ And it came to pass, when he was 'come near to enter into Egypt, that he said unto Sarai his wife, 'Behold now, I know that thou art a 'fair woman to look upon: ¹² and 'it shall come to pass, 'when the Egyptians shall see thee, that they shall say, This is his wife: and they will 'kill me, but they will 'save thee alive. ¹³ Say, 'I pray thee, thou art my sister: that it may 'be well with me 'for thy sake, and that my soul may live 'because of thee. ¹⁴ And it came to pass, that, when Abram was come into Egypt, the Egyptians beheld the woman that she was very fair. ¹⁵ And the 'princes of Pharaoh saw her, and 'praised her to Pharaoh: and the woman was taken into Pharaoh's house. ¹⁶ And he 'entreated Abram well 'for her sake: ¹⁷ and he had 'sheep, and oxen^a, and he-asses, and menservants, and 'maidservants, and she-</p>	<p>n 26 o 127^a p 9 q 152 r 210 s 186 t 71^a u 127^b v 191 w 38 x 33 y 41</p>

in combination much has been curtailed, and in fitting separate stories unconnected by dates into the more precise logical framework of P, some dislocations have been made, and occasional fragments may be detected in the exact connexion of which now seems lost beyond

1-4 continues 11:28-30, 'now' = ⁵ 'and.' The mention of Abram's age on his migration from Haran mainly follow the account of the migration itself; it owes fiction in the text to E who used it as the link between 12-13 and 14 as in 12:1 'went forth to go into the land Canaan.'

[Or, terebinth.

p 137. Many critics regard these as editorial notes.

his verse may be due to the compiler who has attached Egyptian episode 10-20 by its means.

[⁵ Negob, the southern tract of Judah.

the narrative in 10-20 shows the general style and language

of J (cp 17). But it is in reality the first of three, dealing with a common incident, cp 18 20^a 26¹⁰, 'she is my sister' 18 20^b 26⁹. The second, in 20¹⁷⁻¹⁷, locates it at the court of Abimelech, king of Gerar. In the third the scene remains unchanged, but Isaac and Rebekah replace Abraham and Sarah 26⁷⁻¹¹. Are all these stories told by the same writer? The second will be found to belong to the document designated E (cp *Introd* XI 1); the first and last apparently belong to J. The difficulty, however, reappears; did the same hand produce them both? The greater simplicity of 26⁷⁻¹¹ suggests that it belongs to an earlier stratum of tradition; in 12 the court of Pharaoh with its princes¹⁵, the wealth and dignity of Abram¹⁶, are described with more elaboration; the transaction is carried further, for Sarai is actually taken into Pharaoh's palace, and great plagues descend on Pharaoh and his house. The narrative, therefore, may be assigned to the secondary elements of J (cp *Introd* XI 6β i 109). It will be noticed that Lot is not mentioned in it.

	J	P
<p>2 Kings 15⁵ 2 Chron 26²⁰ 97 f' Ex 11:1 et Lev 13²⁵ g' 20:11 18 43¹⁸ Ex 8:12 9 h' Cp 11:29 i' 24⁵¹ a 50⁵ 7 b 12⁹ c 24⁸⁵ 59 Num 22¹⁹ d Ct Ex 17¹ Num 10:12 e 12⁸ f 12⁴ g 36⁷ h 26²⁰ i Cp 24⁴⁶ 29¹³ j Cp 20:15 34¹⁰ 21 k 21⁶ l Cp 24⁴⁹ m 9 cp 22⁵ n 19¹³ o 19²² p 11² q 10⁵</p>	<p>asses, and ^acamels. ¹⁷ And Yahweh ^cplagued Pharaoh and his house with great ^fplagues ^gbecause of Sarai Abram's wife. ¹⁸ And Pharaoh ^acalled Abram, and said, ^bWhat is this that thou hast done unto me? why didst thou not ^ctell me that she was thy wife? ¹⁹ Why saidst thou, She is my sister? so that I ^ktook her to be my wife: ^dnow therefore behold thy wife, ^etake her, and ^ego thy way. ²⁰ And Pharaoh gave men charge concerning him: and they ^fbrought him on the way, and his wife, and ^gall that he had.</p> <p>¹³ ¹And Abram ^awent up out of Egypt, he, and his wife, and ^aall that he had, and ^aLot with him, into the ^bSouth.</p> <p>² And Abram was very ^brich in ^ccattle, in ^csilver, and in ^cgold.</p> <p>³ ^aAnd he ^awent on his journeys from the ^bSouth even to ^cBeth-el, unto the place where his ^dtent had been at the ^ebeginning, between Beth-el and Ai; ⁴ unto the place of the ^ealtar, which he had made there at the first: and there Abram ^acalled on the name of Yahweh.</p> <p>⁵ And Lot ^balso, which ^fwent with Abram, had ^fflocks, and herds, and ^etents,</p> <p>⁶ and they could not dwell together.</p> <p>⁷ And there was a ^kstrife between the ^kherdmen of Abram's ^ccattle and the herdmen of Lot's cattle: ^aand the ¹Canaanite and the Perizzite dwelled then in the land. ⁸ And Abram said unto Lot, Let there be no strife, ^mI pray thee, between me and thee, and between my ^kherdmen and thy herdmen; for we are ^bbrethren.</p> <p>⁹ Is not the whole land ^bbefore thee? ^kseparate thyself, ^mI pray thee, from me: if [thou wilt take] the ^eleft hand, then I will go to the right; or if [thou take] the ^eright hand, then I will go to the left.</p> <p>¹⁰ And Lot ^blifted up his eyes, and beheld all the ^mPlain of Jordan, that it was well ^mwatered every where, before Yahweh ^adestroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, like the ^ggarden of Yahweh, like the land of Egypt, ^bas thou goest unto ^cZoar. ¹¹ So Lot chose him all the Plain of Jordan; and Lot ^pjourneyed ^eeast:</p> <p>¹¹ and they ^eseparated themselves the ^eone from the other. ¹² Abram dwelled in the ^bland of Canaan, and Lot dwelled in the cities of the Plain^a. [->19²⁹]</p>	<p>z 16 a' 130 b' 140 c' 218 d' 187 e' 165 f' 205 g' 124 h 124 b 78 c 18 d 220 e 8b f 137 g 15 h 126 i 33 j 155 k 208 l 27b m 186 n 170a o 37 p 5 q 27 r 184 s 4</p>

¹³ In combining the later story of the visit to Egypt with the narrative of the separation of Abram and Lot, it was necessary to relate Abram's return to middle Canaan, where tradition placed the parting. As nothing was said of Lot's presence in Egypt 12¹⁰⁻²⁰, it is believed that the words 'and Lot with him' are due to the harmonist. But the whole verse may be really his.

³⁻⁴ The editorial connexion of 12¹⁰⁻¹³ with the account of Lot's choice.

⁶ P summarizes the incident, in his usual method in cases

which he does not select for expansion (cp the reference to Isaac's marriage 25²⁰ with 24). With similar brevity the separation of Esau from Jacob is narrated in corresponding terms in 36⁶.

⁷ Probably another editorial note, cp 12⁶.

¹⁰ M Or, Circle.—Cp 19¹⁷ Deut 34³.

¹² The brief statement concerning Abram and Lot may have been originally followed by the conclusion of the latter's share in the narrative 19²⁹, now awkwardly appended to J's account of his escape on occasion of the overthrow 19¹²⁻²².

J

and 'moved his tent as far as Sodom.
 13 Now the men of Sodom were wicked and sinners against Yahweh exceedingly.

14 And Yahweh said unto Abram, after that Lot was separated from him, "Lift up "now thine eyes, and look from the place where thou art, 'northward and southward and eastward and westward": 15 for all the land which thou seest, to thee will I 'give it, and to thy seed for ever. 16 And I will "make thy 'seed as the dust of the earth: so that if a man can number the dust of the earth, then shall thy seed 'also be numbered. 17 "Arise, walk through the land in the length of it and in the breadth of it; for unto thee will I 'give it.

18 2 And Abram 'moved his tent, and came and dwelt by the "oaks of "Mamre, which are in Hebron, and 'built there an altar unto Yahweh.

P

14¹ 1 And it came to pass in the days of Amraphel king of "Shinar, Arioch king of Ellasar, Chedorlaomer king of 'Elam, and Tidal king of "Goiim, 2 that they 'made war with Bera king of "Sodom, and with Birsha king of "Gomorra, Shinab king of 'Admah, and Shemeber king of "Zeboiim, and the king of 'Bela (the same is Zoar). 3 All these "joined together in the 'vale of 'Siddim (the same is the 'Salt Sea). 4 Twelve years they 'served Chedorlaomer, and in the thirteenth year they 'rebelled. 5 And in the fourteenth year came Chedorlaomer, and the kings that were with him, and smote the 'Rephaim in 'Ashteroth-karnaim, and the "Zuzim in 'Ham, and the 'Emim in "Shaveh-'kiriathaim, 6 and the 'Horites in their mount Seir, unto 'El-paran, which is by the wilderness. 7 And they returned, and came to 'En-mishpat (the same is 'Kadesh), and smote all the "country of the 'Amalekites, and 'also the 'Amorites, that dwelt in 'Hazazon-tamar. 8 And there went out the king of Sodom, and the king of Gomorra, and the king of Admah, and the king of Zeboiim, and the king of Bela (the same is Zoar); and they set the battle in array against them in the vale of Siddim; 9 against Chedorlaomer king of Elam, and Tidal king of Goiim, and Amraphel king of Shinar, and Arioch king of Ellasar; four kings against the five. 10 Now the vale of Siddim was full of "slime pits; and the kings of Sodom and Gomorra fled, and they fell there, and they that remained fled to the mountain. 11 And they took all the 'goods of Sodom and Gomorra, and all their victuals, and went their way. 12 And they took Lot, 'Abram's brother's son, who dwelt in "Sodom, and his 'goods, and departed. 13 And there came one that had 'escaped, and 'told 'Abram the Hebrew: now he dwelt by the "oaks of 'Mamre the 'Amorite, brother of 'Eshcol, and brother of 'Aner; and these were 'confederate with Abram. 14 And when Abram heard that his brother was taken 'captive, he 'led forth his trained men, 'born in his house', three hundred and eighteen, and pursued as far as 'Dan. 15 And he 'divided himself against them by 'night, he and his 'servants, and smote them, and pursued them unto 'Hobah, which is on the 'left hand of Damascus. 16 And he brought back all the 'goods, and 'also brought again his brother Lot, and his 'goods, and the women 'also, and the people. 17 And the king of Sodom went out to 'meet him, after his return from the slaughter of Chedorlaomer and the kings that were with him, at the vale of Shaveh (the same is the 'King's Vale'). 18 "And Melchizedek king of 'Salem brought forth bread and wine: and he was priest of 'God 'Most High. 19 And he blessed him, and said, 'Blessed be Abram of "God Most High, "possessor of heaven

r 2814†

s 127

18 210d

f 1418 181

u Cp 2319

a 1010

b 1032

c Josh 1118

d 1019

e †

f 5†

g 3714 Num

1425 al

A Deut 317

Num 348

i Cp 207

j Num 149 Josh

2218 18 290

k Cp 25

l Deut 14

m Cp Deut 290

n Deut 210

o 17†

p Num 3287

q 3620 Deut

212 22

r 1614 201 Num

1326 201 al

s 3612 Ex 178 al

t 2 Chron 202†

u 113

r 1131

w 1319

x Josh 822 cp

Num 2129

y 24 1318

z 24 Num 1322

a' 3429 Num 211

al

b' 4235 Ex 159

Lev 2628

c' 1912 23 27 Lev

2211 P

d' Josh 1947

Judg 1829

e' 1 Kings 1621

f' Ps 762 cp Gen

3318

g' 17-20 22 Num

2416 Deut 3280

God Most High

Ps 7854†

13¹⁸ M Or, *terebinths*.—The local definition 'which are in Hebron' may be a later gloss.

14^{1a} Cp *Introd* XIV 1, XV 6, where the reasons for regarding this narrative as a late addition to the text are set forth.

15 M Or, *nations*.

8 M Or, *joined themselves together against*.

5 M Or, *the plain of Kiriathaim*.

10 M That is, *bitumen pits*.

13 M Or, *terebinths*.

7 M & *field*.

15 M Or, *north*.

18 The episode of Melchizedek 18-20 unexpectedly interrupts the interview between Abram and the king of Sodom 17 21, who is anxious to recover the captives but desires Abram to keep the 'goods' cp 16. Had these 'goods' been already tithed 20? It is possible that 18-20 was a subsequent addition to the story ('very largely revised by R.' Kittel, *Hist of the Hebr i* 179).

18 19a M & *El Elyon*.

19b M Or, *maker*.

A' Hos 11⁸ Prov
20 18d
i' Cp 28²²
j' Deut 32⁴⁰ cp
Ex 17¹⁶

k' 5^{*}

a 4 cp 1⁸

b Num 24¹⁶

Ezek 13⁷ cp

46² Num 12²

c Deut 33²⁹ Ps 3³

18² 30 35 al

d 41⁴⁹ Josh 13¹

Deut 3⁶ Josh

22⁵

e 30¹⁵ 32. 37⁸ Ex

2⁹ 22¹⁶ al

f⁸ Deut 32⁴ 9²⁶

Josh 7⁷

g Lev 20³⁰. Jer

22³⁰†

h 5†

i 5 = the son of

my house at

7¹⁵

j 25³³ et 17⁶ 35¹¹

46³⁰ Ex 1⁸

k 10¹⁷ 24³⁹ 30¹²

15 1⁸ Josh 2¹⁹

Deut 24¹¹ 25⁶

l Ct 12¹⁶ cp 21¹⁹

15¹⁶ 32¹⁵

m Ct 12¹⁶ cp 22¹⁷

26⁶ Ex 32¹³

n Ex 4¹ 5⁸ 81

14²¹ Num 14¹¹

o 38¹⁶ 5 et 50³⁰

p Ex 20² | Deut

5⁶†

q 11²³

r Cp 26⁹

s 5 = possess cp

28⁸

t 17²⁸

u Deut 32¹¹†

v 5†

and earth': 20 and 'blessed be "God Most High, which hath 'delivered thine enemies into thy hand. 21 And he gave him a 'tenth of all. 21 And the king of Sodom said unto Abram, Give me the 'persons, and take the 'goods to thyself. 22 And Abram said to the king of Sodom, I have 'lift up mine hand unto "Yahweh, "God Most High, 'possessor of heaven and earth, 23 that I will not take a 'thread nor a shoelatchet' nor 'aught that is thine, lest thou shouldest say, I have made Abram 'rich: 24 'save 'only that which the "young men have eaten, and the portion of the men which went with me; 'Aner, 'Eshcol, and 'Mamre, let them take their portion.

J E

JE

J E

P

... 15¹ "After these things the "word of Yahweh came unto Abram in a 'vision, saying, 'Fear not, Abram: I am thy 'shield, "[and] thy 'exceeding great' 'reward. 2 And Abram said, O 'Lord Yahweh, what wilt thou give me, seeing I "go 'childless, and he that shall be 'possessor of my house is "Dammesek Eliezer?

3 "And Abram said, Behold, to me thou hast given no seed: and, lo, 'one born in my house is mine heir. 4 And, behold, the "word of Yahweh came unto him, saying, This man shall not be thine heir; but he that shall come forth out of thine own 'bowels shall be thine heir.

5 And he brought him forth 'abroad, and said, 'Look 'now toward heaven, and 'tell the "stars, if thou be able to tell them: and he said unto him, "So shall thy 'seed be.

6 And he "believed in Yahweh; and he 'counted it to him for 'righteousness.

... 7 "And he said unto him, "I am Yahweh that brought thee out⁹ of 'Ur of the Chaldees, to 'give thee this land to 'inherit it. 8 And he said, O 'Lord Yahweh, whereby shall I know that I shall inherit it? 9 2 And he said unto him, Take me an heifer of 'three years old, and a she-goat of three years old, and a ram of three years old, and a turtledove, and a young "pigeon. 10 And he took him all these, and 'divided them in the midst, and laid 'each half 'over against the other: but the birds 'divided he not. 11 And the

j 146

k 2124

l 2789

m 2235

a 95

b 154

c 179

d 186

e 222

f 204

g 190

h 119

i 183

14²⁰ 22b M 5 El Elyon.

22a The combination of divine names is here unusual, and has evidently occasioned perplexity. ③ ④ omit 'Yahweh,' Sam supplies instead יהוה. On the hypothesis of the interpolation of 18-20, the most natural view would be that 'Yahweh' is original, and the other titles are derived from the supplemental passage.

22c M Or, maker.

24 M Or, let there be nothing for me; only that &c.—Cp 41¹⁶. 15¹ The phenomena of 15 are extremely complex and intricate, and all critics recognize that the analysis must be regarded as only probable. The chief peculiarities to be accounted for are the following. The vision of 1 is presumably in the night, and it is in accordance with this that in 5 Abram is brought forth to see the stars. But in 12 the sun has not yet set. This points to differences of origin. Further, in 3 the second answer of Abram repeats the first, and can hardly be from the same hand. Again, it is apparent that 9-11 and 17 are parts of the same story. But it is doubtful whether 12, originally belonged to it, as the deep sleep and great darkness 12 (before sunset) seem hardly consistent with the solemn manifestation in 17. Further, the two dates of 13 (400 years) and 16 (fourth generation) cannot be harmonized. The linguistic phenomena are no less perplexing. Several phrases appear unexpectedly which connect themselves with later literature. Thus 1 4 'word of Yahweh came,' not elsewhere in Hex, cp 2 Sam 7¹ | Kings 6¹¹ 13²⁰ 16¹ 17² 8 &c Hos 1¹ Mic 1¹ Is 28¹³ 38⁴ very common in Jer and Ezek: 1 'shield,' cp Deut 33²⁹ and 18²: 2 'Lord Yahweh' Deut 32⁴ 9²⁶ Josh 7⁷: 7 'I am Yahweh that brought thee out' Ex 20² || Deut 5⁴†: 7 'give thee this land to possess it' Deut 31⁸ 5³¹ 6⁸ 12¹ 10² 14²¹ Josh 11¹†: twenty-four times in Deut Ezr 9¹¹†: 18 'great river' Deut 1⁷ (11²⁴) Josh 1⁴ et Ex 23¹. These strongly support the view of a Deuteronomist redaction. Slight points of contact also present themselves with P, specially 'substance' 14 and less markedly 'good old age' 15. If 1-6 be allowed to be composite, it will be most

natural to assign one part to J and the other to E (cp 20¹ and Introd XII) who enters here for the first time. It is in E that communications come from the Deity by visions and dreams in the night (cp Introd XII 28 i 112) and the expression 'exceeding great' tends slightly in the same direction. The promises of seed in 4, are followed by the covenant of the gift of the land. These are not necessarily connected in time and may quite well belong to different traditions, see 7⁸. The covenant ceremony in 9, is no doubt described according to ancient ritual, cp Jer 34¹⁸. Lev 1⁷, though the language is different: the sacrificial animals are mostly those of the Levitical legislation, but the phraseology is unaffected by it.

15 M Or, thy reward shall be exceeding great.

24 M Or, go hence.

25 M The Chaldee and Syriac have, *Eliezer the Damascus*.—As Abraham's servant in 24² has no name, this verse is ascribed to E, leaving 3 for J. The title 'Lord Yahweh' does not necessarily make for J, as it may be redactional in both 2 and 3.

3 Apparently a duplicate of 2. It is possible that 3, 6 originally followed 18, and prepared the way for 19.

7 The covenant ceremony which solemnizes the announcement of the gift of the land is not necessarily consequent on the promise of an heir. According to 1, 5 the latter had been made in the night, though in 3, 6 no circumstance of time is specified. But the phraseology is not quite congruous with that of the latter passage, et 'inherit thee' (be thine heir) 4 and 'inherit it' 5. Moreover the demand for a sign in 5 is hardly in harmony with the faith commended in 6. If the transposition of 3, 6 to follow 18 be accepted, this passage 7-11 would presumably stand in the original document next to 13¹⁶, and the scene of the covenant would be placed at Hebron where Abram had built an altar cp 12⁷. Krätzschar (*Die Bundesvorstellung im AT* 61) proposes, however, to attach it to the first settlement of Abram in Shechem on his arrival in the land 12⁷, where a similar promise is made.

	J E	JE	J E P
w Is 18 ² 46 ¹¹ Jer 12 ⁹ Ezek 39 ⁴ Job 28 ⁷ z Num 14 ²² y Is 40 ⁷ Ps 147 ¹² z Ct 12 and 17 a ²¹ b Ex 15 ¹⁸ 23 ²⁷ Deut 32 ²⁰ Josh 2 ⁹ c Is 22 ² 50 ¹⁰ Ps 82 ³ 139 ¹² d Josh 23 ¹² cp 28 ⁷ e Ex 11 ¹ f 30 ² 49 ¹⁸ Deut 32 ²⁰ g Cp 155 h Cp 21 ¹ et 42 ²⁸ 44 ²⁹ Lev 19 ²⁸ Deut 32 ²⁰ 45 i 19 ¹⁸ j Cp 96 k Ezek 12 ⁴ -† l Cp 19 ²⁸ Ex 19 ¹⁸ m Ex 20 ¹⁸ n Ps 136 ¹² o 12 ⁷ p Ct Ex 23 ²¹ q Deut 17 cp 11 ²⁴ Josh 14 ⁴	"birds of prey came down upon the carcasses, and Abram drove them away. 12 "And when the sun was going down, a "deep sleep fell upon Abram; and, lo, an "horror of great darkness" fell upon him. 13 And he said unto Abram, "Know of a surety that thy seed shall be a stranger in a land that is not theirs, and shall serve them; and they shall afflict them four hundred years; 14 and also that nation, whom they shall serve, will I judge: and afterward shall they come out with great substance. 15 But thou shalt go to thy fathers in peace; thou shalt be buried in a "good old age. ... 16 And in the fourth generation they shall come hither again: for the "iniquity of the Amorite is not yet full. . . 17 And it came to pass, that when the sun went down, and it was dark, behold a "smoking furnace, and a flaming torch that passed between these "pieces. 18 "In that day Yahweh made a covenant with Abram, saying, Unto thy seed have I "given this land, from the "river of Egypt unto the "great river, the river Euphrates". 19 "The Kenite, and the Kenizzite, and the Kadmonite, 20 and the Hittite, and the Perizzite, and the Rephaim, 21 and the Amorite, and the Canaanite, and the Girgashite, and the Jebusite.	j 236 k 196 l 171 m 149 n 181	
a 22 ²⁴ 24 ²⁹ 25 ¹ 32 ¹ 6 b 20 ¹⁸ c 30 ²⁸ d 13 ¹² e 12 ⁴⁶	...1b "and she had an "handmaid, an Egyptian, "whose name was Hagar. 2 And Sarai said unto Abram, bBehold now, Yahweh hath brestrained me from bearing; "go in, "I pray thee, unto my "handmaid; "it may be that I shall "obtain children by her. And Abram hearkened to the voice of Sarai. 3 and Sarai Abram's wife took Hagar the Egyptian, her handmaid, after Abram had dwelt ten years in the land of Canaan, and gave her to Abram her husband to be his wife.	a 41 b 9 c 163 d 186 e 64 f 44 g 4	

15¹² The passage in 12-16 appears to interrupt the description of the covenant ceremony in 7-11.17. It is concerned with another subject, the Egyptian bondage, and it breaks the guardian watch which Abram kept around the divided members of the covenant sacrifice, for who frightened away the birds of prey when he had sunk into the 'deep sleep'? It is therefore treated as an editorial interpolation designed to reconcile the divine promise of the land with the subjection of Israel in Egypt. But the duration assigned to their servitude, four hundred years 15, is not coherent with the promise of return in the fourth generation 16, and 16 therefore must be attributed to another source. The reference to the 'Amorite' suggests that this is E.

15 The definition of the boundaries is probably due to E; see the margin, and et 31²¹ Ex 23²¹ Josh 24², 14.

16 The loose grammatical connexion makes it probable that this list is an editorial appendix. For similar enumerations cp Ex 3²². In Deut 7 it appears that a traditional reckoning of seven nations has established itself. This list, being the most elaborate of all, is probably the latest (cp Dillm) from the hand of E⁴. In 21 after 'Canaanite' G and Sam add 'the Hivite.'

16¹⁸ The birth of Ishmael is related by P in preparation for the promise in 17²⁰. . . The passages which lead up to 17 are easily isolated from a mixed context by the data of Abram's age. When Abram is ninety-nine years of age 17¹ 24, Ishmael is thirteen 25. At the birth of his son, therefore, Abram is eighty-six 16¹⁴; and his union with Hagar accordingly takes place ten years after he has entered Canaan at the age of seventy-five 16¹ 15¹⁶. The description of Sarai as Abram's wife in 16³ justifies

the ascription of 16 to P, who no doubt had his own notice of Sarai's childlessness, already recorded by J in 11³⁰.

16 With P's brief and formal statement E has incorporated a narrative 16-2 4-14 easily identified with J (Yahweh 2 against P, and contrast 10-12 with 17²⁰, handmaid 17⁴¹ against E, &c). The opening has been removed to make way for P in 16 but J has already mentioned Sarai's barrenness 11³⁰. Closer examination shows that a parallel incident is related in 21⁸⁻²¹. The two stories have a common object, to account for the separation of the Israelites and Ishmaelites, who nevertheless traced their descent from the same ancestor. They ascribe the same cause to Hagar's departure, viz Sarai's jealousy 16⁴⁻⁶ 21⁹⁻¹¹. The crisis is located in the same scene, near a well in the wilderness on the south 16⁷ 21¹⁴. The angel of Yahweh 16⁷ has his counterpart in the angel of Elohim 21¹⁷. The promise of future greatness for Ishmael 16¹⁰ is repeated 21¹⁸, and the same interpretation of the name is suggested 16¹¹ 21¹⁷. It cannot be supposed (Introd i 29) that one writer should have thus duplicated his own details, and the analysis will show that 21⁸⁻²¹ belongs to E. In fitting them together, the editor of JE found it necessary to get Hagar back to her mistress, to provide opportunity for the second story, and 16⁹ must therefore be assigned to the harmonist (some critics adding 9). In 10 there seems to be an independent addition after the manner of 13¹⁴⁻¹⁷ assuming the birth of the son first promised in 11. The threefold repetition of the formula 'and the angel of Yahweh said unto her' 9 10 11 thus finds a natural explanation.

2 M 5 be builded by her.

J	E	JE	J	E	P
<i>f</i> 2. 6*		⁴ And he 'went in unto Hagar, and she 'conceived: and when she saw that she had 'conceived, her 'mistress was 'despised in her eyes. ⁵ And Sarai said unto Abram, 'My wrong be upon thee: I gave my 'handmaid into thy 'bosom; and when she saw that she had 'conceived, I was 'despised in her eyes: Yahweh 'judge between me and thee. ⁶ But Abram said unto Sarai, Behold, thy 'maid is in thy hand; 'do to her that which is 'good in thine eyes. And Sarai 'dealt hardly with her, and she 'fled from her face. ⁷ And the 'angel of Yahweh 'found her by a 'fountain of water in the wilderness, by the fountain in the way to 'Shur. ⁸ And he said, Hagar, Sarai's 'handmaid, whence camest thou? and whither goest thou? And she said, I 'flee from the face of my 'mistress Sarai.			<i>h</i> 21
<i>g</i> 6 89 11*		⁹ And the 'angel of Yahweh said unto her, Return to thy 'mistress, and 'submit thyself under her hands.			
<i>h</i> Jer 51:35 6†		¹⁰ And the 'angel of Yahweh said unto her, I will 'greatly 'multiply thy 'seed, that it shall not be 'numbered for multitude ^p .			<i>i</i> 146 ^b
<i>cp</i> 2713		¹¹ And the 'angel of Yahweh said unto her, Behold, thou art 'with child, and shalt bear a son; and 'thou shalt call his name 'Ishmael, because Yahweh hath heard thy 'affliction. ¹² And he shall be [as] a 'wild-ass among men; his hand [shall be] against every man, and every man's hand against him; and he shall dwell 'in the presence of all his brethren. ¹³ And she called the name of Yahweh that spake unto her, 'Thou art 'a God that seeth: for she said, Have I 'even here 'looked after him that seeth me? ¹⁴ 'Wherefore the well was 'called 'Beer-lahai-roi; behold, it is between 'Kadesh and 'Bered ^r .			<i>j</i> 153 <i>k</i> 4 <i>l</i> 157 <i>m</i> 227
<i>i</i> Ex 4. Num 11:12					
<i>j</i> 31:13 <i>cp</i> 18:25 Ex 5:21					
<i>k</i> 29 ⁸					
<i>l</i> 6 = afflict					
<i>31:50</i> Ex 11:11					
<i>cp</i> 128					
<i>m</i> 20:1 25:18 Ex 15:22*					
<i>n</i> 6* <i>cp</i> <i>l</i>					
<i>o</i> 316					<i>n</i> 227 <i>o</i> 204
<i>p</i> 32:12 : Kings 3 ⁸					
<i>85</i> : Chron 5:4†					
<i>q</i> 38:24 Ex 21:22*					
<i>cp</i> 21					
<i>r</i> 25:22 Ex 27:21					
<i>cp</i> Hos 8 ⁹					
<i>i</i> Cp Ex 33:20-23					<i>p</i> 126 <i>q</i> 85 <i>r</i> 15 ^b
<i>u</i> 147					
<i>v</i> †					
<i>w</i> Cp 11:27					
<i>x</i> 12:4b 163					
<i>y</i> 6 6					<i>s</i> 119 ^a
<i>a</i> 24 <i>cp</i> 1616					<i>a</i> 119 ^a
<i>b</i> 35 ⁹ Ex 6 ³					<i>b</i> 94 <i>c</i> 1
<i>c</i> 6 ⁸					
<i>d</i> 912					<i>d</i> 63 <i>e</i> 67 <i>f</i> 185
<i>e</i> 20 Ezek 36:21					
<i>f</i> 9 16 <i>cp</i> 20 617					
<i>g</i> Is 297.					
<i>h</i> 15 3510					
<i>i</i> 20 Lev 26 ⁹					<i>g</i> 60 ^a
<i>cp</i> 73					<i>h</i> 162 <i>i</i> 76 ^b <i>j</i> 62 <i>k</i> 26
<i>j</i> 16 <i>cp</i> 20 3511					
<i>ct</i> 123 6					<i>l</i> 145 ^a <i>m</i> 4 ^a <i>n</i> 62 ^d <i>o</i> 127 ^b <i>p</i> 188 ^b <i>q</i> 107 ^c <i>r</i> 40
<i>10:14</i> 46mc					

1611^a Ct 15 where Abram, not Hagar, bestows the name. Knobel has remarked that this distinction has a documentary significance. In P the name is always given by the father, 5³ 1615 17¹⁹ 21³; in JE often (though not exclusively) by the mother, 4²⁵ 19¹⁷ 20³² 30⁶ 38³ (cp 35¹⁸ 38³ 41⁶¹ Ex 22²).

11^b M That is, God heareth.

12 M Or, against. Or, to the east of.—Cp 25¹⁸.

13^a M Or, Thou God seest me.

13^b M 6 El roi, that is, God of seeing.

14^a M That is, the well of the living one who seeth me.

14^b Many critics suppose that 25¹⁸ in its original form constituted the close of this story, and has been editorially

transposed to the conclusion of P's *tol'dhoth* of Ishmael, 25¹²⁻¹⁷.

17^{1a} On the significance of 17 as a standard for P's style and phraseology, cp *Introd* VIII iii 2e i 64.

1^b The name *Yahweh* is assigned here to a redactor or copyist, as it is contrary to the usage of P before Ex 6².. The corresponding revelation of El Shaddai to Jacob 35⁹ is introduced by the appearance of Elohim.

1^c M 6 El Shaddai.

1^d Probably due to the supplementer, who has neglected to harmonize the pronouns.

J	P	
L 18 28 27 Lev 22 ¹¹ cp 14 ¹⁴ Jer 21 ⁴⁴	it shall 'be a token of a covenant betwixt me and you. ¹² And he that is eight days 'old shall be 'circumcised among you, 'every male 'throughout your generations, he that is 'born in the house ^t , or 'bought with money of any 'stranger, which is not of thy seed. ¹³ He that is 'born in thy house, and he that is 'bought with thy money, must needs be 'circumcised: and my covenant shall 'be in your flesh for an 'everlasting covenant. ¹⁴ And the 'uncircumcised male who is not 'circumcised in the flesh of his foreskin, 'that soul shall be cut off from his people ^t ; he hath 'broken my covenant ^t .	s 142 t 36 u 154 v 27 w 166 x 50
L Lev 26 ¹⁸ 44 cp 46 ^a	¹⁵ And God said unto Abraham, 'As for Sarai thy wife, thou shalt not call her 'name Sarai, but 'Sarah shall her name be. ¹⁶ And I will 'bless her, and 'moreover I will give thee a son of her: yea, I will bless her, and she shall 'be a mother of 'nations; 'kings of peoples shall be of her. ¹⁷ Then Abraham 'fell upon his face, and 'laughed, and said in his heart, Shall a child be born unto him that is an 'hundred years 'old? and shall Sarah, that is ninety years 'old, bear? ¹⁸ And Abraham said unto God, 'Oh that Ishmael might live before thee! ¹⁹ And God said, 'Nay, but Sarah thy wife shall bear thee a son; and thou shalt call his name 'Isaac: and I will 'establish my covenant with him for an 'everlasting covenant for his seed after him. ²⁰ And 'as for Ishmael, I have 'heard thee: behold, I have 'blessed him, and will 'make him 'fruitful, and will 'multiply him 'exceedingly; 'twelve 'princes shall he 'beget, and I will 'make him a great nation. ²¹ But my covenant will I 'establish with Isaac, which Sarah shall bear unto thee at this set time in the next year. ²² And he 'left off talking with him, and God 'went up from Abraham. ²³ And Abraham took Ishmael his son, and all that were 'born in his house, and all that were 'bought with his money, 'every male among the men of Abraham's house, and 'circumcised the flesh of their foreskin in the 'selfsame day, as God had said unto him. ²⁴ And Abraham was 'ninety years 'old and nine, when he was 'circumcised in the flesh of his foreskin. ²⁵ And Ishmael his son was thirteen years 'old, when he was 'circumcised in the flesh of his foreskin. ²⁶ In the 'selfsame day was Abraham 'circumcised, and Ishmael his son. ²⁷ And all the men of his house, those 'born in the house, and those 'bought with money of the 'stranger, were 'circumcised with him.	y 93 z 73 a' 131 b' 30 c' 138
m 20 128 cp 33 n Cp 1296		
o 23 ¹² Num 14 ⁸ 20 ⁸ p 42 ²¹		
q 25 ¹⁶ r Cp 5 ct 123 21 ¹³ 6 s 49 ²⁰ Ex 31 ¹⁸ 34 ²⁸ t 35 ¹³		
u Cp 10		
v 13 ¹⁸	¹⁸ ¹ And Yahweh appeared unto 'him by the 'oaks of Mamre, as he sat in the 'tent door in the 'heat of the day; ² and he 'lift up his eyes and 'looked, and, lo, three men 'stood over against him: and when he saw them, 'he 'ran to meet them from the 'tent door, and 'bowed himself to the earth, and said, ³ 'My lord, if 'now I have 'found favour in thy sight, pass not away, 'I pray thee, from thy 'servant: ⁴ let 'now a 'little water be 'fetched, and 'wash your feet', and 'rest yourselves under the tree: ⁵ and I will fetch a 'morsel of bread, and 'comfort ye your heart; after that ye shall pass on: 'forasmuch as ye are come to your 'servant. And they said, So do, as thou hast said. ⁶ And Abraham 'hastened into the tent unto Sarah, and said, Make ready 'quickly three measures of 'fine meal. 'knead it, and make 'cakes. ⁷ And Abraham 'ran unto the herd, and fetched a calf 'tender and good,	a 220 b 236 c 176 ^a d 55 e 215 ^a f 70 g 12 ^a h 186 i 31 ^a j 73 k 51 l 35 m 43

¹⁷ ¹⁵ M That is, *Princess*.
¹⁷ P's allusion to the laughter suggested by the name Isaac (he laughs). Ct 18¹³ 21⁶.

¹⁹ M From the Hebrew word meaning 'to laugh.'

²⁰ Ishmael = God hears, cp 16¹¹ 21¹⁷.

¹⁸ ¹⁸ The narrative of Yahweh's visit to Abraham, the promise of a son to Sarah, the intercession of Abraham for Sodom and Gomorrah and the subsequent rescue of Lot from the fate of the doomed cities, is as strongly stamped with the characteristics of J as the covenant of El Shaddai with Abraham in 17 with those of P (cp *Introd* VIII iii 26 i 64). The phraseological evidence is collected in the margins. For the ethical and religious spirit cp especially 2¹-3²⁴ 11¹-9. The promise of a son

in 17¹⁶-19 is here conveyed in different terms, and is followed by a different incident. The incredulous laughter suggested by the name Isaac, attributed to Abraham in 17¹⁷, is assigned to Sarah in 18¹², and gives rise to a rebuke and expostulation in which Yahweh himself deigns to take part. On the probability that the narrative has received additions, see 17¹⁸ 22²⁰. Fripp (*Composition of the Book of Genesis* 50-3 and ZATW 1892 23 ff) endeavours to show that in the earliest form of the story Abraham received but one divine visitant, Yahweh himself.

¹⁹ Perhaps originally *Abraham*: the name, being no longer required after the union of the story with P, was altered editorially (so Dillmann).

³ M Or, O Lord.

¹⁶ M Or, *terebinths*.

⁵ M Or, for *therefore*.

J	JE	E	P
l' 24 ¹⁵ 27 ³⁰ 43 ² 44 ¹² cp 17 ²²	ture ten shall be found there. And he said, I will not destroy it for the ten's sake. 33 ^a And Yahweh went his way, as soon as he had ^h left communing with Abraham. 33 ^b And Abraham returned unto his ^j place.		j' 65
a Ex 3 ⁵ b 24 ²⁸ cp 17 ⁶ c 18 ⁴ d 27 cp 200 e 18 ¹⁵ f 33 ¹¹ g 26 ³⁰ cp 155 h Ex 12 ³⁹ i Josh 2 ⁸ j Josh 63 ¹⁰ k Cp 47 ²¹ 5 l 21 ¹⁴ m Josh 2 ⁸	19 ¹ And the two ^a angels came to Sodom at even; and Lot sat in the gate of Sodom: and Lot saw them, and rose up to meet them; and he ^a bowed himself with his face to the earth; ² and he said, ^b Behold now, my lords, ^a turn aside, I pray you, into your ^c servant's house, and ^b tarry all night, and ^c wash your feet, and ye shall ^d rise up early, and go on your way. And they said, ^e Nay; but we will ^b abide in the street all night. ³ And he ^f urged them greatly; and they ^a turned in unto him, and entered into his house; and he made them a ^g feast, and did ^h bake unleavened bread, and they did eat. ⁴ But ^a before they ^b lay down, the men of the city, ^{even} the men of Sodom, compassed the house round, ^b both young and old ^j , all the people from ^k every quarter; ⁵ ^a and they called unto Lot, and said unto him, Where are the ^b men which came in to thee this night? bring them out unto us, that we may ^c know them. ⁶ And Lot went out unto them to the door, and ^d shut the door after him. ⁷ And he said, I pray you, ^e my brethren, ^f do not so wickedly. ⁸ ^b Behold now, I have two daughters which have not ^c known man; let me, I pray you, bring them out unto you, and do ye to them as is ^g good in your eyes: only unto these men do nothing; ^h forasmuch as they are come under the shadow of my roof. ⁹ And they said, Stand back. And they said, This one fellow came in to ⁱ sojourn, and he will needs be a judge: now will we ^j deal worse with thee, than with them. And they ^k pressed sore upon the man, ^{even} Lot, and ^l drew near to break the door. ¹⁰ But the men put forth their hand, and brought Lot into the house to them, and ^m shut to the door. ¹¹ And they smote the men that were at the door of the house with ⁿ blindness, ^{both} small and great: so that they ^o wearied themselves to find the door. ¹² And the men said unto Lot, Hast thou here any besides? ^p son in law, and thy sons, and thy daughters, and whomsoever thou hast in the city; bring them out of the place: ¹³ for we will ^q destroy this place, because the ^r cry of them is waxen great before Yahweh; and Yahweh hath sent us to ^s destroy it. ¹⁴ And Lot went out, and spake unto his ^t sons in law, which ^u married his daughters, and said, Up, get you out of this place; for Yahweh will ^v destroy the city. But he seemed unto his ^w sons in law as one that ^x mocked. ¹⁵ And when the ^y morning arose, then the angels ^z hastened Lot, saying, Arise, take thy wife, and thy two daughters which ^{aa} are here; lest thou be ^{ab} consumed in the ^{ac} iniquity of the city. ¹⁶ But he ^{ad} lingered; and the men ^{ae} laid hold upon his hand, and upon the hand of his wife, and upon the hand of his two daughters; Yahweh being ^{af} merciful unto him: and they brought him forth, and ^{ag} set him without the city. ¹⁷ And it came to pass, when they had brought them forth abroad, that he said, Escape for thy life; ^{ah} look not behind thee, neither stay thou in all the ^{ai} Plain; escape ^{aj} to the mountain, lest thou be ^{ak} consumed. ¹⁸ And Lot said unto them, Oh, not so, ^{al} my lord: ¹⁹ ^b behold now, thy servant hath ^{am} found grace in thy sight, and thou hast magnified thy ^{an} mercy, which thou hast shewed unto me in ^{ao} saving my life; and I cannot escape ^{ap} to the mountain, lest ^{aq} evil overtake me, and I die:	a 19 b 9 c 73 d 6 e 50 f 35 g 22 h 22 i 3 j 5	
m 7 ¹⁶ n 29 ⁴ o 43 ²⁶ 44 ⁵ Ex 52 ²⁴ Num 11 ¹¹ 16 ¹⁵ p Cp 20 ¹⁸ 21 ¹² 48 ¹⁷ Josh 24 ¹⁵ q 12 ¹⁰ r 18 ²² s 2 Kings 6 ¹⁸ t 1 Sam 5 ⁹ 30 ² u 2 Kings 25 ²⁶ v Ex 7 ¹⁸ Niph ^a w Ex 4 ²⁵ x 14 18 ²⁶ y 5 cp 21 ⁹ 30 ¹⁴ 17 z 5 = day broke 32 ²⁴ 36 Josh 6 ¹⁵ aa Ex 5 ¹⁸ Josh 10 ¹⁵ 17 ¹⁵ 5 ab Ex 1 ¹ ac Ex 47 ¹⁴ ad 4 ¹⁸ cp 15 ¹⁶ ae 4 ¹⁹ Ex 12 ³⁹ af Ex 4 ⁴ ag Cp Ex 26 5 ah 2 ¹⁵ ai 26 15 ⁵ cp 17 ⁹ aj 19 12 ⁶ ak 47 ²⁵ cp 45 ⁷ al Num 22 ²⁸ al			

19¹ Probably an editorial alteration, after the incorporation of 18²²⁻²⁶. In the original story they were described as 'the men' cp 18¹⁵ 22 19¹⁰ 12 16. 5 further inserts 'angels' in 15, Sam in 12 and 5 in 16. The earliest conception seems to imply that Yahweh is himself present, e.g. in 17 where the subject changes from 'they' to 'he,' in Lot's entreaty 19. and the divine reply 21. But in the scene at Lot's house this has been modified cp 13; other modifications may also have entered in the transition from oral tradition to writing, or in subsequent processes of copying or documentary compilation.

^a M Or, *for therefore*.

12 The text 'son in law and thy sons' can hardly be correct. No sons are elsewhere named, but sons in law appear in it. It has been conjectured that the reference to the 'son in law' is an awkward adaptation by a later scribe who had 14 in view; others prefer to read 'thy sons in law,' striking out the allusion to sons.

14 M Or, *were to marry*.

15 M Or, *punishment*.

17 M See 13¹⁰.

18 M Or, *O Lord*.

19 M Or, *the evil*.

	J E	JE	J E P
<p>j' 3²⁰ k' 25 cp 29 Am 4¹¹</p>		<p>20 ^bbehold now, this city is near to flee unto, and it is a ^alittle one: Oh, let me escape thither, (is it not a little one?) and my soul shall live. 21 And he said unto him, See, I have ^jaccepted thee concerning this thing also, that I will ^knot ^loverthrow the city of which thou hast spoken. 22 ^lHaste thee, escape thither; for I cannot do any thing till thou be come thither. ^mTherefore the name of the city was called ⁿZoar. 23 ⁿThe sun was risen upon the earth when Lot came unto Zoar.</p>	
<p>l' 25 cp 195 m' Deut 29²⁸</p>		<p>24 Then Yahweh ^rrained upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah ^mbrimstone and fire from Yahweh out of heaven; 25 and he ^loverthrew those cities, and all the Plain, and all the inhabitants of the cities, and that which ⁿgrew upon the ground. 26 But his wife ^rlooked back from behind him, and she became a ^spillar of salt. 27 And Abraham ^dgat up early in the morning ⁿto the place where he had stood before Yahweh: 28 and he ⁿlooked toward Sodom and Gomorrah, and toward all the land of the Plain, and ^bbeheld, and, lo^a the ^rsmoke of the land went up as the smoke of a furnace.</p>	<p>k 61 l 43 m 15^b</p>
<p>n' Hos 87 Is 4² Jer 23⁶ al o' 5^a</p>			
<p>p' Cp 15¹⁷ Ex 19¹⁸ Josh 8²⁰</p>			<p>n 54 o 55</p>
<p>q' 617 911 15 5 r' 5[†]</p>		<p>[13¹²→] 21 ⁿAnd it came to pass, when God ^rdestroyed the cities of the Plain, that God ^rremembered Abraham, and sent Lot out of the midst of the ^roverthrow, when he ^loverthrew the cities in the which Lot dwelt. [→16¹]</p>	<p>p 135</p>
<p>s. . L18a t' 35-37 29²⁶ 1 Sam 14⁴⁰†</p>		<p>30 ^lAnd Lot went up out of Zoar, and dwelt in the mountain, and his two daughters with him; for he feared to dwell in Zoar: and he dwelt in a cave, he and his two daughters. 31 And the ^rfirstborn said unto the ^ryounger, Our father is old, and there is not a man in the earth to ^rcome in unto us after the manner of all the earth: 32 come, let us ^rmake our father drink ^rwine, and we will ^rlie with him, that we may ^rpreserve seed of our father. 33 And they made their father drink wine ^rthat ⁿnight: and the firstborn went in, and lay with her father; and he knew not when she lay down, nor when she arose. 34 And it came to pass on the morrow, that the firstborn said unto the younger, Behold, I lay yesternight with my father: let us make him drink wine this night also; and go thou in, and lie with him, that we may preserve seed of our father. 35 And they made their father drink wine that night also: and the younger arose, and lay with him; and he knew not when she lay down, nor when she arose. 36 Thus were both the daughters of Lot ^rwith child by their father. 37 And the firstborn bare a son, and ^rcalled his name Moab: ^rthe same is the father of the Moabites ^runto this day. 38 And the younger, ^rshe also bare a son, and called his name Ben-ammi: the same is the father of the children of Ammon ^runto this day.</p>	<p>q 92 r 163 s 225 t 175</p>
<p>u' 921 v' 7³ w' 3016 32²² 5</p>			<p>u 142</p>
<p>x' 1611a y' 420 z' 422</p>			
<p>a 112 b 2462 Num 13²⁹ Josh 15¹⁹ Judg 15[†]</p>			<p>v 21</p>
<p>c 1614 d 167 e 1218 f 11 L1d g 3124</p>		<p>20¹ ⁿAnd Abraham ^rjourneyed ^rfrom thence toward the ^bland of the South, and dwelt between ^rKadesh and ^rShur; and he sojourned in Gerar. 2 And Abraham said of Sarah his wife, She is my ^rsister: and Abimelech king of Gerar sent, and took Sarah. 3 ^lBut God ^rcame to</p>	<p>w 142^b</p>

19²⁰ 5 וַיִּרְאֵהָ* with reference to the name וַיִּרְאֵהָ 22.

22 M That is, *Little* 20. See 13¹⁰ 14⁸.

23 The curtness of 23 suggests that the narrative has been somewhat abbreviated. The existence of some dislocation is further evident from 24 where the pronoun 'his' has no antecedent in 24.

27 This reference to 'the place' depends on 18^{22b}... If that passage be a later addition, this will follow it as an editorial identification.

29 This verse which plainly enough belongs to P's summary of the patriarchal traditions, may have originally followed 13^{12a}.

20^{1a} At this point a considerable section presents itself from a document characterized (like P up to Ex 6².) by the use of the divine name Elohim cp 8⁶ 11¹³ 17. It soon becomes apparent, however, that this peculiarity does not justify its identification with P. The formulae of P are all absent,

while the affinities of style and thought with J are numerous, as the margins show. Yet this narrative is plainly not by the writer of 12¹⁰⁻²⁰; the emphasis here is not on the beauty of Sarah, but on the prophetic character of Abraham. The divine warning is conveyed to Abimelech in a dream 3⁶; Abimelech himself has been providentially saved from sin; Abraham is a prophet, and his intercession brings healing to the king, his wife, and household 7 17. The Yahwist addition of B in 18 cannot conceal the differences of preceding method. On the general structure and features of E cp *Introd* XII i 110. The passage here incorporated leads the way to other sections of E in 21-22, first of all combined with J, and then (JE) with P.

1b Perhaps an insertion of the compiler referring to the previous locality among the oaks of Mamre 18¹. If the words belong originally to E, there is no means of determining what place they are intended to designate.

J	JE	E	P
	Abimelech in a ^a dream of the night, and said to him, Behold, thou art but a dead man, because of the woman which thou hast taken; for she is a ^b man's wife. ⁴ Now Abimelech had not come near her: and he said, Lord, wilt thou ^c slay even a ^d 'righteous nation? ⁵ Said he not himself unto me, She is my sister? and she, even she herself said, He is my brother: ^e "in the integrity of my heart and the ^f 'innocency of my hands have I done this. ⁶ And God said unto him in the ^g 'dream, Yea, ^h "I know that ⁱ "in the integrity of thy heart thou hast done this, and I also ^j 'withheld thee from sinning against me: ^k 'therefore ^l 'suffered I thee not to touch her. ⁷ Now therefore restore the man's wife; for he is a ^m 'prophet, and he shall ⁿ 'pray for thee, and thou shalt ^o 'live: and if thou restore her not, know thou that thou shalt surely die, thou, and all that are thine. ⁸ And Abimelech ^p 'rose early in the morning, and called all his servants, and ^q 'told all these things in their ^r 'ears: and the men were sore afraid. ⁹ Then Abimelech called Abraham, and said unto him, What hast thou ^s 'done unto us? and wherein have I sinned against thee, that thou hast brought on me and on my kingdom a ^t 'great sin? thou hast done deeds unto me that ^u "ought not to be done. ¹⁰ And Abimelech said unto Abraham, What sawest thou, that thou hast done this thing? ¹¹ And Abraham said, Because I thought, ^v 'Surely the ^w "fear of God is not in this place; and they will ^x 'slay me for my wife's ^y "sake. ¹² And moreover she is ^z 'indeed my sister, the daughter of my father, but not the daughter of my mother; and she became my wife: ¹³ and ^{aa} "it came to pass, ^{ab} "when God ^{ac} "caused me to ^{ad} "wander from my father's house, that I said unto her, This is thy ^{ae} "kindness which thou shalt ^{af} "shew unto me; at every place whither we shall come, say of me, He is my brother. ¹⁴ And Abimelech took ^{ag} "sheep and oxen, ^{ah} "and menservants and ^{ai} "womenservants, and gave them unto Abraham, and restored him Sarah his wife. ¹⁵ And Abimelech said, Behold, my ^{aj} 'land is before thee: dwell where it ^{ak} 'pleaseth thee. ¹⁶ And unto Sarah he said, Behold, I have given thy brother a thousand pieces of silver: behold, ^{al} "it is for thee a ^{am} 'covering of the eyes to all that are with thee; and ^{an} "in respect of all thou art ^{ao} 'righted. ¹⁷ And Abraham ^{ap} 'prayed unto God: and God ^{aq} "healed Abimelech, and his wife, and his ^{ar} 'maidservants; and they bare children. ¹⁸ <i>For Yahweh had fast "closed up all the wombs of the house of Abimelech, "because of Sarah Abraham's wife.</i>	a 101 b 107 c 210 d 199 e 174 f 85 g 118 h 114 i 113 j 200 k 146 l 189 m 102 n 197 ^a o 57 ^b p 33 q 41 r 99	
<p>g ⁶ Kings 9⁴ Pa 101²¹ h ⁶ Hos 8² Pa 26⁶, i 221² 18 39⁹ j 421⁸ 5 k 50⁴ Ex 11² 5 cp 44¹⁸ et 23¹³ l Ex 32²¹ 30- 2 Kings 17²¹† m 34⁷ cp 29¹⁶ n 18 1247 o Josh 7²⁰† p 211⁴ 3715 Ex 23⁴ q 13⁹ r 19⁹ 5 s Ex 211² 227 Deut 221² t 5† cp 21¹⁵ u Ex 15²⁸ Num 121³ Deut 32³⁹ v 5 = restrained 163 w Ex 316 4²¹ al b 1810.. c Cp 146⁵ d 1716 21 e 1721 f 1615</p>	<p>21^{1a} "And Yahweh "visited Sarah as he had ^bsaid. 2^a And Sarah "conceived, and bare Abraham a son in his ^bold age,</p>	<p>1^b And Yahweh 'did unto Sarah as he had ^dspoken. ... 2^b at the 'set time of which God had spoken to him. ³ And 'Abraham called the name of his son that was born</p>	a 21 b 63

20¹³ The divine name is here followed by the plural verb, cp 35⁷ Ex 22⁹ Josh 24¹⁹ 5 (Introd XII 3 i 115). It may be further noted that the word 'cause to wander' implies a different conception from that of J in 12¹... In place of a command from Yahweh, working out a plan and involving a promise, Abraham is conscious only of aimless and indefinite movement.

14 Apparently introduced by E from 12¹⁶. The regular word for women-slaves in E is נָסִיָּה, cp 17 and 19⁹. J on the other hand always employs נָסִיָּה, 12¹; and the presence of this word here must be due either to a copyist's error cp 31³³ Sam (Dillm) or more probably to editorial activity in bringing Abimelech's gift up to the standard of Pharaoh's. It may be observed, however, that in Egypt wealth pours in on Abraham

before the discovery of his true relation to Sarah, and takes the form of dowry paid to the bride's nearest kin: at Gerar it is bestowed afterwards in compensation to an injured husband.

18^a M Or, *he*. 18^b M Or, *before all men*.
21¹ All three sources, J E and P, seem to have contained the account of the birth of Isaac. The sequel of the promise in 1810... (J) is found in 1^a 2^a: the fulfilment of 1716 21 (P) is recorded in 2b-5. Most critics find the introduction to this in 1^b, which appears to be a doublet of 1^a, the name *Yahweh* being due to a copyist or redactor as in 17¹. It is possible, however, that 1^b belongs to E (cp the formula 'do to...' which P does not use in Genesis), and prepared the way for the account of which a trace is still found in ⁶.

J	JE	E	P	
4 L6md			unto him, whom Sarah bare to him, Isaac. 4 L And Abraham 'circumcised his son Isaac when he was eight days 4 old, 'as God had commanded him. 5 And Abraham was an 4 hundred years 4 old, 4 when his son Isaac was born unto him.	c 40 d 119 e 93
g 17 ¹² 19				
h 17 ¹⁷				
	... 6 *And Sarah said, God hath 'made me to laugh; every one that heareth will laugh with me.			
i 6*	7 And she said, Who would have 'said unto Abraham, that Sarah should give children suck? for I have borne him a son in his 7 old age.			
j 29 ²² 40 ²⁰ cp 155	8 *And the 'child 8 grew, and was weaned: and Abraham made a great 8 feast on the day that Isaac was weaned. 9 And Sarah saw the son of Hagar the Egyptian, which she had borne unto Abraham, 9 mocking. 10 Wherefore she said unto Abraham, 'Cast out this 10 bondwoman and her son: for the son of this bondwoman shall not be heir with my son, [even] with Isaac. 11 And the thing was very 11 grievous in Abraham's sight 11 on account of his son. 12 And God said unto Abraham, Let it not be grievous in thy sight because of the 12 lad, and because of thy 12 bondwoman; in all that Sarah saith unto thee, 12 hearken unto her voice; for in Isaac shall thy seed be called. 13 And also of the son of the 13 bondwoman 13 will I 13 make a nation, because he is thy seed. 14 And Abraham 14 rose up early in the morning, and took bread and a 14 bottle of water, and gave it unto Hagar, 14 putting it on her shoulder, and the 14 child, and sent her away: and she departed, and 14 wandered in the 14 wilderness of Beer-sheba. 15 And the water in the 15 bottle was 15 spent, and she cast the 15 child under one of the 15 shrubs. 16 And she went, and sat her down over against him a 16 good way off, as it were a 16 bowshot: for she said, Let me not look upon the death of the 16 child. And she 16 sat over against him, and 16 lift up her voice, and 16 wept. 17 And God 17 heard the voice of the 17 lad; and the 17 angel of God called to Hagar out of heaven, and said unto her, What aileth thee, Hagar? 17 fear not; for God hath heard the voice of the 17 lad where he is. 18 Arise, lift up the 18 lad, and hold him in thine hand; for I will 18 make him a great nation. 19 And God 19 opened her eyes, and she saw a well of water; and she went, and filled the bottle with water, and 19 gave the 19 lad drink. 20 And God was 20 with the 20 lad, and he 20 grew; and he 20 dwelt in the wilderness, and 20 became an 20 archer. 21 And he dwelt in the wilderness of Paran: and his mother 21 took him a wife out of the land of Egypt. 22 *And it came to pass at that 22 time, that Abimelech and Phicol	f 234 g 66 h 99 i 111 j 235 k 44 ^b l 200 m 193 n 176 ^b o 226 p 97 q 154 r 225 s 130 t 8a		
k 19 ¹⁴ l Ex 11 ¹ cp 148				
m 38 ¹⁰ 48 ¹⁷				
n 18 5 46 ²⁴ o Cp 193 ct 122 17 ³⁰				
p 18 19 5†				
q 20 ¹⁸ r Ct 167 s 41 ¹⁸ cp Ex 39 ²⁸ 5 Qal ^a t 28 u Ex 8 ²⁸ 337 v Josh 3 ¹⁶ 5† w 5†				
x 35				
y Ct 16 ¹² 25 ¹⁸ 5				
z 38 ¹ Num 22 ⁴ Josh 5 ³ 6 ²⁸ cp 2110				

21^{6a} E's reference to the supposed meaning of Isaac's name, ct 17¹⁷ 18¹². Budde and others rendering ^{6b} 'laugh at me' think the two members of the verse incongruous, and attach ^{6b} to 7 (cp Ball and Holzinger).

^{6b} M Or, *prepared laughter for me*.

⁸ On the duplicate stories of the expulsion of Hagar cp 16^{1b}. For the ascription of the following to E (against P) cp the margins, and (against J) cp 12¹⁷ 19, with 20³ 13¹⁷ and ct 16⁵.

⁹ M Or, *playing*.—Cp 26⁸ Ex 32⁶.

^{14a} M Or, *skin*.

^{14b} G reads 'and put the child upon her shoulder.' Dillmann and others see in the unusual 5 a correction designed to avoid the chronological difficulty arising from the combination

of JE with P, for according to 17²⁴. 21⁶ Ishmael was fourteen years old at the birth of Isaac, and needed no such maternal aid. But ¹⁶ implies that Hagar had been carrying her child.

¹⁶ The words 'and she sat over against him' may be an accidental repetition from the first part of the verse.

¹⁷ E's allusion to the elements of Ishmael's name, ct 16^{11a} 17²⁰. As the previous verse makes no mention of any sound from Ishmael's lips, G apparently corrects ^{16b} 'and the child lift up his voice.'

²⁰ M Or, *became, as he grew up, an archer*.

²² In this passage two stories seem to be blended with much curtailment. One 22²⁻²⁴ concerns an oath of good faith from Abraham towards Abimelech of Gerar 20² and his land. The second

	J	E	JE	J	E	P
			the "captain of his host spake unto Abraham, saying, God is 'with thee in all that thou doest: ²³ now therefore swear unto me 'here by God that thou wilt not 'deal falsely with me, nor with "my 'son, nor with my son's son": but according to the "kindness that I have done unto thee, thou shalt do unto me, and to the land wherein thou hast ^b sojourned.			u 191 v 171 w 57 ^b
e 5 Qalt [†] cp Lev 1911 Piel ^a a' Is 14 ²² Job 181 ¹⁹ b' 201			²⁴ And Abraham said, I will swear.			
c' Cp 2016 3137 42 5			²⁵ And Abraham 'reproved Abimelech 'because of the well of water, which Abimelech's servants had violently taken away. ²⁶ And Abimelech said, I know not who hath done this thing: 'neither didst thou tell me, neither yet heard I of it 'but to-day. ²⁷ And Abraham ^d took 'sheep and oxen, and gave them unto Abimelech; and they two 'made a covenant.			x 11 y 138 z 33 a' 181 b' 195
d' 2014			... ²⁸ And Abraham 'set seven ewe lambs of the flock ^b by themselves. ²⁹ And Abimelech said unto Abraham, What mean these seven ewe lambs which thou hast 'set "by themselves? ³⁰ And he said, These seven ewe lambs shalt thou take of my hand, that it may ^f be a witness ^f unto me, that I have digged this well.			
e' Cp 215 ^c			³¹ 'Wherefore he called that place Beer-sheba; because there they 'swore both of them. ³² So they 'made a covenant at Beer-sheba: and Abimelech ^d rose up, and Phicol the "captain of his host, and they returned into the ^k land of the Philistines.			c' 15 ^b d' 128
f' Josh 24 ²⁷ † cp Gen 31 ⁴⁴			³³ 'And [Abraham] 'planted a tamarisk tree in Beer-sheba, and 'called there on the name of Yahweh, the Everlasting God.			e' 15 ^a
g' Cp 24 and 2611 ct 2633			³⁴ "And Abraham ^b sojourned in the ^k land of the Philistines ^j 'many days.			
h' Ex 1317 cp Ex 2331 ct Josh 13 ² 33 155a i' 28 j' 3734 Num 2015 Josh 24 ⁷			²² "And it came to pass 'after these things, that God did 'prove Abraham, and said unto him, Abraham; and he said, 'Here am I. ² 'And he said, Take now thy son, thine 'only son, whom thou lovest, [even] Isaac, and 'get thee into the land of "Moriah; and 'offer him there for a ^d burnt offering upon one of the mountains which I will tell thee of. ³ And Abraham 'rose early in the morning, and 'saddled his ass, and took two of his 'young men with him, and Isaac his son; and he ^f clave the wood for the burnt offering, and 'rose up, and went unto the place of which God had told him.			a 95 b 104 c 162 d 110 e 200 f 235 g 128
a Ex 1525 164 2030 cp 192						
2-13 17bc b 12 16 5 ^a c Cp 2130 d Cp 218 ^c						
e Num 2221 ^a f 5 Piel [†] ct Ex 1416						

relates to a dispute about a well ²⁵... Both these have their parallel in J's history of Isaac ²⁶... The sequel of the first appears (according to the view here taken, but there is much critical divergence) in ³¹, where the name Beer-sheba is interpreted as the 'well of swearing,' in allusion to the oath demanded by Abimelech ²³. But this name contained another allusion, viz to a well, and this has apparently led to the amalgamation of the oath-story with an account of a covenant about a well ²⁵... derived from the cycle of well-stories which were no doubt of great importance in the patriarchal traditions. The name might also, however, be interpreted 'well of seven.' This has probably caused the insertion of fresh material in ²⁸⁻³⁰. The statement in ²⁸ that 'Abraham set the seven ewe lambs of the flock by themselves' (Dillm) seems to imply some previous mention of their selection, and suggests that they are drawn from an independent story about the 'well of seven'. This source would most naturally be J. Still, both J and E frequently employ the number seven; ²⁹⁻³⁰ show phraseological affinity with E; and it is possible that the abruptness of ²⁸ may be due to simple abbreviation. The repetition of the phrase 'and they made a covenant' ²⁷⁻³² points to the amalgamation of two narratives with the same close, one of which was fixed by the well-incident at Beer-sheba. The oath ²²⁻²⁴ would most naturally be located in the land where Abraham had sojourned ²³ cp ³⁴; but its union with the well-story gave it another geographical base, and it was then necessary for Abimelech and Phicol to return to their own land ³². In ³³ the absence of a subject implies discontinuity, and the verse is

the obvious sequel of J's story.

²¹ ²² M Or, *my offspring, nor with my posterity*.

²³ The suffix here מִן־יְהוָה differs from that in ²⁸; analogous forms are found in 31⁶ 41²¹ 42²⁶, all in E.

³⁴ This verse seems incongruous with ³², which implies that Abraham was not then in the land of the Philistines. It may have been the original sequel of ²⁴., on the hypothesis that E's Beer-sheba story has lost its opening describing Abraham's removal from Gerar cp 2617.; or it may be due to EJ^a, who adds it as the close of ³³. In either case its position here is due to E.

²² The narrative of the intended sacrifice of Isaac 1-13 is distinguished (save for the harmonizer's touch in 11) by the use of the divine name Elohim. But it shows no point of contact in phrase or thought with P, who never depicts God as 'trying' or 'proving' the patriarchs or their descendants, or recognizes any acts of cultus before the Levitical institutions (cp *Intro* XIII 27 i 124).

² Moriah is only named elsewhere in 2 Chron 31: the designation 'land of Moriah,' as if it were well known and Moriah were 'one of the mountains' in it, is consequently rendered doubtful. The name is probably due to the redactor who saw in it a reference to the proverbial utterance of 14; but its meaning was by no means clear; 5 renders 'the lofty land,' Sam 2 'the land of vision,' while 6 preserves a reading which Dillmann and Ball think may possibly be original, 'the land of the Amorite' cp 1296.

* Otherwise it must be assumed that seven was the regular number, already recognized in Abraham's act 27.

J	E	JE	J	E	P
g 31 ²² 40 ²⁰ 42 ¹⁸ Ex 19 ^{11a} 16 cp 10 ^{1d} h 19 ¹⁸ 40 ¹⁵ Num 22 ⁸ 32 ⁸ 16 i 5 = 'up to thus' 222 ct Ex 7 ¹⁶ Jonh 17 ¹⁴ j Ex 24 ¹ 32 ¹⁰ k Judg 19 ²⁰ Prov 30 ¹⁴ l 5 = said 46 ⁸ Ex 1 ¹⁶ m 41 ²⁸ n 210 ^d o Lev 1 ⁷ p 5† q Cp 2100 r 21 ¹⁷ 7 46 ⁸ Ex 3 ⁴ s 20 ⁸ t Is 9 ¹⁸ 10 ³⁴ Ps 74 ^{5†} u 10 ⁹ Num 21 ¹⁴ v Ex 32 ^{13a} w Num 14 ²⁸ 24 ² 15. 5* x 5 31 ⁶ y 24 ⁸⁰ z 12 ³ a' 268* op Num 14 ²⁴ Deut 7 ¹² 830 5 b' 21 ³² c' 11 ²⁹ d' 42 ² 19 ³⁸ e' 101 ⁵ 38 ⁸ ot 10 ²⁸ f' Ct 10 ²² g' 24 ²⁴ ot 25 ²⁰ h' 25 ⁸ 35 ²² 361 ^{2*} i' 161 ⁵ j Cp 25 ⁷ 17		<p>⁴ On the ⁹third day Abraham ¹lifted up his eyes, and saw the place ¹afar off. ⁵ And Abraham said unto his ¹young men, Abide ye ¹here with the ass, and I and the ¹lad will go ¹yonder; and we will ¹worship, and come again to you. ⁶ And Abraham took the wood of the burnt offering, and ¹laid it upon Isaac his son; and he took in his hand the fire and the ¹knife; and they went both of them together. ⁷ And Isaac ¹spake unto Abraham his father, and said, My father: and he said, ¹Here am I, my son. And he said, Behold, the fire and the wood: but where is the lamb for a burnt offering? ⁸ And Abraham said, God will ¹provide himself the lamb for a burnt offering, my son: so they went both of them together. ⁹ ¹And they came to the place which God had told him of; and Abraham ¹built the altar there, and ¹laid the wood in order, and ¹bound Isaac his son, and ¹laid him on the altar, upon the wood. ¹⁰ And Abraham ¹stretched forth his hand, and took the knife to ¹slay his son. ¹¹ And the ¹angel of ¹Yahweh called unto him ¹out of heaven, and said, ¹Abraham, Abraham': and he said, ¹Here am I. ¹² And he said, ¹Lay not thine hand upon the ¹lad, neither do thou any thing unto him: for now I know that thou ¹fearest God, seeing thou hast not ¹withheld thy son, thine ¹only son, from me. ¹³ And Abraham ¹lifted up his eyes, and looked, and ¹behold, behind [him] a ram caught in the ¹thicket by his horns: and Abraham went and took the ram, and ¹offered him up for a burnt offering in the stead of his son.</p> <p>¹⁴ ¹And Abraham called the name of that place ¹Yahweh-jireh: as it is ¹said to this day, In the mount of Yahweh ¹it shall be provided.</p> <p>¹⁵ ¹And the ¹angel of Yahweh called unto Abraham a second time ¹out of heaven, and said, ¹⁶ ¹By myself have I ¹sworn, ¹saieth Yahweh, because thou hast done this thing, and hast not ¹withheld thy son, thine ¹only son: ¹⁷ that in blessing I will ¹bless thee, and in ¹multiplying I will ¹multiply thy seed as the ¹stars of the heaven, and as the ¹sand which is upon the sea shore; and thy seed shall ¹possess the gate of his enemies; ¹⁸ and ¹in thy seed shall all the ¹nations of the earth ¹be blessed; ¹because thou hast ¹obeyed my voice.</p> <p>¹⁹ So Abraham returned unto his ¹young men, and they ¹rose up and went together to ¹Beer-sheba; and Abraham dwelt at Beer-sheba.</p> <p>²⁰ ¹And it came to pass ¹after these things, that it was ¹told Abraham, saying, Behold, ¹Milcah, ¹she also hath borne children unto thy brother Nahor; ²¹ Uz ¹his firstborn, and Buz ¹his brother, and Kemuel the father of ¹Aram; ²² and Chesed, and Hazo, and Pildash, and Jidlaph, and Bethuel. ²³ And Bethuel ¹begat ¹Rebekah: these eight did Milcah bear to Nahor, Abraham's brother. ²⁴ And his ¹concubine, ¹whose name was Reumah, ¹she also bare Tebah, and Gaham, and Tahash, and Maacah.</p> <p>²³¹ ¹And the ¹life of Sarah was an ¹hundred and seven and twenty years: ¹these were the years^b of the life of Sarah. ² And Sarah died in ¹Kiriath-arba</p>	h 176 ^a i 181 j 193 k 137 l 205 ^b m 97 n 102 o 4 p 217 q 10 ^a r 204 s 10 ^b t 44 ^b u 128 v 218 ^b w 14 x 7 y 93 z 185 ^a c 3		

22⁸ M 5 see for himself.

¹¹ The angel in the original story was no doubt the angel of Elohim 21¹⁷; the name has been editorially changed to Yahweh in preparation for the important insertion 15-18.

¹³ M Or, according to many ancient authorities, behold a (5 one) ram caught.

¹⁴ An editorial insertion, but whether by R* or R1* cannot be determined. In the original story the names may have been formed with EL. ^{14b} M That is, Yahweh will see, or, provide.

^{14c} M Or, he shall be seen.

¹⁵ An addition to E1 by a later hand familiar with the phraseology of J as the margins show. The solemn oath of Yahweh 'by himself' ¹⁶ is mentioned only once elsewhere, in a passage of similar expansion Ex 32¹³; note the phrase so common in prophecy 'oracle of Yahweh' ¹⁶, Am 2¹¹ Hos 2¹⁵ Is 1²⁴ al.

^{18a} Ct 12³ 5 and cp 18¹⁸.

^{18b} M Or, bless themselves.

²⁰ This clause is here treated as an editorial connexion, though the frequent recurrence of the phrase 'after these things' makes it possible that it was a continuation of E1's history, into which the genealogy 'and it was told Abraham' has been unexpectedly inserted. This appears to be most properly assigned to J as the necessary preparation for the story of 24. Both form and contents show that it cannot belong to P: and there seems no ground either of phraseology or of matter for ascribing it (with Wellh) to E1. The slight marginal parallels confirm the attribution to J.

²³¹ By the purchase of the cave of Machpelah, Abraham, according to P, secures a permanent possession in the land of Canaan. Contrast the account of Jacob's purchase of land near Shechem 33¹⁸⁻²⁰.

J E	P	
b 35 ²⁷ Josh 15 ⁵⁴ 20 ¹ 21 ¹¹ c 50 ¹⁰ ^a	<p>(^athe ^bsame is Hebron), in the ^cland of Canaan: and Abraham came to ^dmourn for Sarah, and to weep for her. ^e And Abraham rose up from ^fbefore his dead, and ^gspoke unto the ^hchildren of Heth, ⁱsaying, ^j "I am a stranger and a ^ksojourner with you: give me a ^l'possession of a ^m'buryingplace with you, that I may bury my dead out of my sight. ⁿ And the children of Heth answered Abraham, saying unto him, ^o Hear us, my lord: thou art ^p "a mighty ^q'prince among us: in the choice of our sepulchres bury thy dead; none of us shall withhold from thee his sepulchre, but that thou mayest bury thy dead. ^r And Abraham rose up, and bowed himself to the ^s'people of the land", even to the children of Heth. ^t And he ^u'communed with them, ^vsaying, If it be your mind that I should bury my dead out of my sight, hear me, and intreat for me to ^w'Ephron the son of Zohar, ^x that he may give me the cave of ^y'Machpelah, which he hath, which is in the end of his field; for the full price let him give it to me in the ^z'midst of you for a ^{aa}'possession of a ^{ab}'buryingplace. ^{ac} Now Ephron was ^{ad}'sitting in the midst of the children of Heth: and Ephron the Hittite answered Abraham in the audience of the children of Heth, ^{ae} "even of all" that ^{af}'went in at the gate of his city", saying, ^{ag} "Nay, my lord, hear me: the field give I thee, and the cave that is therein, I give it thee; in the presence of the sons of my people give I it thee: bury thy dead. ^{ah} And Abraham bowed himself down before the ^{ai}'people of the land. ^{aj} And he ^{ak}'spoke unto Ephron in the audience of the ^{al}'people of the land, ^{am}'saying, But if thou wilt, ^{an} "I pray thee, hear me: I will give the price of the field; take it of me, and I will bury my dead there. ^{ao} And Ephron answered Abraham, saying unto him, ^{ap} "My lord, hearken unto me: a piece of land worth four hundred shekels of silver, what is that betwixt me and thee? bury therefore thy dead. ^{aq} And Abraham hearkened unto Ephron; and Abraham weighed to Ephron the silver, which he had named in the audience of the children of Heth, four hundred shekels of silver, ^{ar}'current [money] with the merchant. ^{as} So the field of Ephron, which was in ^{at}'Machpelah, ^{au}'which was before Mamre, the ^{av}'field, and the ^{aw}'cave which was therein, and all the trees that were in the field, that were in ^{ax}'all the border thereof round about", were ^{ay}'made sure ^{az} ^{ba} unto Abraham for a ^{bb}'possession in the presence of the children of Heth, ^{bc}'before ^{bd}'all that went in at the gate of his city. ^{be} And after this, Abraham buried Sarah his wife in the cave of the field of Machpelah ^{bf}'before Mamre (^{bg}the same is Hebron), in the ^{bh}'land of Canaan. ^{bi} And the ^{bj}'field, and the ^{bk}'cave that is therein, ^{bl}'were made sure unto Abraham for a ^{bm}'possession of a ^{bn}'buryingplace by the children of Heth.</p>	d 4 e 64 f 185 g 10 h 94 i 144 j 127
d 9 30 49 ²⁰ 50 ¹³		k 127 l 22
e 12. Lev 4 ²⁷ 20 ² 4 cp Ex 5 ⁶ Num 14 ⁹ ^a		m 5
f Ct 19 ¹		n 21
g 18 cp 34 ²⁴		
h 17 ¹⁸ ^h ^h 21 ⁸⁶		
i Cp 2 Kings 12 ⁴		
j 19 25 ⁹ 49 ²⁰ 50 ¹³ k 20 49 ²⁰ l Ezek 45 ¹ cp 43 ¹² 20 ⁴ m 28 Lev 25 ³⁸ al ct 12 ¹²⁸		o 36 p 35
a 18 ¹¹ b 26 26 ¹² cp 10 ^a c Ct 15 ² d 45 ⁵ 36 e 9 47 ²⁹ f 25 ¹¹ g 37 50 ^a Josh 20 ¹ 6 ³⁸ h 37 12 ^a ct 28 ¹ 36 ³ i 12 ¹		a 120 ^a b 82 c 26 d 60 e 64
j 31 ²⁴ 29 Ex 10 ²⁸ 19 ¹² 34 ¹² cp 210 ⁸		f 153

23² The identification of Kiriath-Arba and of Mamre ¹⁹ with Hebron may be editorial.

^a M ^h a prince of God.

24¹ The account of the journey of Abraham's servant has been attached by the compiler to the account of the death and burial of Sarah, but its original place in the group of J narratives cannot be determined with certainty. It would

seem that 25⁶ must originally have stood somewhere before 24^{6b}. Some writers have supposed that the oath exacted from the servant really marks Abraham's deathbed, but that in the process of compilation J's reference to Abraham's decease was set aside for the more detailed notice of P 25⁷... In this way Isaac has become the 'master' ^{6b}.

⁴ ^h for Isaac, probably an explanatory gloss, cp ³ and 22².

	J	JE	E	P
j 12 ⁷		⁴ nativity, and that spake unto me, and that ⁵ sware unto me, saying, Unto thy seed will I ⁶ give this land; he shall send his ⁷ angel before thee, and thou shalt ⁸ take a wife for my son from thence. ⁹ And if the woman be not willing to follow thee, then thou shalt be clear from this my oath; only thou shalt not bring my son thither again. ¹⁰ And the servant ¹¹ put his hand under the thigh of Abraham his master, and sware to him concerning this matter. ¹² And the servant took ten		s 4
k 45 ¹⁸ 20 22		¹³ camels, of the camels of his master, and departed; ¹⁴ having all ¹⁵ goodly things of his master's in his hand: and he ¹⁶ arose, and went to ¹⁷ Mesopotamia, unto the ¹⁸ city of Nahor. ¹⁹ And he ²⁰ made the camels to kneel		b 16
l Deut 23 ⁴ et 7 ⁶		down without the city by the ²¹ well of water at the time of evening, the time that women go out to ²² draw water. ²³ And he said, O Yahweh, the ²⁴ God of my master Abraham, ²⁵ send me, I pray thee, good speed ²⁶		i 128
m cp 27 ⁴⁸ 28 ¹⁰		this day, and ²⁷ shew kindness unto my master Abraham. ²⁸ Behold, I ²⁹ stand by the ³⁰ fountain of water; and the daughters of the men of the city come out to ³¹ draw water: ³² and let it come to pass, that the		
n 5 ¹		³³ damsel to whom I shall say, Let down thy ³⁴ pitcher, I pray thee, that I may drink; and she shall say, Drink, and I will ³⁵ give thy camels		j 57 ^b
o 20 ² Ex 21 ⁶		drink also: let the same be she that thou hast ³⁶ appointed for thy servant Isaac; and thereby shall I know that thou hast ³⁷ shewed kind-		k 215 ^b
p 15 ¹ & Deut 20 ¹¹ Josh 9 ²¹		ness unto my master. ³⁸ And it came to pass ³⁹ before he had ⁴⁰ done speaking, that, behold, Rebekah came out, who was born to ⁴¹ Bethuel		l 81
q 27 ²⁰ †		the son of Milcah, the wife of Nahor, Abraham's brother, with her pitcher upon her ⁴² shoulder. ⁴³ And the damsel was very ⁴⁴ fair to look		m 235
		upon, a virgin, neither had any man ⁴⁵ known her: and she went down to the ⁴⁶ fountain, and filled her pitcher, and came up. ⁴⁷ And the		n 225
r 15-18 & c 5 ¹		servant ⁴⁸ ran to meet her, and said, ⁴⁹ Give me to drink, I pray thee, a ⁵⁰ little water of thy pitcher. ⁵¹ And she said, Drink, my lord: and		
s 44 et 21 ²⁵ 5 ¹		she ⁵² hasted, and let down her pitcher upon her hand, and gave him drink. ⁵³ And when she had ⁵⁴ done giving him drink, she said, I will		o 6
t 1833		⁵⁵ draw for thy camels also, until they have done drinking. ⁵⁶ And she ⁵⁷ hasted, and ⁵⁸ emptied her pitcher into the ⁵⁹ trough, and ⁶⁰ ran again		
u 24 47 2233		unto the well to ⁶¹ draw, and drew for all his camels. ⁶² And the man ⁶³ looked stedfastly on her; ⁶⁴ holding his peace, to know whether Yahweh		p 152
v 45 21 ¹⁴ Ex 12 ³⁴ Josh 4 ⁶		had made his journey ⁶⁵ prosperous or not. ⁶⁶ And it came to pass, as the camels had ⁶⁷ done drinking, that the man took a golden ⁶⁸ ring of ⁶⁹ half		q 50
w Cp Job 39 ²⁴ †		a shekel ⁷⁰ weight, and two bracelets for her hands of ten shekels weight of gold; and said, ⁷¹ Whose daughter art thou? tell me, I pray thee.		r 70
x Ct Lev 20 ¹⁸ 5 ¹		⁷² Is there room in thy father's house for us to lodge in? ⁷³ And she said unto him, I am the daughter of ⁷⁴ Bethuel the son of Milcah, which		s 51
y 30 ³⁰ †		she bare unto Nahor. ⁷⁵ She said moreover unto him, We have ⁷⁶ both ⁷⁷ straw and ⁷⁸ provender enough, and room to lodge in. ⁷⁹ And the man		t 43
z 34 ⁵ Ex 14 ¹⁴ ct Num 30 ⁶ & c ¹		⁸⁰ bowed his head, and worshipped Yahweh. ⁸¹ And he said, ⁸² Blessed be Yahweh, the ⁸³ God of my master Abraham, who hath not forsaken his		
a' 35 ⁴ Ex 32 ²		⁸⁴ mercy and his truth toward my master: as for me, Yahweh hath ⁸⁵ led me in the way to the house of my master's brethren. ⁸⁶ ... ⁸⁷ And the		u 66
b' 43 ²¹ Josh 7 ²¹		damsel ⁸⁸ ran, and told her mother's house ⁸⁹ according to these words. ⁹⁰ And Rebekah had a brother, ⁹¹ and his name was Laban: ⁹² and Laban		v 84
c' 22 Ex 5 ⁷ ...		⁹³ ran ⁹⁴ out unto the man, unto the ⁹⁵ fountain. ⁹⁶ And it came to pass, when he saw the ⁹⁷ ring, and the bracelets upon his sister's hands, and		w 11
d' 46 Ex 13 ²¹ cp 17		when he heard the words of Rebekah his sister, saying, Thus spake the man unto me; that he came unto the man; and, behold, he stood		x 67
e' 5 ¹ = whose 161b				y 12 ^b
f' 5 ¹ = abroad 19 ¹⁷ cp i and 31				z 10 ^c
				a' 57 ^a
				b' 2
				c' 127 ^b

24⁷ The clause 'and that sware unto me' may be a later addition referring to 22¹⁶.

10^a M Or, for all the goods of his master were in his hand.

10^b M 5¹ Aram-naharaim, that is, Aram of the two rivers.

22 M 5¹ a beka. See Ex 38²⁶.

28 The gift of the ring and the bracelets 22 30 seems here to have fallen out of the text. On further indications of acci-

dental dislocation at a very early date cp 29²⁸.

29 Some dislocation of clauses seems to have taken place here; 29^b should probably follow 30^a; Laban does not seek the visitor till he has heard Rebekah's news and seen the gifts. The obviously homogeneous character of the rest of the narrative renders Knobel's suggestion of a combination of two sources here unnecessary (Dillmann).

J	JE	E	P	
	by the camels at the 'fountain. ³¹ And he said, Come in, thou 'blessed of Yahweh; wherefore standest thou without? for I have prepared the house, and room for the camels. ³² And the man came into the house, and he 'ungirded the camels; and he gave 'straw and 'provender for the camels, and water to 'wash his feet and the men's feet that were with him. ³³ And there was set meat before him to eat: but he said, I will not eat, until I have told mine errand. And he said, Speak on. ³⁴ And he said, I am Abraham's servant. ³⁵ And Yahweh hath 'blessed my master greatly; and he is become great: and he hath given him 'flocks and herds, and 'silver and gold, and menservants and 'maid-servants, and camels and asses. ³⁶ And Sarah my master's wife bare a son to my master when she was 'old: and unto him hath he given all that he hath. ³⁷ And my master 'made me swear, saying, Thou shalt not take a wife for my son of the daughters of the Canaanites, in whose land I dwell: ³⁸ but thou shalt go unto my father's house, and to my kindred, and take a wife for my son. ³⁹ And I said unto my master, Peradventure the woman will not follow me. ⁴⁰ And he said unto me, Yahweh, before whom I 'walk, will send his angel with thee, and prosper thy way; and thou shalt take a wife for my son of my kindred, and of my father's house: ⁴¹ 'then shalt thou be clear from my oath, when thou comest to my kindred; and if they give her not to thee, thou shalt be clear from my oath. ⁴² And I came this day unto the fountain, and said, O Yahweh, the God of my master Abraham, if now thou 'do 'prosper my way which I go: ⁴³ behold, I stand by the fountain of water; and let it come to pass, that the 'maiden which cometh forth to draw, to whom I shall say, Give me, I pray thee, a little water of thy pitcher to drink; ⁴⁴ and she shall say to me, 'Both drink thou, and I will 'also draw for thy camels: let the same be the woman whom Yahweh hath 'appointed for my master's son. ⁴⁵ And before I had done speaking in mine 'heart, behold, Rebekah came forth with her pitcher on her shoulder; and she went down unto the fountain, and drew: and I said unto her, Let me drink, I pray thee. ⁴⁶ And she made haste, and let down her pitcher from her shoulder, and said, Drink, and I will give thy camels drink also: so I drank, and she made the camels drink also. ⁴⁷ And I 'asked her, and said, Whose daughter art thou? And she said, The daughter of Bethuel, Nahor's son, whom Milcah bare unto him: and I put the ring upon her nose, and the bracelets upon her hands. ⁴⁸ And I bowed my head, and worshipped Yahweh, and blessed Yahweh, the God of my master Abraham, which had led me in the 'right way to take my master's brother's daughter for his son. ⁴⁹ And now if ye will 'deal kindly and truly with my master, tell me: and if not, tell me; that I may 'turn to the 'right hand, or to the left. ⁵⁰ Then Laban and Bethuel answered and said, The thing proceedeth from Yahweh: we cannot speak unto thee 'bad or good. ⁵¹ Behold, Rebekah is 'before thee, 'take her, and go, and let her be thy master's son's wife 'as Yahweh hath spoken. ⁵² 'And it came to pass, that, when Abraham's servant heard their words, he 'bowed himself down to the earth unto Yahweh. ⁵³ And the servant brought forth jewels of 'silver, and jewels of 'gold, and raiment, and gave them to Rebekah: he gave also to her brother and to her mother 'precious things. ⁵⁴ And they did 'eat and drink, he and the men that were with him, and tarried all night; and they rose up in the morning, and he said, 'Send me away unto my master. ⁵⁵ And her brother and her mother said, Let the damsel abide with us '[a few] days, at the least ten; after that she shall go. ⁵⁶ And he said unto them,			
⁹ Ct Ex 28 ¹¹ ³⁰ A' 184				
¹ Cp 28 12 ¹⁶ 13 ²			^{d'} 33 ^{e'} 41 ^{f'} 63	
¹ Cp 17 ¹ 48 ¹⁶				
¹ Cp Ex 24 ¹ Is 7 ¹⁴				
			^{e'} 45	
			^{b'} 129	
¹ Cp Josh 2 ¹² Q.			^{i'} 57 ^a	
^{m'} Ex 2 ¹² ^{n'} 13 ⁹			^{j'} 165	
^{o'} 13 ⁹ ^{p'} 12 ¹⁹ ^{q'} 12 ⁴			^{k'} 12 ^a	
^{r'} Ezek 18 ^s Chron 21 ³ 32 ²⁰ †			^{l'} 149 ^b ^{m'} 205 ^c	

24⁴¹ In this verse there seems a certain incompleteness: Kautsch and Socin (followed by Bacon) suggest that 41^a contained a reference to the search for a bride for Isaac: it is

possible, as the word 'oath' is different from that in ⁸ cp 26²⁸, that the whole may be a compiler's addition.

⁵⁶ On the reading cp Dillm and Ball.

	J	JE	E	P	
' Cp 34 ¹⁹	'Hinder me not, seeing Yahweh hath prospered my way; ^m 'send me away that I may go to my master. ⁶⁷ And they said, We will call the damsel, and ⁿ 'inquire at her mouth. ⁶⁸ And they called Rebekah, and said unto her, Wilt thou go with this man? And she said, I will go.				
' 35 ⁸	⁶⁹ And they ^m 'sent away Rebekah their sister, and her ⁿ 'nurse, and Abraham's servant, and his men. ⁶⁰ And they blessed Rebekah, and said unto her, Our sister, be thou [the mother] of ⁿ 'thousands of ten thousands, and let thy seed ⁿ 'possess the gate of those which ⁿ 'hate them.			n' 167 o' 198	
' Cp Num 10 ³⁶	⁶¹ And Rebekah ⁿ 'arose, and her damsels, and they ⁿ 'rode upon the camels, and followed the man: and the servant ⁿ 'took Rebekah, and went his way. ⁶² ⁿ 'And Isaac came ⁿ 'from the way of ⁿ 'Beer-lahai-roi; for he dwelt in the ⁿ 'land of the South. ⁶³ And Isaac went out to ⁿ 'meditate in the field at the eventide: and he ⁿ 'lifted up his eyes, and ⁿ 'saw, and, behold, there were camels coming. ⁶⁴ And Rebekah ⁿ 'lifted up her eyes, and when she saw Isaac, she ⁿ 'lighted off the camel.			p' 176 ^a q' 55	
' 22 ¹⁷	⁶⁵ And she said unto the servant, What man is this that walketh in the field to meet us? And the servant said, It is my master: and she took her ⁿ 'veil, and ⁿ 'covered herself. ⁶⁶ And the servant told Isaac all the things that he had done. ⁶⁷ ⁿ 'And Isaac brought her into his mother Sarah's ⁿ 'tent, and took Rebekah, and she became his wife; and he ⁿ 'loved her: and Isaac was ⁿ 'comforted after his mother's death. [-26 ¹]			r' 220 s' 180 t' 20 ¹ a 82 b 123 c 7	
a 5 = whose 161 ^b	²⁵ ⁿ 'And Abraham ⁿ 'took ⁿ 'another wife, ⁿ 'and her name was Keturah. ² And she bare him Zimran, and Jokshan, and Medan, and Midian, and Ishbak, and Shuah. ³ And Jokshan ⁿ 'begat Sheba, and Dedan. And the sons of Dedan were Asshurim, and Letushim, and Leummim. ⁴ And the sons of Midian; Ephah, and Ephher, and Hanoah, and Abida, and Eldaah. ⁵ All these were the children of Keturah.				
b 10 ³⁹	⁶ ⁿ 'And Abraham gave all that he had unto Isaac. — ¹¹ ⁿ 'And Isaac dwelt by ⁿ 'Beer-lahai-roi. — ⁶ ⁿ 'But unto the sons of the ⁿ 'concubines, which Abraham had, Abraham gave gifts; and he sent them away from Isaac his son, ⁿ 'while he yet lived, ⁿ 'eastward, ⁿ 'unto the ⁿ 'east country.			d 91	
c 161 ⁴ 24 ⁶² d 22 ⁸⁴ e Ex 28 ²⁸ Num 18 ⁶ 29 Deut 1617 ^a		⁷ And ⁿ 'these are the ⁿ 'days of the years of Abraham's life ⁿ 'which he lived, an ⁿ 'hundred threescore and fifteen years. ⁸ And Abraham ⁿ 'gave up the ghost, and ⁿ 'died in a ⁿ 'good old age, an old man, and ⁿ 'full [of years]; and was ⁿ 'gathered to his people. ⁹ And Isaac and Ishmael his sons buried him in the ⁿ 'cave of ⁿ 'Machpelah, in the field of Ephron the son of Zohar the Hittite, which is ⁿ 'before Mamre; ¹⁰ the field which Abraham ⁿ 'purchased of the children of Heth: there was Abraham buried, and Sarah his wife. ¹¹ And it came to pass after the death of Abraham, that God ⁿ 'blessed Isaac his son.			e 188 f 93 g 5 ¹ h 75 i 5 j 64 k 33 l 77 ^a
f 131 ⁴ 281 ⁴ g Ct 20 ¹ h 47 ⁸ cp 17 23 ¹ i 5 ⁶ 5 j 17 35 ²⁹ k 151 ⁶ l 35 ²⁹ op Deut 33 ²⁸ ^a m 23 ¹⁹ n 49 ³⁰ 50 ¹² cp 33 ¹⁹		¹² ⁿ 'AND ⁿ 'THESE ARE THE GENERATIONS of ⁿ 'Ishmael, Abraham's			
o 161 ^{6b}					

24^{52a} This rather implies that Isaac has already found an independent settlement cp 25⁸, presumably in consequence of Abraham's death. J's account of that event has been eliminated by R to make way for P's statement 25⁸...; Wellhausen and others suggest that it may originally have preceded this passage.

62^b M G has, *through the wilderness*.—Ball proposes, 'Now Isaac had come from Beer-sheba [i.e. after the death of Abraham] to Beer-lahai-roi,' cp 22¹⁹ 25¹¹.

67 This verse seems to have received several editorial touches. 5 reads 'And Isaac brought her into the tent,' so that the words 'his mother Sarah' 5 are grammatically out of place; they are therefore regarded as a gloss. Of the same origin, probably, are the concluding words, inserted perhaps after 24 had been attached to 23. Wellhausen and others, however, suggest that the word 'mother' has been substituted for 'father.' The word 'death' does not appear in 5, but may be reasonably supplied from 25¹¹.

25¹ After the stress previously laid on Abraham's old age, and the possible references to his death in 24, this passage seems out of place. The difficulty of determining its source and chronological location is increased by the fact that it contains elements already embodied in J; e.g. in 10³⁶⁻²⁸ Sheba is the son of Joktan who is descended through Eber from Arpachshad, whereas in 3 Sheba is the son of Jokshan who

is born of Keturah. Partly on this ground, partly because of the mention of Midian cp 37²⁸ 38, Dillmann ascribes the Keturah-table to E, and places it before the birth of Isaac. There are not, however, any decisive phraseological affinities with E, while the few indications of style which can be gathered, point rather to J. The section is here regarded, therefore, as of secondary origin in relation to the main J, though also distinct from J^a in 10³⁶... Bacon attaches it to 22²⁴, before 24¹.

5 This verse seems to be the basis of the statement in 24^{26b} (though Kuenen regards it as founded by R on that passage). Different suggestions have been made concerning its original position, Bacon and Holzinger proposing to place it after 24¹, Battersby after 24⁹.

11^b This allusion to Isaac's residence at Beer-lahai-roi cannot belong to P 7-11^a, which does not refer to the story of 16¹⁴. It seems to have been placed there by R as an appropriate item of Isaac's biography. But as it is implied in 24⁶², it probably belongs like 5 to an earlier portion of the story which has been eliminated in the process of compilation.

6^a The provision made for Isaac 5 seems to have suggested the additional arrangements of 6 to R. Only one concubine has been mentioned before 22²⁴; the generalizing plural (does it include Hagar?) implies another hand.

6^b The last clause may be an editorial gloss on 'eastward.'

12 T *now*. 5 as in 10.

	J E	P	
p 16 ³		son, whom ¹³ Hagar the Egyptian, Sarah's handmaid, bare unto Abraham: ¹³ and ¹⁴ these are the names of the sons of Ishmael, by their names, according to their ¹⁵ generations: the firstborn of Ishmael, Nebaioth; and Kedar, and Adbeel, and Mibsam, ¹⁴ and Mishma, and Dumah, and Massa; ¹⁵ Hadad, and Tema, Jetur, Naphish, and Kedemah: ¹⁶ these are the sons of Ishmael, and ¹⁷ these are their names, by their ¹⁸ villages, and by their ¹⁹ encampments; ²⁰ twelve ²¹ princes according to their ²² nations. ²³ And ²⁴ these are the ²⁵ years of the life of Ishmael, an ²⁶ hundred and thirty and seven years: and he ²⁷ gave up the ghost and ²⁸ died; and was ²⁹ gathered unto his people.	m 76 ^b
q Lev 25 ³¹ Josh 13 ²⁸ 38 ¹⁵ 39 ²² only in P r Num 31 ¹⁰ s 17 ²⁰ t Num 25 ¹⁵ u 23 ¹			n 131 ^o 18
v ? 21 ¹ 10 ⁷ 29 ¹⁶ w Ct 21 ²⁰ y 16 ¹³		18 ¹⁹ And they dwelt from ²⁰ Havilah unto ²¹ Shur that is before Egypt, ²² as thou goest toward Assyria: ²³ he ²⁴ abode ²⁵ in the ²⁶ presence of all his brethren.	p 5
z Ct 24 ¹⁸		19 AND ²⁰ THESE ARE THE GENERATIONS of Isaac, Abraham's son: Abraham ²¹ begat Isaac: ²² and Isaac was forty years ²³ old when he took Rebekah, the daughter of ²⁴ Bethuel the ²⁵ Syrian of ²⁶ Paddan-aram, the sister of Laban the ²⁷ Syrian, to be his wife.	q 30 ^o 119 ^a 8
a' 30 ³⁸ 6 ^o b' 11 ²⁰ c' 6 ^o Hithpt d' Cp Ex 18 ¹⁸ 1 Kings 22 ⁸ 8		[26 ³³ →] ²¹ And Isaac ²² intreated Yahweh ²³ for his wife, because she was ²⁴ barren: and Yahweh was ²⁵ intreated of him, and Rebekah his wife ²⁶ conceived. ²⁷ And the children ²⁸ struggled together within her; and she said, If it be so, ²⁹ wherefore do I live? And she went to ³⁰ inquire of Yahweh. ³¹ And Yahweh said unto her,	t 48 ^o u 21
e' 27 ²⁹ f' 15 ⁴		Two nations are in thy womb, And two ² peoples shall be separated even from thy ³ bowels: And the one people shall be stronger than the other people; And the elder shall serve the ⁴ younger.	v 9 ^a
g' 38 ²⁷ 6 ^o h' 20 ²¹ 30 ³ i' 38 ²⁷ Cant 4 ⁵ 7 ²⁴ j' Josh 21 ²⁴ k' Ex 4 ⁴ l' 31 ⁵ Ct 27 ³⁸		²⁴ And when her days to be ²⁵ delivered were ²⁶ fulfilled, behold, there were ²⁷ twins in her womb. ²⁸ And the first came forth ²⁹ red, ³⁰ all over like an hairy ³¹ garment; and they called his name Esau. ³² And after that came forth his ³³ brother, and his hand ³⁴ had hold on Esau's ³⁵ heel; and his name was called ³⁶ Jacob . . .	w 14
		. . . ³⁷ And Isaac was threescore years ³⁸ old when she bare them.	
		. . . ³⁹ And the ⁴⁰ boys ⁴¹ grew: and Esau was a cunning ⁴² hunter, a man of the field; and Jacob was a ⁴³ plain man, dwelling in ⁴⁴ tents.	x 235 ^o y 166 ^o z 173 ^o a' 220 ^o b' 180 ^o
m' 24 ^o 2 Kings 43 ³⁸⁻⁴⁰ Hag 21 ¹⁴		²⁸ Now Isaac ²⁹ loved Esau, because he did eat of his ³⁰ venison: and Rebekah loved Jacob. ³¹ And Jacob sod ³² pottage: and Esau came in from the field, and he	

25^{18a} Cp 16^{14b}. The verse is full of difficulties, for the geographical data do not seem reconcilable, the disturbing words being 'as thou goest toward Asshur.' A comparison with 1 Sam 15⁷ led Hupfeld to propose 'as thou goest to Shur'; the subject being then identified with the Ishmaelites. But it is possible that the verse is really continuous with ⁶, and in that case the clause may have arisen from accidental repetition of the syllable *Shur*. For another view of a land of Ashur between Egypt and Palestine cp Hommel, *Ancient Hebr Trad* 240. The change of person in the concluding member probably marks the hand of the editor who applied the preceding words to Ishmael, and added a reminiscence from 16¹².

18^b M Or, settled, 6^o fell.

18^c M Or, over against.

20 M 6^o Aramean.—28⁵ cp 31²⁰.

21 The account of Isaac's marriage in P 19. was no doubt followed immediately by the mention of the birth of his sons. In the process of compilation E has set this aside in favour of two stories from JE, one relating the birth of the twins, the other the transfer of the birthright from Esau to Jacob. At the end of the first he incorporates P's statement of Isaac's age on the occasion. But the narrative is placed too soon when compared with 26, for it is plain from 26⁷ that Rebekah was not then the mother of adult twins. The combined incidents 21-24 ought therefore to follow 26³³.

22 M Or, wherefore am I thus.—Cp 89^b.

25^a M Or, ruddy.—Cp 1 Sam 16¹² 17²⁴.

25^b Doubtless E had his account of the birth of the pair of brothers, as well as J. If so, it is possible that some traces of it may be preserved in these verses. According to J 25^a the firstborn came forth *admoni*, which seems to point to the name Edom, on which a further play is found in 30, presumably from a different source. The second description of him, containing an allusion to the name Esau, may then be plausibly assigned to the other document, viz E. This reappears in 37 which in its abundance of epithets may again present a combined text, 'a man of the field' and 'dwelling in tents' forming a separate contrast perhaps drawn from J, both narratives (as 27 will show) being familiar with Esau's aptitude for the chase.

36 M That is, One that takes by the heel or supplants.

37^a The opening of this verse points to E, cp 21^a, but the remainder in which Esau and Jacob are both described by a pair of epithets, is probably composite. As J lays stress on hunting and venison (see analysis of 27) the phrase 'cunning hunter' may come from that source and belong to the introduction of 28; while the reference to Jacob's tent life may belong to E, as J conceives the family as living together in a house 27¹⁵ cp 33¹⁷.

37^b M Or, quiet, or, harmless, 6^o perfect.

38 The decision concerning the documentary origin of this passage depends on the analysis of 27, and particularly on 27³⁶. See 27¹² ad fin.

J	E	JE	J	E	P
n' 30 Deut 25 ¹⁸ ^a		was "faint: ³⁰ and Esau said to Jacob, 'Feed me, 'I pray thee, with	c' 186		
o' 31		"that same 'red 'pottage'; for I am "faint: "therefore was his name	d' 15 ^a		
p' 32		called "Edom. ³¹ "And Jacob said, Sell me "this day thy 'birthright.			
q' 27 ³⁰ 43 ³⁵		³² And Esau said, Behold, I am at the point to die: and 'what profit	e' 228		
		shall the birthright do to me? ³³ And Jacob said, Swear to me "this			
		day; and he swore unto him: and he sold his birthright unto Jacob.	f' 149		
r' Num 15 ³¹		³⁴ And Jacob gave Esau bread and pottage of 'lentils; and he did 'eat	g' 128		
		and drink, and 'rose up, and went his way: so Esau 'despised his			
		birthright.			
a 12 ¹⁰		²⁶ [24 ³⁷ →] And there was a "famine in the land, "beside the first			
b Cp 32		famine that was in the days of Abraham. And Isaac "went unto "Abimelech			
c Cp 25 ^{11b}		king of the Philistines unto Gerar. ² And Yahweh 'appeared unto him,			
d Ct 20 ²		and said, 'Go not down into Egypt; "dwell in the land which I shall tell			
e 12 ⁷		thee of: ³ 'sojourn in this land, and I will "be with thee, and will "bless	a 130		
f 12 ⁷		thee;			
g 12 ⁸		"for unto thee, and unto thy seed, I will "give all these lands ^b , and I will			
A Ct 12 ⁷		'establish the 'oath which I "swore unto Abraham thy father; ⁴ and	b 217		
i Ct 17 ⁷		I will multiply thy "seed as the "stars of heaven, and will give unto thy	c 204		
j 22 ¹⁷		seed all these lands; and 'in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth			
k 15 ⁵ 22 ¹⁷		"be blessed; ⁵ "because that Abraham "obeyed my voice, and "kept my	d 10 ^b		
l 12 ⁸		charge, my commandments, my statutes, and my "laws.			
m 22 ¹⁸		⁶ "And Isaac dwelt in Gerar: ⁷ and the "men of the place asked him of			
n Cp 44 ^b		his wife; and he said, 'She is my sister: for he feared to say, My wife;			
o Deut 11 ¹ cp		lest, [said he], the men of the place "should kill me for Rebekah:			
p Ex 16 ²⁴ 18 ¹⁶ 20		because she was fair to look upon. ⁸ "And 'it came to pass, when he had	e 3 ^a		
q Lev 26 ⁴⁵		been there a long time, that Abimelech king of the Philistines 'looked	f 54		
r 29 ³² 28 ²¹		out at a 'window, and "saw, and, behold, Isaac was "sporting with	g 55		
s 12 ¹² 20 ¹¹		Rebekah his wife. ⁹ And Abimelech called Isaac, and said, Behold, of			
t 11 ¹¹		a surety she is thy wife: and how saidst thou, She is my sister? And			
u 86		Isaac said unto him, Because I said, Lest I die for her. ¹⁰ And			
v 20 ⁹		Abimelech said, "What is this thou hast done unto us? one of the			
w 20 ⁹		people might "lightly have 'lien with thy wife, and thou shouldest have			
x Ct 18 ¹		"brought 'guiltiness upon us. ¹¹ And Abimelech "charged all the			
y 12 ²⁰		people, saying, He that "toucheth this man or his wife shall surely be			
z Ex 10 ¹² cp 29		put to death". ¹² And Isaac "sowed in that land, and found in the			
a' 47 ²⁵		same year an "hundredfold: and Yahweh "blessed him. ¹³ And the			
b' 31		man waxed great, and grew "more and more until he "became very			
c' 24 ¹		great: ¹⁴ and he had "possessions of 'flocks, and "possessions of herds,			
d' 23 ⁵		and a great 'household: and the Philistines "envied him.	j 33		
e' 24 ⁸⁵		¹⁵ "Now all the "wells which his father's servants had digged in the days			
f' Job 1 ³		of Abraham his father, the Philistines had "stopped them, and filled them			
g' 30 ¹		with earth.			
h' 21 ²⁵		¹⁶ And Abimelech said unto Isaac, Go from us; for thou art much			
i' 14 31 ¹		"mightier than we. ¹⁷ And Isaac departed thence, and 'encamped in			
j' 33 ¹⁸ Ex 19 ²		the valley of Gerar, and dwelt there.	k 59		

25^{30a} M. 3 the red pottage, this red pottage.

30b M. That is, Red. 31 33 M. Or, first of all.

26¹ The famine just mentioned gives occasion to Isaac's sojourn in Gerar, to which is attached the incident of Rebekah parallel to that of Sarah in 12¹⁰... The editor, therefore, refers to the previous event in the days of Abraham. Hence ^{1b} presupposes the narrative in 12¹⁰...; but as there is no allusion to Abraham's visit to Gerar in 20, it apparently marks a stage in the growth of J prior to its union with E. On the original place of the following narrative cp 25^{21a}.

² The injunction to dwell in a land to be indicated hereafter can hardly proceed from the writer who reports Yahweh's injunction to Abraham to 'sojourn in this land' ³. ¹⁻⁴ may contain touches of E, possibly ^{2b} and ⁶ are from that source.

³ One of the later hortatory amplifications, showing the approximation of these additions to the literary manner of D. For 'all these lands' * cp 1 Chron 13² 2 Chron 11²³, but 3 and

Jubilees read 'all this land.' In ^{5b} it is possible that the hand of E⁴ may have been at work.

⁴ M. Or, bless themselves.—3 22¹⁸.

⁶ On this narrative compared with 12¹¹... and 20¹... see Introd XI 68 i 108 and XII 53 i 117.

¹⁴ 3 = cattle, cp 18. For the peculiar use of the text cp 47¹⁷.

^{15 18} In these two verses the compiler prepares for a second story concerning the origin of the well of Beer-sheba. In 21²⁵... it has already been named in Abraham's day: Isaac, therefore, can only rename it if it has in the meantime fallen into disuse. This is ascribed to interference by the Philistines, which is generalized so as to include 'all the wells.' (Were there other well-stories in E to which E thus makes reference?) The statement in ¹⁸ that Isaac 'called their names after the names by which his father had called them,' seems inconsistent with the subsequent narrative, in which he names the wells from the incidents of his own struggles.

J	E	JE	J	E	P
		18 And Isaac digged again the wells of water, which they had digged in the days of Abraham his father; for the Philistines had 'stopped them after the death of Abraham: and he called their names after the names by which his father had called them.			
18 ¹ Cp Lev 14 ^{5b} 1 ¹³		19 And Isaac's servants digged in the valley, and found there a well of 'springing water. 20 And the herdmen of Gerar 'strove with Isaac's herdmen, saying, The water is ours: and he called the name of the well 'Esek; because they 'contended with him. 21 And they digged another well, and they 'strove for that also: and he called the name of it 'Sitnah. 22 And he 'removed from thence, and digged another well; and for that they 'strove not: and he called the name of it 'Rehoboth; and he said, For now Yahweh hath 'made room for us, and we shall be 'fruitful in the land. 23 And he went up from thence to Beer-sheba. 24 And Yahweh 'appeared unto him the same night, and said, I am the 'God of Abraham thy father: 'fear not, for I 'am with thee, and will 'bless thee, and multiply thy 'seed for my servant Abraham's 'sake. 25 And he 'builded an altar there, and 'called upon the name of Yahweh, and pitched his tent there: and there Isaac's servants 'dugged a well. 26 Then Abimelech went to him from Gerar, and Ahuzzath his 'friend, and 'Phicol the captain of his host. 27 And Isaac said unto them, 'Wherefore are ye come unto me, seeing ye hate me, and have sent me away from you? 28 And they said, We saw plainly that Yahweh 'was with thee: and we said, Let there now be an 'oath betwixt us, even betwixt us and thee, and let us 'make a covenant with thee; 29 that thou wilt do us no hurt, as we have not 'touched thee, and as we have done unto thee nothing but good, and have sent thee away in 'peace: thou art now the 'blessed of Yahweh. 30 And he made them a 'feast, and they did 'eat and drink. 31 And they 'rose up betimes in the morning, and sware 'one to another: and Isaac sent them away, and they departed from him in 'peace. 32 And it came to pass the same day, that Isaac's servants came, and told him 'concerning the well which they had digged, and said unto him, We have found water. 33 And he called it 'Shibah: 'wherefore the name of the city is Beer-sheba unto this day. [→25 ²¹]			l 190 m 154 n 71 o 137 p 15 ^a
m' 12 ^b					
n' Ex 34 ²⁴ 5 = enlarge cp 38 ⁷ o' 40 ²³ cp 41 ¹⁸ Ex 23 ³⁰ ct 7 ³					
p' 50 ⁵ Ex 21 ²⁸ Num 21 ¹⁸ q' 5 ¹ cp 2 Sam 3 ⁸ r' 21 ²³ s' Ex 21 ⁸ 3 ⁵ 51 ⁴ cp 23 ⁰ t' 24 ⁴¹					q 181
u' 31 28 ²¹ Ex 18 ²³ Josh 10 ²¹ v' cp 11 ²					r 20 s 155 t 149 ^b u 200
w' 25 ²⁰ x' Ct 36 ²		34 And when Esau was forty years 'old he 'took to wife Judith the daughter of Beeri the Hittite, and 'Basemath the daughter of Elon the Hittite: 35 and they were 'a grief of mind unto Isaac and to Rebekah.			v 111 w 85
y 4810 cp Deut 34 ⁷ b 15 42 10 ²¹ (J) 29 ¹⁶ (E)		27 ^{1a} "And it came to pass, that when Isaac was old, and his eyes were 'dim, so that he could not see, he called Esau his 'elder son,			x 119 y 3

26¹⁹ M 5 living. 20 M That is, Contention.
21 M That is, Enmity. 22 M That is, Broad places, or, Room.
23 M See 21³¹. 25 M 5 bitterness of spirit.—Cp 28⁶.
27¹ The narrative of the blessing of Isaac is admitted on all hands to be composite, but its constituents have been blended with such skill as practically to defy analysis. In 1891, Bacon (*Hebraica*, January, 1891) in America, and Kautzsch and Socin in Germany, published independent attempts at resolution. Ball and Holzinger have since followed. But the difficulties are such that even after their labours any scheme of distribution must still be tentative, for the opening of the chapter, in particular, shows that (on any theory) the sources have been much curtailed in the process of union. The presence of duplicate accounts may, however, be detected with sufficient clearness. A comparison of 23 and 25 indicates that two stories are intertwined. The blessing which is given in 23 'so he blessed him,' has yet to be bestowed in 25 'that my soul may bless thee.' In 25 the blessing follows on the identification of Jacob with Esau by the hairiness of his hands: in 27 it depends on the smell attached to the garments which Jacob is wearing. These divergences belong to different versions of the same main incident, and provide a basis for further partition. If the passages which describe the disguise of the hands be grouped

together, 21-23 will be naturally preceded by 9-14 and 16. of which 18 seems the natural sequel. These verses supply a characteristic phrase, 'savory meat such as he loveth' 9 14 cp 4 7b; the address 'my father' with its reply 'here am I' in 18 finds a counterpart in the similar address 'my son' in 1b, the parallels in 22¹ 7 suggesting their connexion with E. The following contrasts in substance and language are then obtained:—

15 27 goodly raiment || skins 16 derived from 9, smooth 16 cp 11, hairy 11 23 cp 25^{26b}.
27 smell || feel 21. derived from 12 (the only parallels being in passages assigned on other grounds to E).
25 venison 3 6 7a 19 31 33 || savoury meat 4 7b 9 14 17 31.
25 my soul may bless thee 4 19 31 || I (he) may bless thee 7b 10.
4 before I die || before my death 7 10 (note the different words for 'before' and their corresponding occurrences elsewhere).

The analysis thus begun is found to be occasionally confirmed unexpectedly by phraseological affinities specified in the margin (e.g. the designations 'elder' and 'younger son,' 'firstborn' run through 1 15 19 32 42 cp 25²³ (J), 'field' 3 6 27 and parallels on 1a 2b 3 4b (ct 10); 20 25 29ac 33 (J) and 12 36 (E)). The student is thus prepared to believe that the blessing in 27-29 may be likewise

	J	E	JE	J	E	P
c 227.			... ^{1b} and said unto him, 'My son: and he said unto him, 'Here am I. . .			b 104
d 1813 6			² And he said, 'Behold now, 'I am old, I know not the day of my death.			c 9
e 6†			³ Now therefore take, I pray thee, thy weapons, thy 'quiver and thy			d 172
f 8 38 cp 172			bow, and go out to the field, and 'take me 'venison; . . .			
g 7 9 14 17 51 6†			... ^{4a} and make me 'savoury meat, such as I love, and bring it to me,			
			that I may eat; . . .			
A 19 31 4634 Ex			^{4b} that my soul may bless thee 'before I die.			e 6
914 16 6 ct 10			^{5a} And Rebekah heard when Isaac spake to Esau his son.			
			^{5b} And Esau went to the field to 'hunt for 'venison, and to bring it.			
			⁶ And Rebekah spake unto Jacob her son, saying, Behold, I heard thy			
			father speak unto Esau thy brother, saying, ^{7a} Bring me 'venison, . . .			
i 10 5016 ct 4 6			... ^{7b} and make me 'savoury meat, that I may eat, and bless thee			
j 13 43 cp 44b			'before Yahweh 'before my death'. ⁸ Now therefore, 'my son, 'obey my			
k 3714			voice 'according to that which I command thee. ⁹ Go now to the			
l 3817 30			flock, and fetch me from thence two good 'kids of the goats; and			
m Ct 4 6			I will make them 'savoury meat for thy father, such as he loveth:			
n 28 cp 2535			¹⁰ and thou shalt bring it to thy father, that he may eat, 'so that he may			
o Cp 16			bless thee 'before his death. ¹¹ And Jacob said to Rebekah his mother,			
p 31 cp 3184 37			Behold, Esau my brother is a 'hairy man, and I am a 'smooth man.			f 64
q 2930			¹² My father 'peradventure will 'feel me, and I shall 'seem to him as			
			a 'deceiver; and I shall bring a curse upon me, and not a blessing.			
			¹³ And his mother said unto him, Upon me be thy curse, 'my son:			
			only 'obey my voice, and go fetch me them. ¹⁴ And he went, and			
			fetch'd, and brought them to his mother: and his mother made			
			'savoury meat, such as his father loved.			
r 6† a Chron			¹⁵ And Rebekah took the 'goodly 'raiment of Esau her 'elder son, which			
s 2028 al			were with her in the house, and put them upon Jacob her 'younger son. . . .			
t 27 ct 16			¹⁶ And she put the skins of the 'kids of the goats upon his hands, and			
u 43 934			upon the 'smooth of his neck: ¹⁷ and she gave the 'savoury meat			
			and the bread, which she had prepared, into the hand of her son			
v 227 ct 31b			Jacob. ^{18a} And he came unto his father, and said, 'My father: and he			
			said, 'Here am I'; . . .			
y 28 [And Isaac			^{18b} 'Who art thou, my son? ¹⁹ And Jacob said unto his father, I am			
his father said]			Esau 'thy firstborn; I have done 'according as thou badest me': arise,			
w 33 1016 2221 386			I pray thee, sit and eat of my 'venison, 'that thy soul may bless me.			
x Cp 124 6			²⁰ And Isaac said unto his son, How is it that thou hast found it so			
			'quickly, my son? And he said, Because Yahweh thy God 'sent me			
y 2412†			'good speed.			g 43
			²¹ And Isaac said unto Jacob, Come near, I pray thee, that I may 'feel			h 131
z 3733 Ex 164 177			thee, my son, 'whether thou be my very son Esau 'or not. ²² And			
Num 1123 131a			Jacob went near unto Isaac his father; and he 'felt him, and said, The			
Deut 82a			voice is Jacob's voice, but the hands are the hands of Esau. ²³ And he			
			'discerned him not, because his hands were 'hairy, as his brother Esau's			i 145
			hands: so he blessed him.			
			²⁴ And he said, Art thou my very son Esau? And he said, I am.			
			²⁵ And he said, Bring it near to me, and I will eat of my son's 'venison,			

composite. The different divine names in 27²⁸ are not in themselves necessary proofs of derivation from contrasted sources cp 9²⁶. But they tend in that direction when the contents of the blessing are examined. In 29 the second couplet of the verse so suddenly contracts the scope of power as to produce an anti-climax. After the homage of nations 29a the submission of kindred is but a small gift. Further, the subsequent reference to the blessing in 37 only recognizes the items of 28 and 29b: and on these, also, is framed the prophecy in 38-40. It would seem, then, that 27-29 may be divided into (1) 27 29a 29c and (2) 28 29b; (1) is then Yahwist and (2) Elohist. But (2) carries with it 37-40 and the preceding 36. This is supported by the fact that the play on the name Jacob in 38 is entirely different from that of 25²⁶, ascribed on independent grounds to J; and it also secures high probability for the attribution of 25²⁶⁻³⁴ to E, as 27³⁶ plainly refers to that story. Both J and E may have

contained it, but it is more natural to locate both the story and the allusion in the same document.

^{7b} The words 'before Yahweh' involve a serious difficulty in the ascription to E. They may have been introduced accidentally from J through the similarity of the word 'before (my death)' contrasted with 'before' in 4b. Other unexpected occurrences of Yahweh, due to various causes, have been noted in 17¹ 21^{1b} 22¹¹.

⁸ The phrase 'obey my voice' is followed in 13 43 by the actual order, without hortatory expansion. The words 'according to that which I command thee' do not seem to cohere quite naturally with the preceding. Outside of Deut, where the expression is very common, they occur only in Ex 34¹¹ cp Num 32²⁵. Have they also crept into the text from J in the process of compilation?

¹² M Or, mocker.—Cp 2 Chron 36¹⁶†.

	J E	JE	J E P
<p>a' 24⁵⁴ b' 9²¹ et 28 6 c' Ct 21 d' 821</p>		<p>¹that my soul may bless thee. And he brought it near to him, and he did ^a'eat: and he brought him ^b'wine, and he ^a'drank. ²⁶ And his father Isaac said unto him, ^c'Come near now, and ¹'kiss me, my son. ²⁷ And he came near, and kissed him: and he ^d'smelled the smell of his ¹'raiment, and blessed him, and said,</p>	<p>J 178</p>
		<p>See, the smell of my son Is as the smell of a field which Yahweh hath blessed:</p>	
<p>a' 38 cp Deut 33¹² f' 39 6† g' 37 cp 230 h' 9²⁵</p>		<p>... ²⁸ And God give thee of the ^e'dew of heaven, And of the ^f'fatness of the earth, And plenty of ^g'corn and wine^g.</p>	
<p>i' 25²⁸ j' 37 6† k' Cp 37¹⁰</p>		<p>^{29a} Let peoples ^h'serve thee, And ⁱ'nations bow down to thee: ^{27b} Be ^j'lord over thy brethren, And let thy ^k'mother's sons bow down to thee.</p>	
<p>l' 12³ cp 24 and 10⁴</p>		<p>^{29c} ¹'Cursed be every one that curseth thee, And blessed be every one that blesseth thee.</p>	
<p>m' 18³³</p>		<p>^{30a} And it came to pass, as soon as Isaac had ^m'made an end of blessing Jacob,</p>	
		<p>^{30b} And Jacob was yet scarce gone out from the presence of Isaac his father . . .</p>	
		<p>^{30c} that Esau his brother came in from his hunting. . . . ^{31a} And he also made ^o'savoury meat, and brought it unto his father . . .</p>	
<p>n' Cp Ex 19¹⁸ o' 37 43¹¹ Ex 33¹⁴</p>		<p>^{31b} And he said unto his father, Let ⁿ'my father arise, and eat of his son's ^a'venison, ¹that thy soul may bless me. ³² And Isaac his father said unto him, ^o'Who art thou? And he said, I am thy son, ⁿ'thy firstborn, Esau. ³³ And Isaac ⁿ'trembled very exceedingly, and said, Who ^e'then is he that hath ^f'taken ^a'venison, and brought it me, and I have eaten of all ^o'before thou camest, and have blessed him? yea, [and] he shall be blessed. ³⁴ When Esau heard the words of his father, he ^k'cried with an exceeding great and bitter ¹'cry, and said unto his father, Bless me, even me also, O my father. . . .</p>	<p>k 141 l 23</p>
<p>p' 34^{18*}</p>		<p>. . . ³⁵ And he said, Thy brother came with ^p'guile, and hath taken away thy blessing. ³⁶ And he said, Is not he rightly named ⁿ'Jacob? for he hath ^o'supplanted me these two times: he took away my ¹'birthright; and, behold, now he hath taken away my blessing. And he said, Hast thou not ^o'reserved a blessing for me? ³⁷ And Isaac answered and said unto Esau, Behold, I have made him thy ^j'lord, and all his brethren have I given to him for servants; and with ^g'corn and wine have I ^o'sustained him: and what ^e'then shall I do for thee, my son? ³⁸ And Esau said unto his father, Hast thou but one blessing, my father? ^o'bless me, even me also, O my father. And Esau lifted up his voice, and wept. ³⁹ And Isaac his father answered and said unto him,</p>	
<p>q' Ct 25²⁶ Hos 12⁸ r' 25²¹ . s' Num 11:17 28*</p>		<p>Behold, ^o'of the ^f'fatness of the earth shall be thy dwelling, And ^o'of the ^e'dew of heaven from above;</p>	
<p>t' Ct 102 6</p>		<p>⁴⁰ And by thy sword shalt thou live, and thou shalt serve thy brother;</p>	
<p>u' Cp Hos 11¹² Jer 2:21 Ps 55^{24†} v' Ex 32: 24² w' 49²³ 50^{15*}</p>		<p>And it shall come to pass when thou shalt ^o'break loose, That thou shalt ^o'shake his yoke from off thy neck.</p>	
		<p>^{41a} And Esau ⁿ'hated Jacob because of the blessing wherewith his father blessed him.</p>	
<p>x' 821 cp 45 y' 50¹⁰⁻¹¹ cp Deut 34⁸ z' Cp Gen 47²⁹ 6</p>		<p>^{41b} And Esau said in his ^o'heart, The days of ¹'mourning for my father ^o'are at hand; then will I slay my brother Jacob. ⁴² And the words of Esau her ^b'elder son were told to Rebekah; and she sent and called Jacob her ¹'younger son, and said unto him, Behold, thy brother Esau, as touching thee, doth ^m'comfort himself, [purposing] to kill thee.</p>	<p>m 20</p>

27³⁶ M See 25²⁶.—For the form of the question, יִשְׂרָאֵל, cp 29^{15*}.

38 This phrase seems to have been assimilated from 34, or

perhaps introduced by a copyist.

39 M Or, away from.

J	E	JE	J	E	P
		... ^{43a} Now therefore, my son, 'obey my voice; and arise, ...			
a ¹ Cp 24 ^{10 29} 28 ¹⁰		43b ¹ Flee thou to a ¹ Laban my brother to a ¹ Haran; ...			n 158
b ¹ 25 ³⁰ Dan 11 ²⁰ †		... ⁴⁴ and tarry with him a b ¹ few days, until thy brother's c ¹ fury turn away;			
c ¹ 2 Sam 11 ²⁰ ct		45a ¹ until thy brother's anger turn away from thee.			
d ¹ 2 Sam 9 ¹⁹ Lev		45b ¹ And he d ¹ forget that which thou hast done to him: then I will send and fetch thee from thence: why should I be e ¹ bereaved of you both in one day?			o 98
e ¹ Cp Ex 12 ¹⁸ Lev					
f ¹ 25 ³⁰ Num 21 ⁵		45 ¹ And Rebekah said to Isaac, I am f ¹ weary of my life because of the pdaughters of Heth: if Jacob f ¹ take a wife of the daughters of Heth, such as these, of the g ¹ daughters of the land, what good shall my life do me?			p 10b
g ¹ 26 ⁸⁴		28 ¹ And Isaac called Jacob, and b ¹ blessed him, and charged him, and said unto him, a ¹ Thou shalt not take a wife of the ddaughters of Canaan. b ¹ Arise,			a 10b
h ¹ 34 ¹		go to b ¹ Paddan-aram, to the house of Bethuel thy mother's father; and take thee a wife from thence of the daughters of Laban thy mother's brother.			b 6
i ¹ 34 ¹		3 And c ¹ God Almighty bless thee, and make thee ffruitful, and multiply thee, that thou mayest be a c ¹ company of peoples; 4 and give thee the blessing of Abraham, to thee, and to thy seed with thee; that thou mayest dinherit the land of thy sojournings which God e ¹ gave unto Abraham. 5 And Isaac sent away Jacob: and he went to Paddan-aram unto Laban, son of Bethuel the Syrian, the brother of Rebekah, Jacob's and Esau's mother. 6 Now Esau saw that Isaac had blessed Jacob and sent him away to Paddan-aram, to take him a wife from thence; and that as he blessed him he gave him a charge, saying, Thou shalt not take a wife of the daughters of Canaan; 7 and that Jacob obeyed his father and his mother, and was gone to Paddan-aram: 8 and Esau saw that the daughters of Canaan pleasured not Isaac his father; 9 and Esau went unto Ishmael, and took unto the wives which he had Mahalath the daughter of Ishmael Abraham's son, the sister of Nebaioth, to be his wife.			c 1
j ¹ 34 ¹					d 73
k ¹ Cp 36 ³ ct 24 ³					e 176
l ¹ Cp 36 ³ ct 24 ³					f 145
m ¹ 35 ¹¹ 48 ⁴					
n ¹ Lev 20 ³⁴ 25 ⁴⁶					
o ¹ Num 33 ⁵³ 5					
p ¹ 17 ⁸					
q ¹ Cp 22 ¹¹					
r ¹ 26 ⁸⁴					
s ¹ 25 ¹³					
t ¹ 26 ⁸³ 83					
u ¹ 27 ⁴⁸					
v ¹ Cp 12 ⁶					
w ¹ 18 ⁵ 2 Sam					
x ¹ 19 ¹³					
y ¹ 5†					
z ¹ Ct 15 ⁷ Ex 6 ²					
		10 And Jacob went out from Beer-sheba, and went toward Haran. ...			
		... ¹¹ And he lighted upon a certain place, and harried there all night, because the sun was set; and he took one of the stones of the place, and put it under his head, and lay down in that place to sleep.			g 177
		12 And he dreamed, and behold a ladder set up on the earth, and the top of it reached to heaven: and behold the angels of God ascending and descending on it.			h 178
		13 And, behold, Yahweh stood beside him, and said, I am Yahweh, the God of Abraham thy father, and the God of Isaac: the land whereon			i 236

27⁴⁶ This verse is obviously connected with 26³⁴, and leads to the dispatch of Jacob to Paddan-aram to find a bride. Whether it was an integral part of P may, however, be doubted. It is not the manner of P to attribute any share in the development of events to the patriarch's wives: in 28¹ 8 Isaac is mentioned alone. Phraseological peculiarities, 'daughters of the land' ct 28¹, 'daughters of Canaan,' and the clause 'what good' &c cp 25²² 5, suggest rather the hand of the compiler who thus makes a bridge from 27 to 28¹⁻². The repetition 'of the daughters of Heth' appears rather cumbersome beside the parallel clause 'of the daughters of the land': its omission by 5 which reads 'the daughters of this land' (Q de stirpe hujus terrae), suggests that it is a gloss.

28¹ P's reference to the blessing of Jacob; for a similar brevity in relation to JE cp 25²⁰ and 24.

3 M. El Shaddai.—According to Ex 6³ P related an appearance of El Shaddai to Isaac as well as to Abraham and Jacob 17¹ and 35¹¹. That account has not been preserved; it was perhaps considered superfluous by R in view of 26²...

5 M. 5 Aramean.—25²⁰.

7 Possibly an addition of R with reference to 27⁴³. (Dillmann).

10. The sequel of the combined narrative in 27⁴¹⁻⁴⁵. As J apparently locates Isaac at Beer-sheba this verse is naturally connected with 26²³; while the reference to Haran in its turn supports the attribution of 27^{43b} to J.

11a In the following narrative the contrast of 16 and 17 points to an amalgamation of different sources, easily recognized as J and E respectively (cp the dream and the angels of Elohim 12; 12 carries with it 11 and 18; and 20 contains the vow accompanying the consecration of the *massébeha* 18). With regard to the theophany in J 13-16 opinion is somewhat divided; it has affinities with undoubted J passages, cp 14 and 12³, but also with others which apparently belong to the editorial expansions 13¹⁴⁻¹⁷ 22¹⁵⁻¹⁶. Kuenen and Cornill, accordingly, propose to attribute it to E. The opening words, however, 'And behold Yahweh stood beside him' do not sound like a harmonist's combination with 12; they rather belong to an independent narrative. Of this another trace may be found (if Bacon's ingenious suggestion be adopted) in 35¹⁶. Both J and E had an account of the origin of the sacred pillar at Beth-el. E connects it with the revealing dream 12 17, on Jacob's flight from Beer-sheba, cp 35¹... J seems to have placed it on his return from Aram-naharaim, after the wrestling at Peniel, cp Hos 12⁴. If the promise of 13, be attached to that occasion, a suitable base is found also for P's selection of that place in Jacob's career for the theophany of El Shaddai 35⁹... In that case, however, 13 will be an editorial reflex of 17, due probably to the same combining hand which added the words 'and Yahweh will be my God' 21b.

11b M. 5 the place.

13 So M. T above it.

	J E	JE	J E P	
p 127	thou liest, to thee will I ^p give it, and to thy seed ; ¹⁴ and thy ^p seed shall			p 204
q 13 ¹⁶	be as the ^q dust of the earth, and thou shalt ^q spread abroad to the ^q west,			q 80
r 13 ¹⁴	and to the east, and to the north, and to the south : and in thee and in			
s 12 ³	thy seed shall ^s all the families of the earth ^s be blessed. ¹⁵ And, behold,			r 10 ^b
t 26 ³	I ^t am ^t with thee, and will ^t keep thee whithersoever thou goest, and will			s 130
u Cp 20	bring thee again into this ^u land ; for I will not ^u leave thee, until I have			t 160
v 47 ¹⁸ 26 Lev	done that which I have spoken to thee of. ¹⁶ And Jacob ^v awaked out			
2034 Num 11 ¹²	of his sleep, and he said, ^v Surely Yahweh ^v is in this place ; and I knew			u 84
32 ¹¹	it not.			
w 23 ⁴ ct 4 ¹⁴ 7 21 ^a	¹⁷ And he was ^w afraid, and said, How dreadful is this place ! this is none			
x Ex 21 ⁴	other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven. ¹⁸ ^x And			
y 20 ⁵ 42 ⁸⁵	Jacob ^y rose up early in the ^y morning, and took the stone that he had			v 200
18 L 55 ^d 70 ^b	^y put ^y under his head, and ^y set it up for a ^y pillar, and ^y poured oil upon			w 236
	the top of it.			
z Cp 31 ^{45a} 35 ¹⁴ 20	¹⁹ And he called the name of that place ^z Beth-el : ^z <i>b' but the name of the city was</i>			
Ex 24 ⁴	^z <i>Luz at the first.</i>			
a' 35 ¹⁴ cp 31 ¹⁸	²⁰ And Jacob ^{a'} vowed a vow, saying, If ^{a'} God will be ^{a'} with me, and will			
u' 48 ¹⁹ Ex 31 ¹⁶	keep me in this ^{u'} way that I go, and will give me bread to ^{u'} eat, and			
Num 14 ³¹	raiment to put on, ²¹ so that I come again to my ^{u'} father's house			x 153
c' 35 ⁶ 48 ⁵ Judg	in ^{c'} peace,			
135 Josh 18 ¹³	... ^{21b} ^{c'} and Yahweh will ^{c'} be my God, . . .			
d' 31 ¹³ cp Num	. . . ²² ^{d'} then this stone, which I have ^{d'} set up for a pillar, shall be God's			
21 ²	house : ^{d'} <i>and of all that thou shalt give me I will surely give the tenth unto thee.</i>			y 181
e' 35 ³	²⁹ ^{e'} Then Jacob ^{e'} went on his journey, and ^{e'} came to the land of the			
f' Cp 140 ^a	children of the east. . . .			
g' 26 ²⁵	² ^{f'} And he ^{f'} looked, and behold ^{f'} a ^{f'} well in the field, and, lo, three			a 55
A' Cp 226	^{f'} flocks of sheep ^{f'} lying there by it ; for out of that well they watered the			b 32
22a L 108 ^a	flocks : and the stone upon the well's mouth was great. ³ And thither			
22b L 88 ^a	were all the ^g flocks ^g gathered : and they ^g rolled the stone from the well's			c 201
a 45 = went ct	mouth, and watered the sheep, and put the stone again upon the			
285 10	well's mouth in its place. ⁴ And Jacob said unto them, ^a My brethren,			
b 24 ¹¹ Ex 216 .	whence be ye ? And they said, Of ^b Haran are we. ⁵ And he said unto			a 55
c 47	them, Know ye Laban the son of Nahor ? ⁶ And they said, We know			b 32
d 7. 34 ³⁰ 49 ¹ al	him. And he said unto them, Is it ^d well with him ? And they said,			c 201
e 197	It is well : and, behold, Rachel his daughter cometh with the sheep.			
f 27 ¹³	⁷ And he said, Lo, it is yet high day, neither is it time that the ^f cattle			d 18
g 45 = peace 43 ²⁷	should be ^g gathered together : water ye the sheep, and go and feed them.			
	⁸ And they said, We cannot, until all the ^g flocks be ^g gathered together,			e 91
	and they ^g roll the stone from the well's mouth ; then we water the			
	sheep. ⁹ While he ^g yet spake with them, Rachel came with her father's			
	sheep ; for she kept them. ¹⁰ And it came to pass, when Jacob saw			
A 18 ²³	Rachel the daughter of Laban his mother's brother, and the sheep of			
	Laban his mother's brother, that Jacob ^h went near, and ^h rolled the stone			
i 15 cp 13 ⁸	from the well's mouth, and watered the flock of Laban his mother's			
	brother. ¹¹ And Jacob kissed Rachel, and lifted up his voice, and wept.			
	¹² And Jacob told Rachel that he was her father's ⁱ brother, and that he			

28¹⁴ M 4 break forth.

19 M That is, *The house of God*.—Cp J's method of assigning names, eg 26³⁰⁻²². E's reference to the meaning of the name is seen in 17 21. 19^b is probably an editorial note founded on P cp 35⁷.

20 4 'Yahweh God.' Klostermann, *Der Pentateuch* 38, thinks 'Yahweh' was the older reading.

21^b So M. T then shall Yahweh be my God, and this stone, &c.

22 The transition to the second person (not previously employed) suggests that this close has been appended by another hand, cp 14²⁰.

29¹ M 4 lifted up his feet.—4+. The following phrase 'went to the land of the children of the East' (4 as in 28^{5 10}) supplies a third designation of the goal of Jacob's journey, cp 'went to Paddan-aram' (P), 'went toward Haran' (J), and is

consequently ascribed to E as the sequel of the previous vision. 'Land of the children of the East' 4, ct 25⁷.

2 The narrative of Jacob's sojourn in Haran and his subsequent return to Canaan 29²⁻³³ is almost entirely derived from JE. Only the scantiest traces of P survive in the record of the births of his children, and in the formula of migration which marks his departure from Paddan-aram 31¹⁸. The decomposition of the combined stories of J and E is sometimes matter of the utmost difficulty, as the texture is often extremely closely knit, even where it is practically certain that two sources have been united. The following analysis is therefore in many places only a probable one: the justification of it sometimes depends on considerations which must be differently estimated by different students.

	J E	JE	J E P	
<p>j Ex 23¹ Num 14¹⁶ Deut 25² k 33⁴ 48¹⁰ l 24⁶⁶ m 26⁹ n 28²³ o 37²⁷ p ϕ = a month of days Num 11³⁰ + q Cp 27⁸⁶ ϕ r Ex 21² 11 Num 11⁵ s 31⁷ 41 Ruth 21²⁴ t Ct 26 ϕ u 27¹ v 39⁶ 41¹⁶ Deut 21¹¹ w 27¹² x 27⁴⁴ y 25²⁴ z 42¹⁷ Num 11²⁴ 21²² Josh 24¹ a' 26⁷</p>		<p>was Rebekah's son: and she 'ran and told her father. ¹³ And it came to pass, when Laban heard the 'tidings of Jacob his sister's son, that he 'ran to meet him, and 'embraced him, and kissed him, and brought him to his house. And he 'told Laban all these things. ¹⁴ And Laban said to him, "Surely thou art my "bone and my "flesh. And he abode with him the "space of a month".</p> <p>¹⁵ "And Laban said unto Jacob, "Because thou art my 'brother, shouldest thou therefore serve me for 'nought? tell me, what shall thy 'wages be? ¹⁶ And Laban had two daughters: the name of the elder was Leah, and the name of the 'younger was Rachel. ¹⁷ And Leah's eyes were "tender; but Rachel was 'beautiful and well favoured. ¹⁸ And Jacob loved Rachel; and he said, I will serve thee seven years for Rachel thy 'younger daughter. ¹⁹ And Laban said, It is better that I give her to thee, than that I should give her to another man: abide with me. ²⁰ And Jacob served seven years for Rachel; and they "seemed unto him but a "few days, for the love he had to her. ²¹ And Jacob said unto Laban, Give me my wife, for my days are 'fulfilled, that I may go in unto her. ²² And Laban 'gathered together all the "men of the place, and made a feast. ²³ And it came to pass in the evening, that he took Leah his daughter, and brought her to him; and he went in unto her.</p>		f 70
<p>b' Josh 9²² cp 27³⁵ c' 34⁷ ϕ d' 19²¹</p>	<p>... ²⁴ "And Laban gave Zilpah his handmaid unto his daughter Leah for an handmaid.</p> <p>²⁵ And it came to pass in the morning that, behold, it was Leah: and he said to Laban, What is this thou hast done unto me? did not I serve with thee for Rachel? wherefore then hast thou 'beguiled me?</p> <p>... ²⁶ "And Laban said, It is not so "done in our "place, to give the "younger before the "firstborn. . . .</p> <p>... ²⁷ "Fulfil the week of this one, and we will give thee the other also for the service which thou shalt serve with me yet seven other years.</p> <p>^{28a} And Jacob did so, and "fulfilled her week:</p>	<p>^{28b} "And he gave him Rachel his daughter to wife. ²⁹ And Laban gave to Rachel his daughter Bilhah his handmaid to be her handmaid.</p>		g 65 h 9a
<p>e' 30²² cp 20¹⁸ f' 11³⁰ g' 16¹³ h' 16¹¹</p>	<p>³⁰ and he went in also unto Rachel, and he loved also Rachel more than Leah, and served with him yet seven other years. . . .</p> <p>³¹ And Yahweh saw that Leah was hated, and he "opened her womb: but Rachel was 'barren. ³² And Leah 'conceived, and bare a son, and she called his name Reuben: "for she said, Because Yahweh "hath looked upon my "affliction; for now my husband will love me. ³³ And she 'conceived again, and bare a son; and said, Because Yahweh "hath heard that I am hated, he hath therefore given me "this [son] also: and she called his name "Simeon. ³⁴ And she 'conceived again, and bare a son; and said, Now this 'time will my husband be "joined unto me, because I have borne him three sons: "therefore "was his name called Levi.</p> <p>³⁵ And she 'conceived again, and bare a son: and she said, This 'time</p>			i 21 j 6a k 15b

²⁹¹⁵ A new source seems to be introduced here, for ¹⁵ implies that Jacob has already proved himself capable in service, yet nothing so far has been said about it. The opening of this section has been suppressed by the compiler.

²⁴ The natural sequence of ²³ ²⁵ seems interrupted by this verse, and a similar intrusion appears in ²⁹. The use of the term 'handmaid' (שִׁמְעוֹן ²⁴ ct 99) never employed by E, is a further indication of another writer. From 46¹⁸ ²⁵ it may be inferred that P had also mentioned the gift; and these statements, therefore, are plausibly ascribed to him, their present position being due to E.

²⁶ The occurrence of a different term for 'younger' (ot ¹⁸) otherwise exclusively characteristic of J makes it probable that this verse is derived from that document.

²⁸ The peculiar double dative here, as in ²⁴ ²⁹ 16¹³, identifies this clause with P, cp Holzinger.

³² M ϕ raah beonyt.

^{33a} M ϕ shama.—For similar explanations, specially characteristic of J, cp 3²⁰ 4¹ 25 5⁹ 16¹¹ &c.

^{31b} M ϕ Shimeon.

^{34a} M From the root lavah.

^{34b} G Sam and S read she called as in ³⁵ 30⁶ 8.

J	E	JE	J	E	P
j' 30 ²²		will I "praise Yahweh: "therefore she called his name "Judah; and she "left bearing.			
a 26 ¹⁴ 37 ¹¹ Num 11 ²⁹		30 ¹ "And when Rachel saw that she bare Jacob no children, Rachel "envied her sister; and she said unto Jacob, Give me children, or else "I die. 2 And Jacob's anger was kindled against Rachel: and he said, "Am I in God's stead, who hath "withheld from thee the 'fruit of the womb'? 3a And she said, Behold my "maid Bilhah, go in unto her; that she may bear upon my "knees, . . .			a 99
b Cp 48 ²¹ 50 ²⁴ § c 50 ¹⁹ d Num 22 ¹⁶ 24 ¹¹ e Deut 7 ¹³ 28 ¹ f 50 ²³ g 16 ²		... 3b and I also may "obtain children by her. 4 "And she gave him Bilhah her "handmaid to wife: and Jacob went in unto her. 5 And Bilhah "conceived, and bare Jacob a son. 6 And Rachel said, "God hath "judged me", and hath also "heard my voice, and hath given me a son: "therefore called she his name Dan. 7 And Bilhah Rachel's "handmaid "conceived again, and bare Jacob a second son. 8 And Rachel said, "With "mighty 'wrestlings' have I "wrestled with my sister, and have 'prevailed: and she called his name Naphtali. 9 When Leah saw that she had 'left bearing, she took Zilpah her "handmaid, and gave her to Jacob to wife. 10 And Zilpah Leah's "handmaid bare Jacob a son. 11 And Leah said, "Fortunate! and she called his name "Gad. 12 And Zilpah Leah's "handmaid bare Jacob a second son. 13 And Leah said, "Happy am I! "for the daughters will "call me 'happy": and she called his name Asher. 14 And Reuben went in the days of "wheat harvest, and found "mandrakes in the field, and brought them unto his mother Leah. Then Rachel said to Leah, Give me, I pray thee, of thy son's mandrakes. 15 And she said unto her, Is it a "small matter that thou hast taken away my husband? and wouldest thou take away my son's mandrakes also? And Rachel said, "Therefore he shall lie with thee to-night for thy son's mandrakes. 16 And Jacob came from the field in the evening, and Leah went out to meet him, and said, Thou must come in unto me; for I have surely hired thee with my son's mandrakes. And he lay with her that night". . . .			b 41 c 22 d 44 ^b e 15 ^b
A 15 ¹⁴		... 17 And God "hearkened unto Leah, and she "conceived, and bare Jacob a fifth son. 18 And Leah said, God hath given me my "hire, because I gave my "handmaid to my husband: and she called his name Issachar. 19 And Leah "conceived again, and bare a sixth son to Jacob. 20 And Leah said, God hath "endowed me with a good 'dowry, "now will my husband "dwell with me, because I have borne him six sons: and she called his name Zebulun.			f 62
i §† j 32 ²⁸ k 29 ²⁶					
l §† m Ex 34 ²²					
n Num 16 ¹³ cp 51					
o 41 ⁵ cp 85 §					
p 22 Cp 21 ¹⁷					
		21 "And afterwards she bare a daughter, and called her name Dinah. 22a And God "remem- bered Rachel, . . .			g 135

29^{35a} M From the § *hoday*.

30¹ M § *Jehudah*.

30¹ The birth-stories of Jacob's sons appear to be of mixed origin. In 29³¹⁻³⁵ the hand of J cannot be mistaken. But in 30^{1-3a} the language changes (note *Elohim* and *maid* מַאֲדָה "99) and the marginal parallels point strongly to E.

3 M § *be builded by her*.—The only other occurrence of the phrase 16² makes it probable that this clause is incorporated from J.

4 The framework of the following recital seems to be in the main drawn from J cp 'handmaid' 47^{9, 12}. But the compiler has added etymologies from the parallel narrative of E, in which the divine name *Elohim* sometimes enables the source to be clearly identified. Such passages are marked with *.

6 M § *dan*, he judged.

8a M § *wrestlings of God*.

8b M § *niphtal*, he wrestled.

11a M § *With fortune!* Another reading is *Fortune is come*.

11b M That is, *Fortune*.

13a M § *With my happiness*.

13b M § *asher*, to call happy.—This verse seems to contain

two applications of the name *Asher*, one of which may belong to J and one to E cp 20.

14 M Or, *love-apples*.—Jer 24¹ Cant 7¹³†.

15 Wellhausen and others conjecture that J went on to relate the conception of Rachel by means of the love-apples. If so, the account has been set aside to make way for the record of the birth of Leah's remaining sons.

18a M § *sachar*.

18b The word is J's characteristic term *siphah* 4-12. Its appearance here in a passage seemingly drawn from E, may be due to a simple copyist's error, or to a harmonizer's touch, or to the existence—even in verses marked by the phenomena of E—of an underlying extract from J cp 6.

20a The double play on the name Zebulun points again to combination. In the first case the allusion is not close, but 'endow,' *sabad*, and 'dowry,' *sebed*, make an obvious approach.

20b M § *sabal*, he dwelt.—This clause is the counterpart to the preceding, and the formula 'this time' as in 29³⁴ connects it with J.

21 The vagueness of this statement and its difference in form have led to the conjecture that it was a note of one of the latest editors to supply the omission of any mention of Dinah.

J	E	JE	J	E	P
q 29 ³¹	... 22 ^b and God 'hearkened to her, 22 ^c and [he'] 'opened her womb. 23 ^a And she 'conceived, and bare a son:			
r 34 ¹⁴ Josh 5 ^{9a}	... 23 ^b And [she] said, God hath 'taken away my 'reproach.	24 and she called his name Joseph, saying, Yahweh 'add to me another son.			
s 24 ⁵⁴	25 'And it came to pass, when Rachel had borne Joseph, that Jacob said unto Laban, 'Send me away, that I may go unto mine own 'place, and to my 'country.	25 'And it came to pass, when Rachel had borne Joseph, that Jacob said unto Laban, 'Send me away, that I may go unto mine own 'place, and to my 'country.			h 65
t 12 ¹	... 26 Give me my wives 'and my children for whom I have 'served thee, and let me go: for thou knowest my 'service wherewith I have served thee.	26 Give me my wives 'and my children for whom I have 'served thee, and let me go: for thou knowest my 'service wherewith I have served thee.			
u 29 ¹⁵ 18 30	27 And Laban said unto him, If now I have 'found favour in thine eyes', [tarry: for] I have 'divined that Yahweh hath blessed me 'for thy sake.	27 And Laban said unto him, If now I have 'found favour in thine eyes', [tarry: for] I have 'divined that Yahweh hath blessed me 'for thy sake.			i 31 ^a
v 29 ²⁷ et 29	28 'And he said, 'Appoint me thy wages, and I will give it. ...	28 'And he said, 'Appoint me thy wages, and I will give it. ...			
w 44 ⁵ 15 cp Lev 19 ²⁶ Deut 18 ^{10a}	29 And he said unto him, Thou knowest how I have served thee, and how thy 'cattle hath fared with me. 30 For it was 'little which thou hadst before I came, and it hath 'increased unto a multitude; and Yahweh hath 'blessed thee 'whithersoever I turned: and now when shall I provide for mine own house also? 31 ^a And he said, What shall I give thee? And Jacob said, Thou shalt not give me aught: if thou wilt do this thing for me, I will 'again feed thy flock ...	29 And he said unto him, Thou knowest how I have served thee, and how thy 'cattle hath fared with me. 30 For it was 'little which thou hadst before I came, and it hath 'increased unto a multitude; and Yahweh hath 'blessed thee 'whithersoever I turned: and now when shall I provide for mine own house also? 31 ^a And he said, What shall I give thee? And Jacob said, Thou shalt not give me aught: if thou wilt do this thing for me, I will 'again feed thy flock ...			j 18 k 51 l 80 m 10 ^a
x § = because of Gen 12 ¹³	... 31 ^b 'I will] keep it. 32 I will pass through thy flock to-day, 'removing from thence every speckled and spotted one, and every black one among the sheep, and the spotted and speckled among the goats: and [of such] shall be my hire. 33 So shall my righteousness answer for me 'hereafter, when thou shalt come concerning my hire that is before thee: every one that is not speckled and spotted among the goats, and black among the sheep, that [if found] with me shall be counted 'stolen.	31 ^b 'I will] keep it. 32 I will pass through thy flock to-day, 'removing from thence every speckled and spotted one, and every black one among the sheep, and the spotted and speckled among the goats: and [of such] shall be my hire. 33 So shall my righteousness answer for me 'hereafter, when thou shalt come concerning my hire that is before thee: every one that is not speckled and spotted among the goats, and black among the sheep, that [if found] with me shall be counted 'stolen.			
y Ct Num 17 ^a	34 And Laban said, Behold, I 'would it might be 'according to thy word. 35 And he 'removed that day the 'he-goats that were ringstraked and spotted, and all the she-goats that were speckled and spotted, every one that had white in it, and all the black ones among the sheep, and gave them into the hand of his sons; 36 and he set 'three days' journey betwixt himself and Jacob: and Jacob fed the rest of Laban's flocks.	34 And Laban said, Behold, I 'would it might be 'according to thy word. 35 And he 'removed that day the 'he-goats that were ringstraked and spotted, and all the she-goats that were speckled and spotted, every one that had white in it, and all the black ones among the sheep, and gave them into the hand of his sons; 36 and he set 'three days' journey betwixt himself and Jacob: and Jacob fed the rest of Laban's flocks.			n 117 o 2
z Cp 26 ¹⁸ §	37 And Jacob took him 'rods of fresh 'poplar, and of the almond and of the plane tree; and 'peeled white strakes in them, and 'made the white appear which was in the rods. 38 ^a And he 'set the rods which he had peeled 'over against the flocks] in the 'gutters.	37 And Jacob took him 'rods of fresh 'poplar, and of the almond and of the plane tree; and 'peeled white strakes in them, and 'made the white appear which was in the rods. 38 ^a And he 'set the rods which he had peeled 'over against the flocks] in the 'gutters.			p 86
a' 35 ² Josh 24 ¹⁴					q 74
b' Ex 13 ¹⁴ Deut 6 ²⁰					
c' Cp 50 ¹⁵ Num 22 ²⁹					
d' 81 ³ 41 ⁴² Ex 8 ³¹					
e' 32 ¹⁵ Prov 30 ³¹ 2 Chron 17 ^{11f}					
f' 37-39 41 32 ¹⁰ Num 22 ²⁷					
g' 25 ²¹ §*					
h' 41 Ex 21 ⁶ Cant 7 ^{6f}					

30^{22c} The verb contains the subject 'he,' i.e. Yahweh cp 29³¹.
 23^b Another case of dual explanation, 'taken away' = § 'asaph, et 24, the name Joseph being alternately connected with the idea of removing a reproach, or of adding another son.

24 M § Joseph.

25 The base of the subsequent narrative seems to be derived from J. But occasional doublets point to the incorporation of passages from E. Thus 26 is a duplicate of 25 and 29^a, and 28 (cp 29¹⁰) hardly comes from the same hand as 31. In 33 Jacob proposes to separate the flocks, in 35 Laban does it himself.

26 Probably an addition, as the following pronoun 'whom' is feminine (Bacon).

28 (y) § omit and he said.

30^a M § Broken forth.

30^b § at my foot.

31^b § does not contain and. The awkward sequence of the uncoordinated verbs makes it probable that a passage from E is here introduced. But the attempt to combine two different representations has resulted in an obscure and perhaps partially corrupt text. One narrative obviously implies that Jacob employed a stratagem to secure the stronger flock 37⁴¹. But Jacob's recital 31⁵⁻¹³ and his reply to Laban 31³²⁻⁴² suggest a very different view. So far as Jacob from having endeavoured to outwit Laban, that he charges him with having deceived him and changed his wages ten times 31⁷ 32⁴¹. The intentions of Laban, however, were continually frustrated by the protection

of the Elohim of Bethel 31¹⁸, who guarded Jacob from harm in a distant land. From 31⁸ it may be inferred that E originally contained some description of the successive arrangements between Laban and his son-in-law. But in the endeavour to combine it with J's narrative of Jacob's skill it has been so abbreviated that it can no longer be recovered except in fragments. The analysis, therefore, lacks complete justification. The proposal in 31 is apparently carried out in 34, but the contrast of 35 and 32 points to diversity of source. The peculiar terminology of the flock is for the most part common to both documents. Only the differences, involving points of contact elsewhere, have been noted.

37 M Or, storax tree.

38 The words in brackets stand in § at the end of the clause 'where the flocks came to drink,' and in the text as divided should take that position. The word 'watering troughs' is commonly regarded as an explanation of the previous term 'gutters.' Each occurs once elsewhere in the Hexateuch, and both occurrences are in J. The partition cannot, therefore, rest on the mere diversity of the word. But 38^b 'and they conceived' seems to be a duplicate of 39^a 'and the flocks conceived.' As the latter attaches itself to the mention of the rods in 37-38^a (J), 38^b must be assigned to E, and the parallel terms may then be regarded as drawn from different documents.

	J E	JE	J E P
i' 24 ^{20†}	... 38 ^b in the 'watering troughs where the flocks came to drink; and	they 'conceived when they came to drink:	
j' 39 41 31 ¹⁰ Deut 19 ^b (= is hol) ^a	33 And the flocks 'conceived before the 'rods, and the flocks brought forth	ringstraked, speckled, and spotted. 40 ^a And Jacob 'separated the lambs,	
k' Cp 210	40 ^b and [he] set the faces of the flocks toward the ringstraked and all the	black in the flock of Laban...	
l' 5† op 42	40 ^c and he put his own 'droves apart, and put them not unto Laban's	flock. 41 And it came to pass, whensoever the 'stronger of the flock did	r 32
m' 5*	'conceive, that Jacob laid the 'rods before the eyes of the flock in the	'gutters, that they might conceive among the rods; 42 but when the	
n' 12 ¹⁶	flock were 'feeble, he put them not in: so the feebler were Laban's,	and the 'stronger Jacob's. 43 And the man 'increased exceedingly, and	s 16
	'had large flocks, and 'maidservants and menservants, and 'camels and	asses.	
a Cp 5 ct 1	31 ^a And he heard the words of Laban's sons, saying, Jacob hath taken	away all that was our father's; and of that which was our father's hath	
b 481 ^a ct 13	he gotten all this 'glory. ...	2 And Jacob beheld the 'countenance of Laban, and, behold, it was not	a 169
c 41 ⁸ 14	2 And Jacob beheld the 'countenance of Laban, and, behold, it was not	toward him as 'beforetime.	b 60
d Cp 29 ³	3 And Yahweh said unto Jacob, Return unto the 'land of thy fathers ^b , and	to thy 'kindred; and I will 'be with thee.	c 130
e 30 ²⁶	4 And Jacob sent 'and called 'Rachel and Leah to the field unto his	flock, 5 and said unto them, I see your father's 'countenance, that it is	d 91 ^b
f Ex 82 ^{9*}	not toward me as 'beforetime; but the 'God of my father hath 'been	with me. 6 And ye know that with all my power I have 'served your	e 118
g 41 35 ² Lev	father. 7 And your father hath 'deceived me, and 'changed my 'wages	ten 'times; but God 'suffered him not to 'hurt me. 8 If he said thus,	f 18
h 41 29 ¹⁵	The 'speckled shall be thy wages; then all the flock bear speckled: and	if he said thus, The ringstraked shall be thy wages; then bare all the	g 101
i 41 5†	flock ringstraked. 9 Thus God hath 'taken away the 'cattle of your	father, and given them to me. 10 And it came to pass at the time that the	h 97
j Cp 29 5 19 ⁷	flock 'conceived, that I lifted up mine eyes, and saw in a 'dream, and, behold, the	'he-goats which leaped upon the flock were ringstraked, speckled, and grised.	i 104
k 30 ³² ...	11 And the 'angel of God said unto me in the 'dream, Jacob: and	I said, 'Here am I. 12 And he said, Lift up now thine eyes, and see, all the	
l 16 ct 1 5	'he-goats which leap upon the flock are ringstraked, speckled, and grised: for	I have seen all that Laban doeth unto thee. 13 'I am the God of Beth-el,	
m 30 ³⁶	where thou 'anointedst a pillar, where thou 'vowedst a vow unto me:	now arise, get thee out from this land, and return unto the land of thy	
n 12 ct 30 ³⁵	'nativity. 14 And Rachel and Leah answered and said unto him, Is	there yet any portion or inheritance for us in our father's house? 15 Are	
o Ct 28 ¹³ 5	we not counted of him 'strangers? for he hath sold us, and hath also	quite devoured 'our money. 16 For all the 'riches which God hath	
p Cp 28 ¹⁶ 20	'taken away from our father, that is ours and our children's: now then,	'whatsoever God hath said unto thee, do.	
q Ex 22 ¹⁸ 28 ²¹ 21 ⁸	17 Then Jacob rose up, and set his sons and his wives upon the 'camels;		j 16
r 5*	18 ^a and he 'carried away all his 'cattle.		
s Cp 41 ¹¹	... 18 ^b and all his 'substance which he had 'gathered, the cattle of his	'getting, which he had 'gathered in 'Paddan-aram, for to go to Isaac his	k 155
t Ex 31 5 al ct	father unto the 'land of Canaan.		l 78
u 12 ³			m 6
			n 4

31^a The return of Jacob was doubtless narrated in all three documents. A portion of P's account survives in 18, the opening words having been lost in the process of incorporation. The remaining narrative shows the usual traces of combination. The dream 11 13 secures 4-16 to E, 5 carries 2 with it, and leaves 1 by contrast to J. The original sequel of 1 would seem to be found in 17, but as with the migration of Abraham, so here, a divine command 3. is placed before Jacob's start; as this is represented as superseding the motive for departure supplied by 1 it may belong to the compiler, whose double phrase

'land of thy fathers' and 'kindred' may be founded on the language of E and J. 1^b M Or, *wealth*.

10 12 These verses seem to be later insertions by a redactor acquainted with the narrative in 30. The proper sequel of 11 is obviously found in 13, 'the dream' 11 may also be 'a dream' cp 10 24 20¹. A reference to a previous dream would probably run 'in my dream' cp 40⁹ 16 41¹⁷. The word 'grised' is here peculiar cp Zech 6³ 5[†]. 15 M Or, *the price paid for us*.

17 Assigned to J as the counterpart of E's description of Jacob's flight 21^a. For the camels cp 30⁴³ 12¹⁶ 24⁴⁵ 32¹⁶.

	J	E	JE	J	E	P
19 L 5ac			19 ¹⁷ Now Laban was gone to 'shear his sheep: and Rachel 'stole the			o 117
v 3812 13 ot 5			'teraphim that were her father's. 20 And Jacob 'stole away 'unawares			
Dent 1518 ¹			to Laban the 'Syrian, 'in that he told him ² not that he fled. 21 So he			
u Ct 27 5			fled with all that he had; 'and he rose up, and 'passed over 'the River,			
x 24 25 ²⁰ 285			and set his face toward the mountain of Gilead.			
Dent 265 ²			22 And it was told Laban on the 'third day that Jacob was fled.			
y 57			23 And he took his brethren with him, and pursued after him seven			
z 32 ²³			days' journey; and he 'overtook him in the mountain of Gilead. 24 And			
a 22 ²⁴ op 119 ²⁴			God 'came to Laban the 'Syrian in a 'dream of the night, and said			
b Cp Judg 18 ²²			unto him, 'Take heed to thyself that thou speak not to Jacob either			
c 35			good or bad.			
d 29 24 ⁵ 5			25 And Laban 'came up with Jacob. Now Jacob had 'pitched his tent			
e 44 ²⁶			in the mountain: and Laban with his brethren pitched in the mountain			
f Jer 62			of Gilead.			
g Cp Is 61 ¹ 5†			26 And Laban said to Jacob, What hast thou done, that thou hast stolen			
h Cp 3 ⁸ 5 ot 30.			away 'unawares to me, and 'carried away my daughters as 'captives of			
i Ex 15 ²⁰			the sword?			
j 41			... 27 Wherefore didst thou flee 'secretly, and 'steal away from me;			
k Cp Ex 23 ¹¹			and didst not tell me, that I might have sent thee away with mirth and			
Num 11 ³¹ Dent			with songs, with 'tabret and with 'harp?			
3218 ²			28 and hast not 'suffered me to kiss my sons and my daughters? now			p 84
l 4811 50 ³⁰ Ex			hast thou 'done 'foolishly. 29 'It is in the 'power of my hand to 'do			
1818 5			you hurt: but the 'God of your father spake unto me 'yesternight,			
m 1 Sam 26 ²¹ †			saying, 'Take heed to thyself that thou speak not to Jacob either good			
n 42 19 ³⁴			or bad. 30 And now, [though] thou wouldest needs be gone, because			
o Pa 84 ³ Zeph			thou sore 'longedst after thy father's house, [yet] wherefore hast thou			
21†			stolen my 'gods?			
p Cp 19 35 ³ 4			31 'And Jacob answered and said to Laban, Because I was afraid: for			
q 21 ²⁵			I said, Lest thou shouldst 'take thy daughters from me by force.			
r 57 27 ¹²			... 32 'With whomsoever thou findest thy gods, he shall not live:			
s Ct 18 ¹¹ 5			before our brethren discern thou what is thine with me, and take it to			
t 44 ¹⁵			thee. For Jacob knew not that Rachel had stolen them. 33 And Laban			
u Ex 17 ³ op 26 ³⁰			went into Jacob's tent, and into Leah's tent, and into the tent of the two			
v 50 ¹⁷ op 28 ³			'maidservants; but he found them not. And he went out of Leah's tent,			q 41
w 5 ² cp 1 Sam			and entered into Rachel's tent. 34 Now Rachel had taken the teraphim,			
17 ⁵³			and put them in the 'camel's 'furniture, and sat upon them. And Laban			
x 48 op 21 ²⁵ 5			'felt about all the tent, but found them not. 35 And she said to her			r 56 ²
y 32 ¹⁴ Is 53 ⁷			father, Let not my 'lord be angry that I cannot rise up before thee; for			
Cant 64†			the 'manner of women is upon me. And he 'searched, but found not			
			the teraphim. 36 And Jacob was wroth, and 'chode with Laban: and			
			Jacob answered and said to Laban, What is my 'trespass? what is my			
			sin, that thou hast 'hotly pursued after me? 37 Whereas thou hast			
			'felt about all my stuff, what hast thou found of all thy household			
			stuff? Set it here before my brethren and thy brethren, that they may			
			'judge betwixt us two. 38 This twenty years have I been with thee;			
			thy 'ewes and thy she-goats have not 'cast their young, and the rams			s 98

31^{19a} The story of the theft of the teraphim 19-42, and the associated flight, is mainly from E cp 34 29, 42. But some verses still remain doubtful. 21 is a parallel to 17; 23b is hardly from the same writer as 25a; while 27 supplies a doublet to 26. The want of close connexion between 31 and 32 is explained if 31 is the answer to 27 op 32²⁴.

19b M See 30 34 Judg 17⁵ 1 Sam 19¹³ and Hos 3⁴.

20 M 5 Stole the heart of Laban the Aramean.

21a Holzinger finds a gap between 'he fled' and 'he rose up,' and he ascribes the latter clause to J as the doublet of 17. But reasons have been offered for connecting 17 with J, and the sequence in 21 resembles that in 24¹⁰ 'he departed . . . and rose up,' so that it seems needless to divide the verse.

21b M That is, the Euphrates.—As the distance from the Euphrates to Gilead is much more than a seven-days' march 23, and the extant passages of E do not assign Laban's home to

Haran, it is possible that E placed it nearer to Gilead, and that the clause 'and he rose up and passed over the River' is incorporated by the compiler from J (cp Dillmann, who suggests as an alternative that 'the River' denotes some other stream. But this is less probable than that the narrator underestimated the required time). For the usage of the word op 36³⁷ (J) and Ex 23³¹ (E).

27 M 5 didst steal me.—G omits, and inserts the preceding words of 27 in 26. 29 5 the El. Cp Deut 28³⁹ Mic 2¹ Prov 3²⁷.

31 Apparently the answer to 27 cp notes to 19 and 32: on the other hand 31 only occurs in Gen in E. But cp Lev 19¹³ 64 Deut 28²⁹.

32 The abruptness of the transition is implied in the mitigating endeavours of the versions, G having *kal elver* 'I saw, & quod autem furti me arguit. G may represent an original reading, a survival of more words lost in compilation.

J	E	JE	J	E	P
z' Ex 22 ¹³ 31		of thy flocks have I not eaten. ³⁹ That which was "torn of beasts I brought not unto thee; I bare the loss of it; of my hand didst thou			
a" 43 ⁹		"require it, whether stolen by day or stolen by night. ⁴⁰ Thus I was;			
b" 5 ⁹		in the day the "drought consumed me, and the "frost by night; and			
c" 29 ¹⁸ 27.		my sleep "fled from mine eyes. ⁴¹ These twenty years have I been in			
c" 43 ¹⁰ Dent		thy house; I "served thee fourteen years for thy two daughters, and			
32 ²⁷		six years for thy flock: and thou hast "changed my wages ten times.			
d" 53 5 ⁹		⁴² "Except the "God of my father, the God of Abraham, and the "Fear			
f" 43 ¹⁰ Num 22 ²⁹		of Isaac, had "been with me, "surely now hadst thou sent me away			
g" Ex 32 ¹ 23 ¹⁵		"empty. God hath "seen mine affliction and the "labour of my hands,			
h" Ct 29 ²³		and "rebuked thee "yesternight.			
		⁴³ "And Laban answered and said unto Jacob, The daughters are my			
		daughters, and the children are my children, and the flocks are			
		my flocks, and all that thou seest is mine: and what can I do this day			
		unto these my daughters, or unto their children which they have borne?			
		⁴⁴ And now come, let us make a covenant, I and thou; [. . .] and let			
		it be for a "witness between me and thee.			
i" Cp 21 ³⁰		⁴⁵ "And Jacob "took a stone, and set it up for a pillar.			
45 51. L 58 ^c		⁴⁶ And Jacob said unto his brethren, "Gather stones; and they took			
j" 28 ¹⁸		stones, and made an "heap: and they did eat there by the heap.			
k" Ex 16 ⁴ Num		⁴⁷ And Laban "called it "Jegar-sahadutha: but Jacob called it "Galeed.			
11 ⁸ cp 47 ¹⁴ Pl		⁴⁸ And Laban said, This heap is witness between me and thee this day.			
l" 48 51. Josh 7 ²⁸		"Therefore was the name of it called Galeed: ⁴⁹ "and "Mizpah, for he said,			t 15 ^b
82 ²⁹		Yahweh "watch between me and thee, when we are "absent one from another.			
m" 4 ¹⁴		⁵⁰ "If thou shalt "afflict my daughters, and if thou shalt "take wives			u 82
n" 16 ⁸		beside my daughters, no man is with us; "see, God is witness betwixt me			
o" 27 ²⁷ 39 ¹⁴ 41 ⁴¹		and thee.			
		⁵¹ "And Laban said to Jacob, Behold this heap, and behold the pillar, which			
p" Job 38 ⁸		I have "set betwixt me and thee. ⁵² This heap be witness, and the pillar			
q" Dent 29 ²¹		be witness, that I will not pass over this heap to thee, and that thou shalt			
53 15 ^a		not pass over this heap and this pillar unto me, "for harm. ⁵³ "The God			
r" 16 ⁵		of Abraham, and the God of Nahor, the "God of their father, "judge			
s" 46 ¹ cp 202		betwixt us. And Jacob sware by the "Fear of his father Isaac. ⁵⁴ And			
t" Cp 28		Jacob "offered a sacrifice in the mountain, and called his brethren to			
		eat bread: and they did eat bread, and tarried all night in the mountain.			
		⁵⁵ "And early in the morning Laban rose up, and "kissed his sons and			
		his daughters, and blessed them: and Laban departed, and returned			
		unto his place. ⁵² And Jacob went on his way, and the "angels of God			a 97

31⁴⁵ In ⁴³ Laban replies to the expression of Jacob's fear ⁵¹ by the assertion of his paternal rights over his daughters. But the claim is only mentioned as the preface to its surrender by a covenant. The following passage ⁴⁴⁻⁵⁴ describes the agreement, but is much confused in the present text which seems in some verses to be corrupt, as variations in ⑤ also indicate. This is mainly the result of the interlacing of two accounts, each narrating the oath between Laban and Jacob, ⁴⁸ . . . and ⁵¹ . . . being apparently duplicates. Each story connects the name of Galeed (eg Gilead) with the incident, interpreted as 'heap of witness.' In each story, then, there is a 'heap,' but E with his love of sacred stones appears to attribute to Jacob the erection of a pillar also. The heap or cairn in ⁴⁶ is presumably reared by Laban not Jacob, as the 'brethren' ⁴⁶ are Laban's kinsmen who had accompanied him in his pursuit ²⁵. The harmonist, finding the 'pillar' standing without further notice, seems to have introduced it into the extract from E ⁵¹.

⁴⁴ It is probable that some words have here dropped out. The want of concord between 'covenant' (fem) and 'let it be' (masc) is not indeed conclusive, as this is not uncommon in Hebrew grammar; it is more important to notice that the temporary act of making a covenant could not be a permanent 'witness.' For that some visible object was needed, and the verse may have contained Laban's proposal 'let us make an heap,' cp ⁴⁶ ⁴⁸.

⁴⁷ This verse may possibly have originally contained E's

statement (the counterpart of ⁴⁶) 'And Laban raised a heap and called it . . .'

^{47b} M That is, *The heap of witness*, in Aramaic.

^{47c} M That is, *The heap of witness*, in Hebrew.

^{49a} Galeed is probably intended to suggest Gilead. A later reviser, desirous apparently to connect the well-known Mizpah in Gilead with this incident, adds a further explanation of that name. But the proper name with the definite article 'the Mizpah' at once excites suspicion. It has been conjectured that it may have crept into the story through accidental confusion with the 'pillar' or *masseba* ⁴⁵, as Sam actually reads.

^{49b} M That is, *The Watch-tower*.

^{49c} M ⑤ *hidden*.

⁵⁰ The sequel of Laban's words in ^{48a}. The last clause, 'See, God is witness' &c cp ⁴⁸, is omitted by ⑤ which then leaves out ^{51-52a} and continues 'I will not pass over this heap' &c. In ⁵¹, the mixed text can hardly be resolved into its constituents, but the language of ⁵³ cp ⁴² renders it likely that the basis is derived from E.

⁵³ M Or, *gods*.—The clause in small type is omitted by ⑤ and some ⑤ codd, and has been rejected as a gloss by a long series of critics, including Kenicott, Houbigant, Olshausen, Wellhausen, and Dillmann. For a discussion of the process by which the verse may have acquired its present form, cp Geiger, *Urschrift* 284.

⁵⁵ M ⑤ 32¹.

	J E	JE	J E P
		met him. ² And Jacob said when he saw them, This is God's ^a host: and he called the name of that place ^b Mahanaim.	
a Num 20:16 21:21 b Deut 2:26 22:5 c Josh 7:2 d 33:14 16 e Cp 14:7 36:35 f Cp 24:66 34:19 g 12:16		... ³ And Jacob sent ^c messengers before him to Esau his brother unto the land of ^d Seir, ^e the ^f field of Edom. ⁴ And he commanded them, saying, Thus shall ye say unto my ^g lord Esau, Thus saith thy ^h servant Jacob, I have ⁱ sojourned with Laban, and ^j stayed until now: ^k and I have ^l oxen, and asses [and] flocks, and menservants and ^m maidservants: and I have sent to tell my ⁿ lord, that I may ^o find grace in thy sight. ⁶ And the messengers returned to Jacob, saying, We came to thy brother Esau, and moreover he cometh to meet thee, and ^p four hundred men with him. ⁷ Then Jacob was greatly afraid and was ^q distressed: ^r and he ^s divided the people that was with him, and the ^t flocks, and the herds, and the ^u camels, into two companies; ^v and he said, if Esau come to the one company, and smite it, then the company which is left shall ^w escape. ⁹ And Jacob said, O God of ^x my father Abraham, and God of my father Isaac, O Yahweh, which saidst unto me, ^y Return unto thy ^z country, and to thy ^{aa} kindred, and I will ^{ab} do thee good: ¹⁰ ^{ac} I ^{ad} am not worthy of the least of all the ^{ae} mercies, and of all the truth, which thou hast shewed unto thy ^{af} servant; for with my ^{ag} staff I passed over this Jordan; and now I am become two companies. ¹¹ ^{ah} Deliver me, I pray thee, from the hand of my brother, from the hand of Esau: for I fear him, lest he come and smite me, the ^{ai} mother with the children. ¹² And thou saidst, I will surely ^{aj} do thee good, and ^{ak} make thy seed as the ^{al} sand of the sea, which cannot be numbered for multitude.	b 56 ^a c 73 d 41 e 31 ^a
f 33 ¹ g 1 Sam 30:6 h 2 Sam 13:9 i 33:1 Judg 7:16		^{13a} And he lodged there that night;	f 33 g 16
i Cp 45:7 Ex 10:5 j 28:18 et 31:49 k 31:8 l 12:1 m Cp 2 Sam 7:19 n Am 8:5 o 37:21 Ex 21:9 al		^{13b} and [he] took of that which he ^{ad} had with him a ^{ae} present for Esau his brother; ¹⁴ two hundred she-goats and twenty ^{af} he-goats, two hundred ^{ag} ewes and twenty rams, ¹⁵ thirty ^{ah} milch ^{ai} camels and their colts, forty kine and ten bulls, twenty she-asses and ten ^{aj} foals. ¹⁶ And he ^{ak} delivered them into the hand of his servants, every ^{al} drove by itself; and said unto his servants, ^{am} Pass over before me, and put a ^{an} space betwixt drove and drove. ¹⁷ And he commanded the foremost, saying, When Esau my brother ^{ao} meeteth thee, and asketh thee, saying, Whose art thou? and ^{ap} whither goest thou? and whose are these before thee? then thou shalt say, ^{aq} They be thy ^{ar} servant Jacob's; it is a ^{as} present	h 60 i 38 j 57 ^{ab}
p Cp Hos 10:14 q 13:16 r 22:17			
s Cp 35:4 t 18 33:10 43 u 30:38 v 31:38 w Cp 24:69 Ex 27 x 40:11 y Cp 30:35 z 39:4 23 aa Cp 29:3 ab 11 33:8 14 ac Exh 4:14 ad 33:8 Ex 4:4 27 ae 16:8			

32^{2a} ^aMahaneh, i.e. camp, host, or company.

^{2b} M That is, hosts, or, companies.—Opinion is divided as to the precise significance of the name. It is apparently in the dual, and is so understood here by Dillmann, who finds a reference to the company (or camp) of angels and the company of Jacob with his family and flocks cp 50⁹. Another allusion to the dual form seems to lurk in the 'two companies' of ⁷ and ¹⁰, which must be ascribed, therefore, to a different hand. Wellhausen, however, *Composition des Hexateuchs* (1889) 45 [433], gives reasons for regarding Mahanaim as a singular with an Aramaizing termination, understood by E but misinterpreted by J.

^{3a} As J and E both narrated the estrangement of the brothers, Jacob's flight to his Aramean kindred, and his return, it is not unnatural to expect that they will both relate his reconciliation with Esau who has already taken up his position in the South. In this view they differ from P which contains no hint of fraternal discord, and places the separation of Esau and Jacob much later 36⁶. The basis of the account in 32-33 seems to be derived from J cp 32⁹⁻¹² and parallels to 32⁴, 19, 24... 'two companies' ⁷ 10 et 2 &c. But occasional incongruities imply the amalgamation of other material cp 13 22, 30 33¹⁰, which may be, therefore, assigned to E.

^{3b} The duplicate designation may be drawn from the other narrative, or may be simply a reviser's addition.

⁷ This passage bears various marks of distinct origin. The prayer of Jacob 9-12 with its citation of a previous divine monition ⁹ cp 31³ seems in 12 to depend on 22¹⁷, and resembles other expanded utterances with which the older narrative was adorned as it underwent successive revisions. But the allusion to 'two companies' in ¹⁰ carries with it at least ^{7b} which

seem to be an independent reference to the name Mahanaim. Of this division nothing is said further, for the 'company' in 33⁸ consists of Jacob's intended gift: it interrupts the connexion between Jacob's alarm ^{7a} and the selection of the present ^{13b} by which he hopes to appease Esau ¹⁰: and it was perhaps suggested by the 'division' of his wives and children 33¹. Further, the situation of Jacob seems conceived differently from that of the context. In ²² he crosses the Jabbok, but in ¹⁰ he is apparently placed on the bank of the Jordan.

¹⁰ M ^aI am less than all, &c.

^{13a} This statement seems a doublet of ^{21b}, and both are hardly from the same source. But ^{21b} is closely connected with the context ('he himself' contrasted with 'the present'): on the other hand the statement of the text 'he lodged there' has no assignable geographical meaning except at the place last named, viz Mahanaim ²; it is therefore attributed to E. In the original narrative of J, the alarm of Jacob on hearing of Esau's approach ^{7a} was immediately followed by a corresponding precautionary measure, the selection of the propitiatory present ^{13b}, which is at once sent on in front ²¹.

^{13b} Critics of divers schools, Dillmann and Kittel, Wellhausen, Kuenen, Cornill, Ball, and Holzinger, agree in assigning ^{13b-21} to E, partly because of the duplicates in ^{13a} ^{21b}, partly because ²¹ apparently recognizes only one company, et ⁷ (so Dillmann; Wellhausen takes another view of the Mahaneh). But the language of ^{13b-21} has strong Yahwistic affinities; ^{13a} can be as conveniently assigned to E as ^{21b}; the joint family in ²² belongs to the earlier stage of J and the view that ⁷⁻¹¹ is a later expansion is thus confirmed. Moreover ^{13b-21} is closely associated with 33⁸⁻¹⁰ which also bears various traces of J. The analysis, therefore, adopts the view of Bacon.

	J	E	JE	J	E	P	
			sent unto my ^h lord Esau : and, behold, he also is behind us. ¹⁹ And he commanded ^h also the second, and the third, and all that followed the ^h droves, saying, ¹ On this manner shall ye speak unto Esau, when ye find him ; ²⁰ and ye shall say, Moreover, behold, thy ^h servant Jacob is behind us. For he said, I will ^h appease him with the ^h present that goeth before me, and afterward I will see his face ; ^h peradventure he will ^h accept me. ²¹ So the ^h present passed over before him : and he himself lodged that night in the company.				k 11 l 2 m 64
^d ^h = cover his face ct 20 ¹⁶ ^h and ^h 25 ^h 19 ²¹			²² And he ^h rose up that night, and took his two wives, and his two ^h handmaids, and his eleven children, . . . ²³ ^h And he took them, ^{22b} and ^h passed over the ford of ^h Jabbok, ^{23c} and sent over that he had.				
^g Cp 31 ¹⁷			^{23b} and sent them over the stream. ²⁴ ^h And Jacob was ^h left alone ; and there ^h wrestled a man with him until the ^h breaking of the day. ²⁵ And when he saw that he prevailed not against him, he touched the hollow of his thigh ; and the hollow of Jacob's thigh was ^h strained, as he ^h wrestled with him. ²⁶ And he said, Let me go, for the day ^h breaketh. And he said, I will not let thee go, except thou bless me. ²⁷ And he said unto him, What is thy name ? And he said, Jacob. ²⁸ And he said, Thy name shall be ^h called no more Jacob, but ^h Israel : for ^h thou hast ^h striven with God and with men, and hast ^h prevailed. ²⁹ And Jacob asked him, and said, Tell me, I pray thee, thy name. And he said, ^h Wherefore is it that thou dost ask after my name ? And he blessed him there.				
^h 31 ²¹ ^h Num 21 ²⁴			. . . ³⁰ ^h And Jacob called the name of the place ^h Peniel : for, [said he,]— I have seen God ^h face to face, and my life is ^h preserved. . . .				
^h 44 ³⁰ ^h 47 ^h 19 ¹⁵ ^h Num 25 ⁴ Hiph ^h			³¹ And the sun ^h rose upon him as he passed over Peniel, and he ^h halted upon his thigh. ³² ^h Therefore the children of Israel eat not the ^h sinew of the ^h hip which is upon the hollow of the thigh, unto this day : ^h because he touched the hollow of Jacob's thigh in the sinew of the hip.				
^h 30 ⁸ Hos 12 ⁴			³³ ^h And Jacob ^h lifted up his eyes, and ^h looked, and, behold, Esau came, and with him ^h four hundred men. And he ^h divided the children unto Leah, and unto Rachel, and unto the two ^h handmaids. ² And he put the ^h handmaids and their children foremost, and Leah and her children after, and Rachel and Joseph hindmost. ³ And he himself ^h passed over before them, and ^h bowed himself to the ground seven times, until he ^h came near to his brother. ⁴ And Esau ^h ran to ^h meet him, and ^h embraced him, and ^h fell on his neck, and ^h kissed him : and they wept. ⁵ And he ^h lifted up his eyes, and saw the women and the children ; and said, Who are these with thee ? And he said, The children which ^h God hath ^h graciously given thy ^h servant. ⁶ Then the ^h handmaids				
^h Ex 33 ¹¹ cp Num 12 ⁶ Dcut 34 ¹⁰ ^h Ct 11 ^h Ex 22 ³ Dcut 33 ³⁰ ^h Mic 4 ⁶ Zeph 3 ¹⁰ ^h 13 ¹⁰ ^h 32 ⁷							
^h 14 32 ¹⁶ ^h 18 ²³ ^h 18 ² 24 ¹⁷ ^h 29 ¹³							
^h 11 43 ²⁹ Cp Ex 33 ¹⁶							
							n 89 ^b o 85 a 55 b 41 c 12 ^a d 70 e 28 f 73

32^{3a} In 22. there seems to be a confusion arising from the intertwining of two strands of narrative. The text in *RV* runs thus :—

22 'And he rose up that night, and took his two wives, and his two handmaids, and his eleven children, and passed over the ford of Jabbok. 23 And he took them, and sent them over the stream, and sent over that he had.'

As the narrative in 24 31 implies that Jacob remained on the right bank of the Jabbok till the next morning, the statement that he crossed the ford 22b cannot be ascribed to the author of 24-31. On the other hand, the reference to his despatch of the family over the stream 23b harmonizes completely with 24. The repetition 'and he took' in 22 23 points to similar union of duplicates ; a probable rearrangement of the fragments is offered in the text. The verb 'sent over' in each passage is derived from 'passed over.'

24 Dillmann alone ascribes this narrative to E, though Holzinger attributes 29 to that source on the ground that the refusal to declare the name suits E's design, according to which it was first revealed to Moses. The story is doubtless condensed.

22a M. That is, *He who striveth with God, or, God striveth.*

18b M G and Q have, *Thou hast had power with God, and thou shalt prevail against men.*

22c M Or, *had power with.*—Hos 12⁴†.

30a This verse seems to belong to E, and was probably the explanatory conclusion of a narrative of a theophany at Peniel, called by J in 31 Peniel. In 33¹⁰ there is another reference to the elements of the name. Ball corrects to Peniel with some MSS, Sam G Q, and ascribes the verse to J.

30b M. That is, *The face of God.*

32 Probably a later explanation of the previous statement, which seems quite in the manner of J, though he is not generally concerned with such ritual detail.

33¹ The account of the meeting of Jacob and Esau is the sequel of 32⁵ and seems due to J. But elements from E have been detected by some critics in 5 11. The possibility of such incorporation cannot, of course, be denied, but the linguistic usage makes against it.

5 The occurrence of the name 'Elohim' in 5 and 11 at first sight suggests the assimilation of material from E. But J also uses this name (cp 32²⁸) especially in connexion with those who are (or are supposed to be) outside the chosen line cp 31 43²⁹ 44¹⁶. In the present passage the play on the name Peniel

	J E	JE	J E P	
i Cp 3	'came near, they and their children, and they 'bowed themselves. 7 And Leah also and her children came near, and bowed themselves: and after came Joseph near and Rachel, and they bowed themselves. 8 And he said, What meanest thou by all this 'company which I 'met? And he said, To 'find grace in the sight of my 'lord. 9 And Esau said, I 'have enough; my brother, let that thou hast be thine. 10 And Jacob said, Nay, I pray thee, if now I have 'found grace in thy sight, then receive my 'present at my hand: 'forasmuch as I have seen thy face, as one seeth the face of God, and thou wast pleased with me. 11 Take, I pray thee, my 'gift that is brought to thee; because God hath 'dealt graciously with me, and because I 'have 'enough. And he 'urged him, and he took it. 12 'And he said, Let us take our 'journey, and let us go, and I will go 'before thee. 13 And he said unto him, My 'lord knoweth that the children are 'tender, and that the 'flocks and herds with me give suck: and if they 'overdrive them one day, all the flocks will die. 14 Let my 'lord, I pray thee, pass over before his 'servant: and I will 'lead on 'softly, according to the pace of the 'cattle that is before me and according to the pace of the children, until I come unto my 'lord unto 'Seir. 15 And Esau said, Let me now 'leave with thee some of the folk that are with me. And he said, 'What needeth it? let me 'find grace in the sight of my 'lord. 16 So Esau returned that day on his way unto 'Seir. 17 And Jacob journeyed to Succoth, and built him an 'house, and made booths for his 'cattle: 'therefore the name of the place is called 'Succoth.			g 31 ^a h 56 ^a i 84
j Cp 32 ²¹ k 32 ¹⁷				j 35
l 32 ¹³				
m 19 ³				
n Cp 12 ⁹				
o Num 22 ²² p Josh 5 ¹³ 6 ⁹				k 32
q 18 ⁷ r 6 ⁹				
s Hithpa ⁷ cp 47 ¹⁷ t Ex 15 ¹³				
u Ct 2 ² 6 = work cp Ex 22 ⁸ 11 v Sam 15 ⁹ w 16 32 ³				l 74 m 89 ^b
x Cp 27 ¹⁵				n 18 o 15 ^b
y Ct 12 ⁹	18 ^a And Jacob came 'to Shalem.			
z 26 ¹⁷ aa Josh 24 ³²	18 ^b '[And Jacob came] to the 'city of Shechem, which is in the 'land of Canaan, when he came from 'Paddan-aram.			p 4 q 6
ab 20 ^d	18 ^c and "encamped before the city. 19 "And he "bought the parcel of ground, where he had spread his tent, at the hand of the children of Hamor, Shechem's father, for an hundred "pieces of money. 20 "And he erected there an "altar, and called it "El-elohe-Israel.			
ac 30 ²¹	34 ¹ "And "Dinah the daughter of Leah, which she bare unto Jacob, went out to see			

'face of God' in 10 has perhaps helped to determine the selection. In other respects the phraseology is markedly in favour of J, cp 'thy servant' ⁸, 'graciously given' ⁹ = 'dealt graciously' ¹¹, 6 cp 'find grace' ¹⁰, 'I have (w) enough' ⁹ ¹¹, 'urged' ¹¹ cp 19³ 9^a. These parallels seem to outweigh the apparent indications of a doublet in 10 ¹¹ 'present,' 'blessing.'

33¹⁰ M Or, for therefore have I seen.

11^a M 6 blessing.

11^b M 6 all.

12 The narrative apparently represents Jacob as intending to visit Esau 12-14. This is plainly inconsistent with the situation implied in 32¹⁰, and Holzinger therefore ascribes 12-14 to E. But the linguistic usage does not favour this, and the difficulty is overcome by the recognition of the secondary character of 32¹²-14. In 17, however, Jacob's journey to Seir is stopped at Succoth, but there seems no indication of change of narrator. It may be inferred, therefore, that the Trans-jordanic Succoth was meant. With the reference to the house cp J in 27¹⁰. Nothing appears to have been preserved from J or E concerning Jacob's passage of the Jordan and advance into middle Canaan, any more than in the case of Abraham 12⁶.

17 M That is, Booths.

18^a So M (with 6). T in peace. Wellh Comp 316¹ proposes 'to Shechem': Ball corrects to נָשַׁח 28²¹.

18^b The following statement seems to be the continuation of P's narrative of Jacob's migration begun in 31¹⁸. The analogy of 12⁹ suggests that the extract in the text began, 'And Jacob came.'

19 The reference to this purchase in Josh 24³² seems decisive for the ascription to E. But the purchase implies the previous encampment, and the migratory movement of which it was the

close. The description of Hamor as 'Shechem's father' is probably an editorial preparation for the narrative in 34.

19^b M 6 Kesitah.—Josh 24³² Job 42¹¹ 7.

20^a The verb here employed is not the usual term for building an altar (בָּנָה), but it is employed for setting up a sacred pillar (סִימָן) cp 35¹⁴ 20. Wellhausen accordingly proposes to read 'pillar' in this passage. On E's pillars, cp *Introd* XII 25 i p 114. For the sacred stone at Shechem cp Josh 24²⁶.

20^b M That is, God, the God of Israel.

34¹ Two narratives seem to be blended here. In the first the chief actors are Shechem on the one part ¹¹, and Simeon and Levi on the other ³⁰; in the second Shechem recedes behind his father Hamor ⁴ 6 ¹³, and the whole of the sons of Jacob move together ¹⁵. The first story relates the violation of Dinah (her marriage) and the subsequent vengeance inflicted on Shechem by her two brothers. The second describes Shechem's honourable love for her, the proposals made by his father, the counter-conditions of intertribal communion demanded by the sons of Jacob, the massacre of the men, the capture of the women, children, and cattle, and the plunder of the city. The linguistic affinities of the first story clearly connect it with J, and it is supposed to contain the account of a transaction obscurely indicated in 49⁶⁻⁷. Equally clearly do various marks in the second story bring it within the scope of P. But it is so different in kind from P's other narratives of the patriarchal age, e.g. 17 and 23, as to make it highly improbable that it ever belonged to the *Tol'da* book. The description of the spoiling of the city 27-29 strongly recalls that of the Midianites in Num 31, which is of a secondary character. But other features suggest the possibility that older material

	J	JE	E	P	
b 27 ⁴⁶				the ^b daughters of the land. ^a And Shechem the son of Hamor the Hivite, the ^a prince of the land, saw her ;	a 131
2b. . . J 1214/					b 175
c Deut 22 ¹⁴ cp 2 Sam 13 ¹² 14 d 234		. . . ^{2b} L And he took her, ^a and ^b lay with her, and ^c humbled her. ^{2a} And his soul ^d clave unto Dinah the daughter of Jacob,			
e Cp 12180 f Cp 12235 g 50 ²¹ *		^{3c} and [he] ^e spake ^a kindly unto the ^c damsel.		^{3b} and he ^e loved the ^d damsel.	c 235
A Cp 12234 i Cp 1167		⁵ Now Jacob heard that he had ^d efiled Dinah his daughter ; and his sons were with his ^c cattle in the field : and Jacob ^d held his peace until they came.		⁴ And Shechem spake unto his father Hamor, saying, Get me this ^b damsel to wife.	d 18
j 24 ²¹				⁶ And Hamor the father of Shechem went out unto ^a Jacob to ^k commune with him.	e 79 f 233
k 8 20 \S = speak		⁷ And the sons of Jacob came in from the field when they heard it : and the men were ^e grieved, and they were very ^f wroth, because he had wrought ^f folly in Israel in ^b lying with Jacob's daughter ; which thing ^m ought not to be done.		⁸ And Hamor ^e communed ^a with them, saying, The soul of my son Shechem longeth for your daughter : ^o I pray you give her unto him to wife. ⁹ L And make ye ^m marriages with us ; give your daughters unto us, and take our daughters unto you. ¹⁰ And ye shall dwell with us : and the land shall be ^e before you ; dwell and ^f trade ye therein, and get you ^b possessions therein.	g 185 h 127 ^a
l Deut 22 ²¹ Judg 20 ⁶ 10 2 Sam 13 ¹² cp Josh 7 ¹⁵ m 20 ⁹ cp 29 ²⁸ n Cp 17 ³ \S = talked o Cp 12186 p Dent 7 ⁵ Josh 23 ¹² *		... ¹¹ And Shechem said unto her father and unto her brethren, Let me ^f find grace in your eyes, and what ye shall say unto me I will give.		¹² Ask me never so much ^d dowry and ^d gift, and I will give according as ye shall say unto me : but give me the ^d damsel to wife. ¹³ And the sons of Jacob answered Shechem and Hamor his father with ^a guile, and spake, ^a because he had defiled Dinah their sister, ¹⁴ and said unto them, We cannot ^e do this thing, to give our sister to one that is uncircumcised ; for that were a ^e reproach unto us : ¹⁵ only on this condition will we ^e consent unto you : if ye will be as we be, that ^e every male of you be ^e circumcised ; ¹⁶ then will we give our ^d daughters unto you, and we will take your daughters to us,	i 31 ^a j 166 k 107 ^o l 40
s Ex 22 ¹⁶ 1 Sam 18 ²⁵ † t Num 18 ¹¹ * cp 25 ⁶ u 27 ²⁵ *					
r Cp 12146					
x 30 ^{23b} x 15 22. 2 Kings 12 ⁸ † y et Ex 34 ¹⁶ Dent 7 ⁸					

may lie at the basis of this account. The language shows many points of contact with JE unknown elsewhere in the *Tol'dhoth*-book. It is the view of Wellhausen, Cornill, Bacon, and Holzinger, for example, that this earlier story was derived from E. This question cannot, however, be decided with certainty. The allusion to an Amorite conquest in 48²³ does not seem in any way related to the story of the wooing of Dinah and the massacre at Shechem, nor does the context in E 33²⁰ 35¹ provide an appropriate place for it (cp Dillmann). On the other hand, similar linguistic phenomena in the use of phrases of both types JE and P have been already observed in 14, and will be noted hereafter in Num 31... The analysis, therefore, does not attempt to go behind the form in which the second narrative has been combined with J. As the interlacing is very close, the assignment of some passages must be doubtful.

34^{2b} The peculiar accusative here (if the Masoretic punctuation

is correct) differing from J's usage, and assimilated to P's (Lev 15¹⁸ 24 Num 5¹³ 19), seems to indicate the hand of E.

^{3c} M \S To the heart of the damsel.

⁶ Comparison with ⁸ and ¹³ suggests that the original ran 'the sons of Jacob to commune with them.' Other passages may have undergone similar manipulation, the harmonizing process being carried on quite late, as occasional touches in \S may also imply.

¹² The language of ¹¹ implies compensation for the outrage on Dinah, but that of ¹³ is the urgency of a genuine wooer, and the verse is therefore assigned to the second story. From ¹³ it may be supposed that Shechem had not left his suit entirely in the hands of his father ⁸.

¹³ Probably a harmonizer's touch cp 27. This form of the story does not seem to have related any violation of Dinah.

J	JE	E	P	
<p>z 41³⁷ 45¹⁶ Deut 1³³ cp Lev 101¹⁹ Josh 22³⁰ 32 a' 24⁵⁶ 5 b' Num 14⁸</p>	<p>...¹⁹ And the young man a'deferred not to b'do the thing, because he had b'delight in Jacob's daughter: and he was h'onoured above all the h'house of his father. . . ."</p>		<p>and we will dwell with you, and we will become one people. ¹⁷ But if ye will not hearken unto us, to be circumcised; then will we take our daughter, and we will be gone. ¹⁸ And their words pleased Hamor, and Shechem Hamor's son.</p>	<p>m 27</p>
<p>c' 15³⁶</p>				<p>n 145</p>
<p>a' 17⁵⁵ c' Cp 5</p>				<p>o 78 p 153</p>
<p>f' 23¹⁰ 18</p>			<p>²⁰ And Hamor and Shechem his son came unto the gate of their city, and c'ommuned with the men of their city, saying, ²¹ These men are c'peaceable with us; therefore let them dwell in the land, and t'trade therein; for, behold, the land is large enough f'for them; let us take their daughters to us for wives, and let us give them our daughters. ²² Only on this condition will the men c'consent unto us to dwell with us, to become one people, if every male among us be circumcised, as they are c'circumcised. ²³ Shall not their c'cattle and their s'substance and all their beasts be ours? only let us c'con- sent unto them, and they will dwell with us. ²⁴ And unto Hamor and unto Shechem his son hearkened f'all that went out of the gate of his city; and every male was circumcised, all that went out of the gate of his city. ²⁵ And it came to pass on the third day, when they were s'sore, that t'two of the sons of Jacob, Simeon and Levi, Dinah's brethren, took each man his sword, and came upon the city u'awares, and h'slew all the males.</p>	<p>q 78</p>
<p>g' 5[*] cp Ex 3⁷ 5[*] h' Num 31⁷ cp 2210</p>	<p>²⁶ And they s'slew Hamor and Shechem his son with the e'edge of the sword, and took Dinah out of Shechem's house, and went forth.</p>			<p>r 210 s 150</p>
<p>i' Cp 233</p>				
<p>j' Num 31⁹ k' Num 31⁹ cp 252^a l' cp 25</p>	<p>...^{27b} "and all that was in the h'house. ³⁰ And Jacob said to Simeon and Levi, Ye have m'troubled me, to make me to s'tink among the in- habitants of the land, among the c'Canaan- ites and the Perizzites: and, I being f'few in number, they will g'gather them- selves together against me and smite me; and I shall be f'destroyed, I and my house. ³¹ And they said, Should he deal with our sister as with an h'harlot?</p>		<p>²⁷ "The sons of Jacob came upon the slain, and spoiled the city, because they had defiled their sister. ²⁸ They took their f'flocks and their herds and their asses, and that which was in the city, and that which was in the field; ^{29a} and all their f'wealth, and all their h'little ones and their wives, f'took they captive and s'spoiled.</p>	
<p>m' Josh 6¹⁸ 7²⁵ n' Ex 5²¹ o' 13⁷ p' Deut 4²⁷ q' 29³ r' Cp 234^b s' 38¹⁸ a 28¹⁷.. 1 110d⁹ b Cp 12⁷ 5</p>	<p>³⁵ And God said unto Jacob, "Arise, go up to "Beth-el, and dwell there: ¹and ²make there an altar unto God, ³who appeared unto thee</p>			<p>a 128 b 137</p>

³⁴¹⁹ The marriage of Shechem must have followed, as in ²⁶ Dinah is carried off by her brothers from his house.

^{25a} It can hardly be supposed that Simeon and Levi accomplished the entire slaughter themselves. The subject is rather the B'ne Jacob ¹³, and the insertion of the two names is probably due to the compiler, who has adopted them from J cp ³⁰.

^{25b} M Or, boldly.

²⁷ The peculiar style of the opening phrase, and the allusion in b cp ^{13b}, seem to indicate the activity of the compiler. The natural sequel of the slaughter of the males in ²⁵ is the spoiling of the city ²⁷.

²⁹ So 5. T even. 'The house,' in contrast with 'the city' ²⁷, must be Shechem's ²⁸.

³⁵¹ This clause may be an editorial allusion to the incident

	J	E	JE	E	P	
c 27 ⁴⁵ . 2 Lxxib 2-4 Lxxa7 d Josh 24 ²⁸ e Cp 24 ²⁸ f Cp Ex 19 ¹⁰			when thou fleddest from the face of Esau thy brother. ² Then Jacob said unto his household, and to all that were with him, ^d Put away the strange gods that are among you; and ^e purify yourselves, and ^f change your ^g garments: ³ and let us ^h arise, and go up to Beth-el; and I will ⁱ make there an altar unto God, who answered me in the day of my ^j distress, and was ^k with me in the way which I went. ⁴ And they gave unto Jacob all the strange gods which were ^l in their hand, and the ^m rings which were in their ears, and Jacob ⁿ hid them under the ^o oak which was ^p by Shechem. ⁵ And they journeyed: and ^q a great ^r terror was upon the cities that were round about them, and they did not pursue after the sons of Jacob.			c 15 ⁸ d 16 ^r e 130
g 42 ²¹ Dent 31 ¹⁷ 21 ¹ h Cp 32 ¹³ 6 i Ex 32 ³ j Ex 24 ¹² Josh 26 ²¹ 1. k Cp Josh 24 ²⁸ l 6 ¹ m 28 ¹⁹				^{6a} So Jacob came to ^{6b} Luz, which is in the land of Canaan (the same is Beth-el),		f 4
n Cp 23 ² o Cp 23 ²⁷ Josh 8 ⁵ 11 p 24 ¹⁰ 7 q Cp 21 ³¹ r Cp 20 ¹⁸ w		^{6b} [And Jacob came to Beth-el] ^{6c} he and all the people that were with him. ⁷ And he ^{7a} built there an altar, and ^{7b} called the place ^{7c} El-beth-el: because there God ^{7d} was revealed unto him, when he ^{7e} fled from the face of his brother. ⁸ And Deborah Rebekah's ^{8a} nurse died, and she was buried below Beth-el under the ^{8b} oak: and the name of it was called ^{8c} Allon-bacuth.		⁹ And God ^{9a} appeared unto Jacob again, when he came from ^{9b} Paddan-aram, and ^{9c} blessed him. ¹⁰ And God said unto him, Thy name is Jacob: thy ^{10a} name shall not be called any more Jacob, but Israel shall be thy name: and he called his name Israel. ¹¹ And God said unto him, ^{11a} I am ^{11b} God Almighty: ^{11c} be fruitful and multiply; ^{11d} a ^{11e} nation and a company of nations shall be of thee, and ^{11f} kings shall come out of thy loins; ¹² and the land which I ^{12a} gave unto Abraham and Isaac, to ^{12b} thee I will give it, ^{12c} and to thy ^{12d} seed after thee will I give the land. ¹³ And God ^{13a} went up from him ^{13b} in the place where he spake with him.		s 6 h 94 i 73 j 16a
t 17 ¹ u 25 ¹¹ cp 33 v 17 ⁵ et 32 ³⁷ .						
w Cp 17 ⁶ 16 28 ³						
x 17 ⁵						
y 17 ²²						

of 27, suggested by the language of ^{3b} which is much more in the style of E cp 28²⁰. ⁴ M Or, *terebinth*.

^{6a} The change of subject here to 'the sons of Jacob' points to the story in 34, so that this verse is dependent on the redaction of that chapter.

^{6b} M ϕ a terror of God.—Cp 30⁸ and 23⁶.

^{6c} The continuation of 31¹⁸, so = and ϕ . Luz is employed by P with archaeological propriety as the ancient name (cp Kiriath-arba 23³), as he has yet to relate the theophany on which the name Beth-el was founded. In ^{6b} E must have originally contained some similar notice of Jacob's arrival at Beth-el, as the sequel of ³. ⁷ M That is, *The God of Bethel*.

^{8a} This verse is assigned on the whole to E, though the only previous reference to Rebekah's nurse comes from J 24⁶⁹, where, however, she is not named. (For E's love of names cp 15² Ex 15¹⁵; and for a similar record of death and burial cp Num 20¹⁵.) But as all three sources J E P locate Isaac in the South, it is not apparent how the aged family servant should be travelling with Jacob through middle Canaan. The passage seems altogether dislocated from its original connexion in the story of Isaac and Rebekah, and its proper place is lost.

^{8b} M That is, *The oak of weeping*.

⁹ P's account of the Beth-el revelation, the counterpart of that to Abraham in 17 (cp *Introd* V 3a). In reference to 28¹⁰, the editor has inserted the word 'again.' (ϕ adds 'in Luz.'

¹⁰ Both ¹⁰ and ¹¹ begin with the same words. A comparison of this passage with 17¹ suggests that originally the announcement of the Divine Presence preceded the change of Jacob's name in ¹⁰. The displacement may be accidental, or due to some curtailment of the whole section. The promises are much briefer than in 17; if any omissions have been made in the process of compilation, the recurring phrases in ¹⁰ may have been brought nearer together. It is, however, a curious circumstance that P does not employ the name Israel for Jacob in his subsequent narrative, et 'Abraham' 17⁵ 9 16 &c: it is used only in the phrase 'children of Israel.' May it be inferred that ¹⁰ is an editorial afterthought, to provide in P a parallel to J's story in 32²⁸? This would account for its unexpected position, and for the final clause 'and he called his name Israel,' which is not after the manner of P in 17. It is noticeable also that no explanation is given of the new name was its meaning already so familiar that it needed none?

¹¹ M ϕ *El Shaddai*.—cp 17¹.

¹² The parallel in 17⁵ suggests that the clause originally ran 'to thee will I give it and to thy seed after thee.' But the whole may possibly be an addition.

¹³ The corresponding phrase in 17²² contains no local reference: ^{13b} seems derived from ^{13a}: Ball, however, regards it as an accidental dittograph of ¹⁴, and restores from 17²² 'when he had left off speaking with him.'

	J	JE	E	P	
14 ¹⁵ g ^h 70: w.1 s Ct 2818	14 ¹⁴ And Jacob ^k set up a 'pillar in the place where he spake with him, a pillar of stone: and he ^u 'poured out a ^b 'drink offering thereon, and ^c 'poured oil thereon.				k 215 ^c
α' 2 Sam 23 ¹⁶ 2 Kings 16 ¹³ b' Cp 2118 c' 2818 2128 d' Ct 2819		15 And Jacob ^d 'called the name of the place where God spake with him, Beth-el.			
ε' 487 2 Kings 5194 f' Cp Ex 13 ¹⁵ § g' 3828 Ex 116. 7 h' 3024 ct 24 26b cp 2983 § i' Cp 1611an	16 ^a And they journeyed from Beth-el; and there was still ^c 'some way to come to Ephrath: and Rachel travailed, and she had ^f 'hard labour. 17 And ⁱ 'it came to pass when she was in ^f 'hard labour, that the ^g 'midwife said unto her, ^m 'Fear not; for ⁿ 'now thou shalt have ^k 'another son. 18 And ⁱ 'it came to pass, as her soul was in departing (for she died), that ^u 'she called his name ^m 'Ben-oni: but his father called him ^m 'Benjamin. 19 ^a And Rachel died, and was buried in the way to Ephrath (<i>the same is Beth-lehem</i>). 20 ^a And Jacob ^k set up a ^j 'pillar upon her ^k 'grave: the same is the Pillar of Rachel's grave ^o 'unto this day. 21 ^a And ^p Israel journeyed, and ^s 'spread his ^t 'tent ^m 'beyond the tower of ^e 'Eder. 22 ^a And ⁱ 'it came to pass, while ^p Israel dwelt in that land, that Reuben went and ^l 'lay with Bilhah his father's ^c 'concubine: and Israel heard of it. . . .			l 127 ^b m 154 n 126	
α 25g ^b f' Cp 14 ct 3146 g' 4730 Deut 34 ^a h' 126 m' Am 527 Jer 22194 n' Mic 481 o' 2224		22 ^b Now the sons of Jacob were twelve: 23 the sons of Leah; Reuben, Jacob's firstborn, and Simeon, and Levi, and Judah, and Issachar, and Zebulun: 24 the sons of Rachel; Joseph and Benjamin: 25 and the sons of Bilhah, Rachel's handmaid; Dan and Naphtali: 26 and the sons of Zilpah, Leah's handmaid; Gad and Asher: ^t 'these are the sons of Jacob which ^b 'were born to him in ^p 'Paddan-aram. 27 And Jacob came unto Isaac his father to Mamre, to ^k 'Kiriath-arba ^q '(<i>the same is Hebron</i>), where Abraham and Isaac sojourned. 28 And the ^d 'days of Isaac were an ^h 'hundred and fourscore years. 29 And ^r 'Isaac ^g 'gave up the ghost, and died, and was ^g 'gathered unto his people, ^o 'old and full of days: and Esau and Jacob his sons ^r 'buried him. 30 ¹ ^a AND ^a 'THESE ARE THE GENERATIONS of ^a 'Esau (<i>the same is Edom</i>).			o 142 ^b p 49 q 220 r 175
p' 365 4687 cp 436					s 188
q' 232					t 3
r' 256					u 181 v 93 w 51 x 75
α Ct 9					a 77 ^a

35¹⁴ This verse is now felt to be inappropriate to P who nowhere else recognizes any sacred pillars, or ascribes any acts of sacrifice to the patriarchs (cp *Introd* XIII 27). It may be the sequel of J's story of the origin of the *magebba* in Beth-el cp 2811^{ax}, which the compiler has inserted where P's narrative of the Beth-el revelation supplied a fresh occasion. It is, however, possible that the latter half of the verse has received editorial enrichment. The *chrism* has its parallel in 28¹⁸ and may belong to the antique story. But the preceding description of the libation, though not without older counterpart elsewhere, may have taken form here under the influence of the Levitical ritual.

16 In 16-22 the narrative of Jacob's advance is resumed. The determination of the sources is not free from difficulty, many critics assigning 16-20 to E. But as in 1 Jacob had been commanded to remain at Beth-el, and no motive is assigned for his departure, it would seem more natural to recognize a change of document. Holzinger assumes that both narratives related the birth of Benjamin in connexion with the death of Rachel, and finds traces of duplication in 16^b and 17^a. On the other hand, Rachel is apparently still alive in 37¹⁰ (E), and this contradiction is hardly removed by the supposition that the symbolism of the dream may be independent of the facts. The parallel in 17^b certainly points to J, and 16-18, therefore, is assigned (though not without hesitation) to J.

18^a M That is, *The son of my sorrow*.

19^a M That is, *The son of the right hand*.

19 Further embarrassment arises in 19. 19 resembles 8 in form, and might therefore naturally be ascribed to E, but for the difficulty of 37¹⁰ (which might, however, be more easily evaded on the hypothesis that the dream-story was well fixed in tradition before the family history was organized into a consecutive narrative). Moreover, the opening words seem superfluous after the parenthetic remark in 18, and lend

additional strength to the ascription to E. It may, however, be argued that the reference to the burial-place (cp parallels in J) required the formal announcement of the death; and the words 'for she died' may be a copyist's or editor's gloss. If the verse be E's, what later place can be found for it in the Jacob-Joseph cycle after 37¹⁰? Dillmann allots it to P, but see 48^{7a}. The identification of the grave with Beth-lehem seems a late error, cp 1 Sam 10² Jer 31¹⁵.

20 The statement of erection resembles that in 14; E in each reference to a sacred pillar employing a different word 28¹⁸ 31⁴⁵ Ex 24⁴. The verse is therefore ascribed to J. On the other hand the name Jacob, contrasted with Israel 21, seems to imply divergence, and many critics attribute 20 to E. But 37¹⁰ still stares them in the face. Moreover the name Jacob has been used by J since 32²⁸, e.g. 33¹ 10¹⁷ and perhaps in 34. The objection, therefore, does not seem conclusive, cp 21^a.

21 At this point begins a series of passages marked by the name Israel cp 2549. This appears to be characteristic of J, and may point to the incorporation of materials from some fresh cycle. The description of Bilhah as Israel's 'concubine' instead of 'handmaid' 30⁴, lends some slight confirmation to this view.

30¹ After the death and burial of Abraham P proceeded at once to enumerate the descendants of Ishmael, before dealing with the line of Isaac. So here with Esau (*T now, § and*) before Jacob's *tol'dhoth* 37². But the list of the descendants of Esau presents many marks of composite origin. The recurring title 'and these are the generations of Esau' § 1² at once points to the union of material from different sources, and this expectation is confirmed by the diversity of the contents of the several sections. In 1-5 the names of Esau's wives cannot be harmonized with those in 26¹⁴ 28⁹ ('Zibion the Hivite' זיביון should read 'Horite' חורי cp 20. .). Within the framework 1^{2a} (?) 5^b, therefore, fresh data have been incorporated in agreement

J	P	
b Ct 26 ³⁴ 28 ⁹	² Esau took his wives of the ^b daughters of Canaan; ^b Adah the daughter of Elon the Hittite, and Oholibamah the daughter of Anah, the ^a daughter of Zibeon the Hivite; ⁵ and Basemath Ishmael's daughter, sister of Nebaioth. ⁴ And Adah bare to Esau Eliphaz; ⁵ and Basemath bare Reuel; and Oholibamah bare Jeush, and Jalam, and Korah: ^c these are the sons of Esau, ^c which were born unto him in the ^d land of Canaan.	b 10 ^b
c Cp 35 ²⁶	⁶ And Esau ^d took his wives, and his sons, and his daughters, and all the ^e souls of his house, and his ^e cattle, and all his beasts, and all his ^f possessions, which he had ^g gathered in the ^d land of Canaan; and went into a land away from his brother Jacob. ⁷ For their ^b substance was ^f too great for them to dwell together; and the ^h land of their sojournings could not ⁱ bear them because of their cattle. ⁸ And Esau dwelt in mount Seir: <i>Esau is Edom.</i>	c 188 d 4
d 12 ⁸	⁹ And ^a these are the generations of Esau the father of ^a the Edomites in mount Seir: ¹⁰ ^a these are the names of Esau's sons; Eliphaz the son of Adah the wife of Esau, Reuel the son of Basemath the wife of Esau. ¹¹ And the ^g sons of Eliphaz were Teman, Omar, ¹² Zepho, and Gatam, and Kenaz. ¹³ And Timna was concubine to Eliphaz Esau's son; and she bare to Eliphaz Amalek: these are the ^a sons of Adah Esau's wife. ¹⁵ And these are the sons of Reuel; Nahath, and Zerah, Shammah, and Mizzah: these were the sons of Basemath Esau's wife. ¹⁴ And these were the sons of Oholibamah the daughter of Anah, the daughter of Zibeon, Esau's wife: and she bare to Esau Jeush, and Jalam, and Korah.	e 146 f 78 g 155 ^b h 155 ^a i 145
g Ct 15	¹⁵ ^a These are the ^a dukes of the sons of Esau: the ^g sons of Eliphaz the firstborn of Esau; duke Teman, duke Omar, ¹⁶ duke Zepho, duke Kenaz, duke Korah, duke Gatam, duke Amalek: these are the dukes that came of Eliphaz in the ^d land of Edom; these are the sons of Adah. ¹⁷ And these are the sons of Reuel Esau's son; duke Nahath, duke Zerah, duke Shammah, duke Mizzah: these are the dukes that came of Reuel in the ^d land of Edom; these are the sons of Basemath Esau's wife. ¹⁸ And these are the sons of Oholibamah Esau's wife; duke Jeush, duke Jalam, duke Korah: these are the dukes that came of Oholibamah the daughter of Anah, Esau's wife. ¹⁹ These are the sons of Esau, and these are their dukes: the same is Edom.	j 188 ¹
h Cp 13-16-20 ^g =children 21-23	²⁰ ^a These are the sons of Seir the Horite, the inhabitants of the land; Lotan and Shobal and Zibeon and Anah, ²¹ and Dishon and Ezer and Dishan: these are the dukes that came of the Horites, the children of Seir in the ^d land of Edom. ²² And the children of Lotan were Hori and ^a Hemam; and Lotan's sister was Timna. ²³ And these are the children of Shobal; ^a Alvan and Manahath and Ebal, ^a Shepho and Onam. ²⁴ And these are the children of Zibeon; Aiah and Anah: ^a this is Anah who found the hot springs in the wilderness, as he fed the asses of Zibeon his father. ²⁵ And these are the children of Anah; Dishon and Oholibamah the daughter of Anah. ²⁶ And these are the children of ^a Dishon; ^a Hemdan and Eshban and Ithran and Cheran. ²⁷ These are the children of Ezer; Bilhan and Zaavan and ^a Akan. ²⁸ These are the children of Dishan; Uz and Aran.	k 18 ^c
i Cp 16-19 21 23. 40-43 Ex 15 ¹⁵ ^a	²⁹ These are the dukes that came of the Horites; duke Lotan, duke Shobal, duke Zibeon, duke Anah, ³⁰ duke Dishon, duke Ezer, duke Dishan: these are the dukes that came of the Horites, ^a according to their dukes in the land of Seir.	
31 L4k ^a	31 ^a And ^a these are the kings that reigned in the land of Edom, before there reigned any king over the children of Israel.	

with 10 14 20.., perhaps replacing some earlier enumeration. The migration of Esau ⁶ is obviously parallel with the similar migrations of Abraham and Jacob: the separation of the brothers which here follows the death of Isaac is clearly independent of the representations of JE in 27 and 33, though it is possible that it may once have occupied an earlier place in the narrative, e.g. after 35²⁶. In 9-19 further difficulties appear. The title is repeated cp 1 with a fresh identification of Esau; the names of Esau's wives 10 14 agree with 2. (though their nationalities are omitted), so that the two lists have been brought into relation with each other, ^{12a} having been added, and the awkward phraseology of 14 implying editorial treatment. The frequent repetitions in this section seem due to repeated revisions and insertions; in 16 Korah is evidently out of place cp 14 18, and Gatam should precede Kenaz 16 cp 11. On the whole, therefore, this section must be regarded as secondary. The material in 20-30 is similarly composite, ²⁹ being a brief equivalent of 20-28 where the pedigree of Oholibamah indicates connexion with 20.. and 14.. The parallel to the 'dukes of the Horites' ²⁹ is found in the 'dukes of Esau' ^g 40-43 where the names differ so widely from those in 9-19 (cp Timna 12 Oholibamah 14 who here appear as 'dukes') that the passage cannot be ascribed to the same source. As the phraseology of 40 and 43 coincides with that of P, this section (and probably 29.) may

be regarded as part of the original *tol'dhoth* of Esau. From what sources the compiler drew his materials outside P must remain undetermined. Holzinger conjectures a base for 15-19 in J cp 31⁸, but there is nothing either in form or in substance to determine it.

36² M Some ancient authorities have, *son*. See 24.

⁹ M ^g Edom.

¹¹ M In: Chron 136, Zephi.

^{15a} The list of dukes in 15-19 is founded on the same material as that embodied in 1-5, and differs widely from that in 40-43. It must therefore be regarded as secondary.

^{16b} M Or, *chiefs*.

²⁰ Further secondary lists are found in 20-30, where 29. seems a duplicate of 20.., ct 'land of Edom' 21 and 'land of Seir' 30. The material seems to lie outside of the usual limits of P and some of it (as in 21) is probably of great antiquity, but it has been cast by a compiler into P's forms.

²² M In: Chron 139, Homam. ^{23a} M In: Chron 140, Alvan.

^{23b} M In: Chron 140, Shephi. ^{24a} M ^g Dishan.

^{26a} M In: Chron 141, Hamran. ²⁷ M In: Chron 142, Jaakan.

³¹ With this verse R introduces an extract 32-39 from a document wholly different in style from the context. Its source is unknown, but on the analogy of other passages of composite origin, e.g. 10, it is provisionally assigned to J.

	J	JE	E	P
j Num 21 ³⁰	<p>³² And Bela the son of Beor reigned in Edom; and the name of his city was Dinhabah. ³³ And Bela died, and Jobab the son of Zerah of Bozrah reigned in his stead. ³⁴ And Jobab died, and Husham of the land of the Temanites reigned in his stead. ³⁵ And Husham died, and Hadad the son of Bedad, who smote Midian in the field of Moab, reigned in his stead: and the name of his city was Avith. ³⁶ And Hadad died, and Samlah of Masrekah reigned in his stead. ³⁷ And Samlah died, and Shaul of Rehoboth by the River reigned in his stead. ³⁸ And Shaul died, and Baal-hanan the son of Achbor reigned in his stead. ³⁹ And Baal-hanan the son of Achbor died, and Hadar reigned in his stead: and the name of his city was Pau; and his wife's name was Mehetabel, the daughter of Matred, the daughter of Me-zahab.</p>			
k 25 ¹² Num 31 ⁷	<p>⁴⁰ "And these are the names of the dukes that came of Esau, according to their families, after their places, by their names; duke Timnah, duke Alvah, duke Jetheth; ⁴¹ duke Oholibamah, duke Elah, duke Pinon; ⁴² duke Kenaz, duke Teman, duke Mibzar; ⁴³ duke Magdiel, duke Iram: these be the dukes of Edom, according to their habitations in the land of their possession. This is Esau the father of the Edomites.</p>			
a Cp 13 ¹²	<p>³⁷ And Jacob dwelt in the land of his father's sojournings, in the land of Canaan.</p> <p>^{2a} THESE ARE THE GENERATIONS of Jacob. Joseph, being seventeen years old, was</p> <p>^{2b} [And Joseph was] feeding the flock with his brethren; and he was a lad;</p> <p>^{2c} with the sons of Bilhah, and with the sons of Zilpah, his father's wives:</p>			
b Num 13 ³² 14 ³⁶ . (P ^a)	<p>^{2d} and Joseph brought the evil report of them unto their father. ³ Now Israel loved Joseph more than all his children, because he was the son of his old age: and he made him a coat of many colours. ⁴ And his brethren saw that their father loved him more than all his brethren; and they hated him, and could not speak peaceably unto him.</p>			
c Cp 43 ³⁷ Ex 18 ⁷	<p>⁵ And Joseph dreamed a dream, and he told it to his brethren: and they hated him yet the more. ⁶ And he said unto them, Hear, I pray you, this dream which I have dreamed: for, behold, we were binding sheaves in the field, and lo, my sheaf arose, and also stood upright; and, behold, your sheaves came round about, and made obeisance to my sheaf. ⁸ And his brethren said to him, Shalt thou indeed reign over</p>			
d §*				
e Ps 126 ⁴				

³⁶^{32a} M In 1 Chron 1⁵⁰, and some ancient authorities, *Hadad*.
^{39b} M In 1 Chron 1⁵⁰, *Pat*.

^{40a} In 40-43 the style of P is again clearly marked. Cp the list of Ishmael's descendants 25¹³⁻¹⁶ immediately following the record of the death of Abraham.

^{40b} M In 1 Chron 1⁵¹, *Aliah*.

⁴³ M § Edom.

³⁷^{2a} At this point the Editor has inserted into the brief framework of P the rich group of stories concerning Joseph and his brethren. Their composite character becomes clear as the combined narrative proceeds, though much uncertainty still attaches to many of the details. For the general distribution of 37 cp 3³⁴ 18¹⁸. In 2 clause b is assigned to J, as P nowhere describes the shepherd-life of the patriarchs on which J loves to dwell; nor does he employ the word 'lad' (cp margins). ^{2d} likewise involves a view of family relations and a play of character and motive unlike P's treatment of the pre-Mosaic age, and is consequently also allotted to J. But in the final redaction of the Hexateuch some critics detect the hand of a reviser, who seems to have added various touches

more or less characteristic of later style, especially as exemplified in P. Cp Kuenen, *Hex* 327-8. Thus in 2 the phrase 'the evil report of them' excites some suspicion by its grammatical difficulty, while the word 'report' only occurs elsewhere in Num 13³² 14³⁶. P in *Hex*, and Jer 20¹⁰ Ezek 36² Ps 31¹³ Prov 10¹⁸ 25¹⁰+. Cp 40^{2d}.

^{3a} That the narrative in 37 is derived from two sources is clearly proved by the divergences in 25b-27 and 28, cp 18¹⁸. It is natural, therefore, to expect traces of duplicate origin in the earlier portion. The following clues may be added to the marginal indications:—

J Israel 37³ 13 || Jacob 37³⁴ E.

J Coat of many colours 3 (23b) 32 || coat 23a 31 32b 33 E.

J hated 4 (5b 8b) || envied 11 cp 30¹ E.

J cause of ill-will, Israel's partiality 3. || Joseph's dreams 6-11 E.

^{2b} M Or, a long garment with sleeves.

⁵ A harmonizer's touch, referring to 4, not contained in (9) cp 8. E postpones the mention of the brothers' jealousy till 11, when all the dreams have been told.

J	JE	E	P
	us? or shalt thou 'indeed have dominion over us? And they 'hated him yet the 'more for his dreams, and for his 'words. ⁹ And he dreamed yet another dream, and 'told it to his brethren, and said, Behold, I have dreamed yet a dream; and, behold, the sun and the moon and eleven stars made obeisance to me. ¹⁰ And he 'told it to his father, 'and to his brethren; and his father 'rebuked him, and said unto him, What is this dream that thou hast dreamed? Shall I and thy mother and thy brethren 'indeed come to 'bow down ourselves to thee to the earth? ¹¹ And his brethren 'envied him; but his father kept the 'saying in mind.	r 232 s 219	
f 30 ¹ et 4 g 33 ¹⁸	¹² And his brethren went to 'feed their father's flock in 'Shechem. ^{13a} And 'Israel said unto Joseph, Do not thy brethren 'feed the flock in Shechem? 'b come, and I will send thee unto them.	t 12 ^a	
h 31 ⁴⁴ cp 162	... ^{13b} And he said to him, 'Here am I. ^{14a} And he said to him, 'Go 'now, see whether it be well with thy brethren, and well with the flock; and 'bring me word again.	u 104	
i Num 13 ²⁶ 22 ^a Deut 1 ²² 25 Josh 14 ⁷ j 20 ¹⁸	^{14b} So he sent him 'out of the vale of Hebron, and he came to Shechem. ¹⁵ 'And a certain man found him, and, behold, he was 'wandering in the field: and the man asked him, saying, What seekest thou? ¹⁶ And he said, I seek my brethren: 'tell me, I pray thee, where they are feeding [the flock]. ^{17a} And the man said, They are departed hence: for I heard them say, Let us go to 'Dothan.		
k 2 Kings 6 ¹⁸	^{17b} And Joseph went after his brethren, and found them in Dothan. ^{18a} 'And they saw him 'afar off.		
l 22 ⁴ m Num 25 ¹⁸ Mal 1 ¹⁴ Ps 105 ²⁵ cp 28 n 18 ²⁵ o 24 ⁶⁵ 5 ¹ p Ct 18 ⁶ 5 ¹ cp q Ex 21 ³³ et Gen 40 ¹⁵ Ex 12 ²⁹ 5 ¹ r 32 ¹¹ s Deut 19 ⁶ 11 5 ¹	... ^{18b} And 'before he came near unto them, they 'conspired against him to 'slay him. ¹⁹ And they said 'one to another, Behold, 'this 'dreamer cometh. ²⁰ Come now therefore, and let us 'slay him, 'and cast him into one of the 'pits, and we will say, An evil beast hath devoured him: and we shall see what will become of his dreams.	v 132 w 119 x 107	
t 22 ¹²	²¹ And 'Reuben heard it, and 'delivered him out of their hand; and said, Let us not 'take his life.		
u 41 ²⁷ Deut 32 ⁴⁷	²² And Reuben said unto them, Shed no blood; cast him into this pit that is in the wilderness, but 'lay no hand upon him: that he might 'deliver him out of their hand, to restore him to his father. ²³ And it came to pass, when Joseph was come unto his brethren, that they stript Joseph of his coat, 'the coat of many colours that was on him; ²⁴ and they took him, and cast him into the pit: and the pit was 'empty, there was no water in it. ^{25a} And they sat down to eat bread.		
v Is 21 ¹²	^{25b} And they lifted up their eyes and 'looked, and, behold, a 'travelling company of Ishmaelites came from Gilead, with their 'camels bearing 'spicery and 'balm and 'myrrh, going to carry it down to Egypt.	y 55 z 16	
w Ex 18 ²¹ x 28 ⁴ 45 ⁴ y 29 ¹⁴	²⁶ And Judah said unto his brethren, What 'profit is it if we 'slay our brother and conceal his blood? ²⁷ 'Come, and let us 'sell him to the Ishmaelites, and let not our hand be upon him; for he is our brother, our 'flesh. And his brethren hearkened unto him.		

37¹⁰ The dream has been already narrated to his brothers in 9. ① omits 10a and inserts 'his father' before 'his brethren' in 9. 14a A duplicate of 'come' in 13.

14b It is doubtful whether J ascribed to Jacob a sojourn in Hebron: these words may be due to R. Cp Kuenen, *Hexateuch* 225.

15 In 15-17a R^j seems to have supplied the connexion between J's Shechem and E's Dothan.

18a The divergence in the following passage between the Ishmaelites who buy Joseph from his brothers, and the Midianites who kidnap him, points plainly to the amalgamation of two narratives. The analysis is founded on the subjoined doublets:—

J the plot to kill Joseph 18b || proposal to slay him 20 E.

J intervention of Judah 21a 28 cp 43⁸ 44¹⁴ 18 || Reuben 22 29 cp 42²² 37 E.

J Joseph is sold 27-28b 45⁴ || kidnapped 28a 40¹⁵ E.

J to Ishmaelites 23 27 28b 39¹ || by Midianites 28a 36 E.

J Sold in Egypt to an unnamed Egyptian 39^{1a} 2 5, his master 3 7. 18 19. || Potiphar 38 40¹. 41¹⁰ 12 E.

J Favoured by the keeper of the prison but a prisoner 39²⁰⁻²¹ 40^{3b} 15b 41^{14b} || servant of the captain of the guard 36 40 4 7 14 41¹² E.

18b The late use of this word, and the peculiarity of its construction here, lead Kuenen to see in it a sign of E's activity, *Hex* 328. 19 M 5 master of dreams.

20 Perhaps an editorial preparation for Reuben's proposal 22.

21 Elsewhere in J Judah is the spokesman, cp 36 43 5 8 44¹⁶ 18. It is believed that Judah's name stood here originally, and was afterwards altered either by design or inadvertence so as to conform to the next verse. For Reuben see 42²². The second 'and said' 22 points to a change of source.

23 A harmonizing addition.

24a M Or, gum tragacanth. Or, storax.

25a M Or, mastic.

25c M Or, ladanum.

	J	JE	E	P
28 L ² 1		28 ^a And there passed by Midianites, 'merchantmen; and they drew		
2 34 ¹⁰		and lifted up Joseph out of the pit,		
a' Ct bring down		28 ^b And [they] 'sold Joseph to the Ishmaelites for twenty pieces of silver.		
25 30 ¹		28 ^c and they "brought Joseph into Egypt. 29 And Reuben returned unto		
b' Cp 34 Num 14 ⁶		the pit; and, behold, Joseph was not in the pit; and he 'rent his		
c' 42 ¹³ 36 cp 53 ⁴		clothes. 30 And he returned unto his brethren, and said, The child 'is		
		not; and I, whither shall I go? 31 And they took Joseph's coat, and		
		killed a he-goat, and dipped the coat in the blood;		
		32 ^a And they sent the coat of many colours, . . .		
d' 27 ²³ 5 = dis-		32 ^b and they brought it to their father; and said, This have we found:		
cern		d'know now whether it be thy son's coat or not. 33 ^a And he d'knew it,		
e' Cp 30		and said, It is my son's coat; an 'evil beast hath devoured him. .		
f' 44 ²⁸		... 33 ^b Joseph is 'without doubt 'torn in pieces.		
g' 44 ¹³ Josh 7 ⁶		34 And Jacob 'rent his garments, and put sackcloth upon his loins, and		
h' Ex 33 ⁴ Num		'mourned for his son 'many days.		
14 39 ¹ of 35		35 And all his sons and all his daughters rose up to 'comfort him; but	a' 30 ^a	
i' Num 20 ¹⁵ Job		he refused to be comforted; and he said, For I will 'go down to 'the		
24 ⁷		'grave to my son 'mourning. And his father 'wept for him.	b' 75	
j' Cp 42 ³⁶		36 And the 'Midianites sold him into Egypt unto Potiphar, an m'officer of		
k' 5 ¹ cp 50 ¹⁰		Pharaoh's, the "n captain of the guard.		
l' 50 ³ of 34		38 ¹ And it came to pass "at that time, that Judah went down from		
m' 40 ² 7		his brethren, and 'turned in to a certain Adullamite, 'whose name was		
n' 21 ²³		Hirah. 2 And Judah saw there a daughter of a certain Canaanite		
1-11 L ¹ 14		'whose name was Shua; and he took her, and went in unto her. 3 And	a' 21	
a 21 ²³		she 'conceived, and bare a son; and "he called his name Er. 4 And she		
b 16 a Sam 21 ⁹		conceived again, and bare a son; and she called his name Onan. 5 And		
c 2 6 16 ^{1b}		she yet again bare a son, and called his name Shelah: and he was at		
		Chezib, 'when she bare him. 6 And Judah 'took a wife for Er his		
d 28 35 ¹⁶		'firstborn, 'and her name was Tamar. 7 And Er, Judah's firstborn, was		
e 24 ⁵		'wicked in the sight of Yahweh; and Yahweh 'slew him. 8 And Judah		
f 22 ²¹		said unto Onan, Go in unto thy brother's wife, and "perform the duty of		
g 10 cp 19 ⁶		an husband's brother unto her, and raise up seed to thy brother. 9 And		
h 18 ²⁶		Onan 'knew that the seed should not be his; and it came to pass, when		
i Num 20 ²¹ 5†		he went in unto his brother's wife, that he spilled it on the ground,	b 61	
		'lest he should 'give seed to his brother. 10 And the thing which he		
		did was 'evil in the sight of Yahweh: and he slew him also. 11 Then		
j Cp 26 ⁸ 5		said Judah to Tamar his daughter in law, Remain a widow in thy		
k 31 ¹⁹		father's house, till Shelah my son be grown up: for he said, Lest he		
		also die, like his brethren. And Tamar went and dwelt in her father's		
		house. 12 And in 'process of time Shua's daughter, the wife of Judah,		
		died; and Judah was 'comforted, and went up unto his 'sheepshearers	c 20 ^a	
		to Timnah, he and his friend Hirah the Adullamite. 13 And it was		
		told Tamar, saying, Behold, thy 'father in law goeth up to Timnah to		
		'shear his sheep. 14 And she "put off from her the garments of her		
		"widowhood, and 'covered herself with her 'veil, and 'wrapped herself,		
		and sat in the gate of Enaim, which is by the way to Timnah; for she		
		saw that Shelah was grown up, and she was not given unto him to		
		wife. 15 When Judah saw her, he 'thought her to be an 'harlot; for		
		she had covered her face. 16 And he 'turned unto her by the way, and		
		said, Go to, I pray thee, let me come in unto thee: for he knew not		
		that she was his daughter in law. And she said, What wilt thou give		
		me, that thou mayest come in unto me? 17 And he said, I will send		

37³⁵ M 5 Sheol, the name of the abode of the dead, answering to the Greek Hades, Acts 2²⁷.

38^a M 5 Medanites. 38^b M 5 chief of the executioners.

38¹ This narrative, which breaks the sequence of the Joseph story, bears many marks of the style and language of J, and is accordingly assigned to the group thus designated. But of its ultimate source nothing is known, though it doubtless belongs to the cycle of traditions relating the origins of tribal

clans; for Er 3 cp 1 Chron 4²¹. It appears designed to illustrate and justify the Levirate law, but it has also been thought to have some affinities with the story at the base of Judges 19. As that narrative partly depends on Gen 19, so here in 37-38 there is a distinct parallel with 25²⁴⁻²⁶. On the chronological difficulty cp Introd IV 17.

3 Cp Sam 2 she called, as in 4. Cp 16¹¹.

8 M See Deut 25⁵.—5†.

	J	JE	E	P
s 27 ⁹		thee a 'kid of the goats from the flock. And she said, Wilt thou give me a 'pledge, till thou send it? ¹⁸ And he said, What pledge shall I give thee? And she said, Thy 'signet and thy 'cord, and thy staff that is in thine hand. And he gave them to her, and came in unto her, and she conceived by him. ¹⁹ And she arose, and went away, and 'put off her veil from her, and put on the garments of her 'widowhood.		
t 30 5†		²⁰ And Judah sent the 'kid of the goats by the hand of his friend the Adullamite, to receive the 'pledge from the woman's hand: but he found her not. ²¹ Then he asked the 'men of her place, saying, Where is the 'harlot, that was at Enaim by the way side? And they said, There hath been no 'harlot here. ²² And he returned to Judah, and said, I have not found her; and also the 'men of the place said, There hath been no 'harlot here. ²³ And Judah said, Let her take it to her, lest we be 'put to shame: behold, I sent this kid, and thou hast not found her. ²⁴ And it came to pass about three months after, that it was told Judah, saying, Tamar thy daughter in law hath played the harlot; and moreover, behold, she is 'with child by 'whoredom. And Judah said, Bring her forth, and let her be 'burnt. ²⁵ When she was brought forth, she sent to her 'father in law, saying, By the man, whose these are, am I 'with child: and she said, Discern, I pray thee, whose are these, the 'signet, and the cords, and the staff. ²⁶ And Judah acknowledged them, and said, She is more 'righteous than I; 'forasmuch as I gave her not to Shelah my son. And he 'knew her again no more.		
u Ex 28 ²¹		²⁷ And it came to pass 'in the time of her travail, that, behold, 'twins were in her womb. ²⁸ And it came to pass, when she travailed, that one put out a hand: and the 'midwife took and 'bound upon his hand a scarlet thread, saying, This came out first. ²⁹ And it came to pass, as he drew back his hand, that, behold, his 'brother came out: and she said, 'Wherefore hast thou 'made a breach for thyself? therefore his name was called 'Perez. ³⁰ And afterward came out his brother, that had the scarlet thread upon his hand: and his name was called Zerah.		
v 25 ct Ex 28 ⁸		^{39¹} And Joseph was brought 'down to Egypt; and 'Potiphar, an officer of Pharaoh's, the captain of the guard, an Egyptian, 'bought him of the hand of the, 'Ishmaelites, which had brought him down thither. ² And Yahweh was 'with Joseph, and he was a 'prosperous man; and he was in the house of his master the Egyptian. ³ And his master 'saw that Yahweh was 'with him, and that Yahweh made all that he did to 'prosper in his hand. ^{4^a} And Joseph 'found grace in his sight,		
x Prov 12 ^{4†}		^{4^b} 'and he 'ministered unto him:		
y 16 ¹¹		^{4^a} and he made him 'overseer over his house, and all that he 'had he 'put into his hand. ⁵ And it came to pass 'from the time that he made him 'overseer in his house, and over all that he 'had, that Yahweh 'blessed the Egyptian's house for Joseph's 'sake; and the blessing of Yahweh was upon all that he 'had, in the house and in the field.		
z Hos 1 ² 2 ⁴ al		^{6^a} And he left all that he had in Joseph's hand.		
a ¹ Ct Lev 21 ⁹		^{6^b} And 'he knew not aught [that was] with him, save the bread which he did eat.		
b 5†		^{6^c} And Joseph was 'comely, and well favoured. ^{7^a} 'And it came to pass 'after these things . . .		
c Cp 199		^{7^b} 'And his master's wife 'cast her eyes upon Joseph; and she said, Lie with me. ⁸ But he refused, and said unto his master's wife, Behold, my master 'knoweth not what is with me in the house, and he hath 'put		
d 31 ^{10^a}				d 35
e 25 ²⁴				e 50
f 35 ¹⁷				
g ¹ J'mah 2 ¹⁸ 21				f 14
				g 80
a 37 ²⁵ 43 ⁷ 44 ²¹				
45 ¹³ cp 12 ¹⁰				
ct 37 ²⁸ c				
b 47 ¹⁹				
c 37 ²⁵ 28b				a 130
d 26 ²⁸				b 66
e 5 41 ³⁴ ct 40 ⁴ 5†				c 31 ^a
f 8 32 ¹⁶				d 109
g Ex 4 ¹⁰ 5 ²³ 5 ²⁴				e 84
Josiah 14 ^{10^a}				f 10 ^a
h 12 ¹³				
i 29 ¹⁷ 5				
7-13 21 ^{1c}				
j 5 = lifted up cp 176 ^a				g 95

38²¹ 22 M 5 *kedeshah*, that is, a woman dedicated to impure heathen worship. See Deut 23¹⁷ Hos 4¹⁴.

29^a M Or, *how hast thou made a breach! a breach be upon thee.*

29^b M That is, *A breach.*

39¹ An editorial insertion, accommodating the data of E, 37²⁶, into J.

4^b This clause has probably been incorporated from E, cp the usage of the verb 'ministered' 40⁴ Ex 24¹³, and was perhaps originally continuous with 37²⁶. Similar traces probably exist in 6^a, ct 'all that he had' 5^{6a}. Other passages may contain further material now amalgamated beyond recognition.

6^b M Or, *with him he knew not.*

8 M Or, *knoweth not with me what is &c.* 7 So 5. T that.

J	JE	E	P
k 41 ⁴⁰	all that he 'hath into my hand; ⁹ 'there is none 'greater in this house		
l 20 ⁶	than I; neither hath he 'kept back any thing from me but these,		
m 23 5 ^a	'because thou art his wife: how then can I do this great 'wickedness,		
n 5 = h u, t 26 ²⁹	and sin against God? ¹⁰ And it came to pass, as she spake to Joseph		
o cp 31 ²⁹	'day by day, that he hearkened not unto her, to lie by her, [or] to be		
p Ex 166 ^a	with her. ¹¹ And it came to pass about this time, that he went into		
p Ct 177	the house to do his 'work; and there was none of the men of the house		
q Cp 41 ¹¹ Josh	there within. ¹² And she 'caught him by his garment, saying, Lie with		
r Ex 4 ³	me: and he left his garment in her hand, and 'fled, and got him 'out.	h i	
s 31 ⁸⁰	¹³ And it came to pass, when she saw that he had left his garment in		
t 17 19 ¹⁴	her hand, and was fled forth, ¹⁴ that she called unto the men of her		
u Cp 185	house, and spake unto them, saying, 'See, he hath brought in an Hebrew		
v 20-23 40 ³ 54	unto us to 'mock us; he came in unto me to lie with me, and I cried		
w Cp 57	with a loud voice: ¹⁵ and it came to pass, when he heard that I lifted		
x Ct 2 chief of the butlers	up my voice and cried, that he left his garment by me, and fled, and		
y Ct 3 Pharaoh	got him out. ¹⁶ And she laid up his garment by her, until his master		
z 5 = sin against	came home. ¹⁷ And she spake unto him 'according to these words,		
aa 39 ⁹	'saying, The Hebrew servant, which thou hast brought unto us, came in		
ab 40 = master 39 ²	unto me to mock me: ¹⁸ and it came to pass, as I lifted up my voice		
ac 41 10 Deut 134 al	and cried, that he left his garment by me, and fled out. ¹⁹ And it came		
ad 37 ³⁶	to pass, when his master h'ard the words of his wife, which she spake		
ae 41 10	unto him, saying, 'After this manner did thy servant to me; that his		
af Cp 39 ²⁰	wrath was kindled. ²⁰ And Joseph's master took him, and put him		
ag Ct 39 ⁴	into the 'prison, 'the place where the king's prisoners were bound: and he was		
ah Cp 4 ³	there in the prison. ²¹ But Yahweh was 'with Joseph, and shewed		
ai 20 ⁹ 41 ⁴³ 47 ⁴ 5	'kindness unto him, and 'gave him favour in the sight of the 'keeper of		
aj Prov 19 ³	the prison. ²² And the keeper of the prison 'committed to Joseph's		
ak Chron 26 ¹⁹	hand all the prisoners that were in the prison; and whatsoever they		
al Dan 110 ⁴	did there, he was the doer of it. ²³ The keeper of the prison looked not		
	to any thing that was under his hand, 'because Yahweh was 'with		
	him; and that which he did, Yahweh made it to 'prosper.		
	⁴⁰ ¹ And it came to pass 'after these things,—[that] the 'butler of the		
	'king of Egypt and his 'baker 'offended their 'lord the 'king of Egypt— ² 'that		
	Pharaoh was 'wroth against his two 'officers, against the 'chief of the		
	butlers, and against the 'chief of the bakers. ³ And he put them in		
	'ward in the house of the 'captain of the guard, into the 'prison, the place		
	where Joseph was bound. ⁴ And the captain of the guard 'charged Joseph		
	with them, and he 'ministered unto them: and they continued a 'season		
	'in ward. ⁵ And they 'dreamed a dream both of them, each man his		
	dream, in one night, each man according to the 'interpretation of		
	his dream, 'the 'butler and the 'baker 'of the 'king of Egypt, which were bound		
	in the 'prison. ⁶ And Joseph came in unto them in the morning, and		
	saw them, and, behold, they were 'sad. ⁷ And he asked Pharaoh's		

39⁹ M Or, he is not.

²⁰ Apparently an editorial preparation for the narrative in 40³ . . . which is founded on the idea that Joseph's master, a high court-officer 40³ 37³⁶, was himself in charge of offenders against the royal pleasure. It is noteworthy that both the keeper of the prison 39²¹⁻²³, and the captain of the guard 40³, are designated by the same title *ser*.

40¹ The opening words of this verse contain one of E's recurring phrases, and probably led direct to ². E appears to have incorporated words from a similar narrative of J.

³ T And. The narrative of Joseph's life as a slave in the house of the captain of the guard, and his interpretation of the dreams first of the royal servants and then of Pharaoh himself, is derived almost wholly from E, as the criteria noted in the margins will show. In a few passages 40³ 5¹⁵ the harmonist has endeavoured to combine E's conception with J's story of his imprisonment in consequence of the false charge of Potiphar's wife; and from this source is probably derived the statement in 41^{14b}. Both documents, however, appear to have narrated his prediction of the years of plenty and famine, and his elevation to the post

of Pharaoh's chief minister. From 41²⁰ onwards the narrative exhibits frequent signs of diversity of material, but its resolution into its original factors can only be attempted with much reserve as to detail. The critical problem is further complicated by the occasional appearance of words or expressions indicating that this whole group of narratives has passed through a much later redaction, cp Giesebrecht, ZATW i 237, and Kuenen, *Hez* 328. Instances will be found in 40¹³ 41¹³ 47⁴ 42³ 43¹⁴ 45¹⁹ 23. To these may be added the recurring formulae 'land of Canaan' 42⁵ 7 &c 24 (though this may be naturally explained as due to contrast with the 'land of Egypt') and 'spake . . . saying' 39¹⁷ 19 42¹⁴ 50⁴ cp 185^a, elsewhere in Gen JE only in an allied phrase 185^d. In 42⁵ the appearance of the 'sons of Israel' has been attributed to the same influence cp 46⁶, but (as it would seem) unnecessarily. The frequency of the expression 'land of Egypt' (usual in P), e.g. fifteen times in JE 41¹⁹⁻³⁶ ct 57 42¹⁻³ 43² 15 &c has also been quoted in this connexion: but its repeated recurrence (for example) in JE Ex 9-11 renders this explanation doubtful, unless, indeed, it be extended to this group of narratives also.

J

JE

E

P

m Ct 39²⁰
 n Neh 2³ §†
 o 4:16 38.
 p 13 Joel 17†
 q Cp Num 17⁸
 r Cp Is 18⁵ Job
 153²⁴
 s Num 13²⁸
 t Deut 32²⁸
 u Hiph†
 v 49:11 Num
 w 13:30 23 al
 x 13:21 §² Ct 44²
 y 5†
 z 19 Josh 11
 aa 2 Kings 25²⁷
 ab 4:13 cp Dan
 117 20:38
 ac Cp Josh 6:15
 ad Lev 5:10 §
 ae 12:13
 af 37:28 op 117
 ag 22⁵
 ah 4:14 Ex 12²⁹
 ai Ex 29³ Judg
 619
 aj 22 4:13 Josh
 829 10:26ab
 ak Deut 21:22.
 al A' 22:6 cp 119d
 am i' Ezek 164†
 an j' 21:8 cp 155
 ao k' 27:48b 41:30
 ap a 88
 aq b Cp 29:14 §
 ar c 17 24:30
 as d 18 Job 811†
 at e 17 Ex 2:3 7:15
 au f 7 21 Ct 2816
 av g 221.
 aw h §
 ax i Ct Ex 25:31
 ay j 23 27 §†
 az k 40⁸
 ba l Dan 2:3 cp Ps
 77⁴
 bb m 14 31⁴
 bc n Cp 1:185.
 bd o 40²
 be p 40³.

officers that were ^awith him ^bin ward in his master's ^chouse, saying, Wherefore ^dlook ye so sadly to-day? ^eAnd they said unto him, We have ^fdreamed a dream, and there is none that can ^ginterpret it. And Joseph said unto them, Do not interpretations belong to ^hGod? tell it me, I pray you. ⁱAnd the chief butler told his dream to Joseph, and said to him, In my dream, behold, a vine was before me; ^jand in the vine were three ^kbranches: and it was as though it ^lbudded, [and] its ^mblossoms shot forth; [and] the ⁿclusters thereof ^obrought forth ripe ^pgrapes: ^qand Pharaoh's ^rcup was in my hand; and I took the grapes and ^spressed them into Pharaoh's cup, and I gave the cup into Pharaoh's hand. ^tAnd Joseph said unto him, This is the ^uinterpretation of it: the three branches are three days; ^vwithin yet three days shall Pharaoh ^wlift up thine head, and restore thee unto thine ^xoffice: and thou shalt give Pharaoh's cup into his hand, after the former ^ymanner when thou wast his butler. ^zBut have me in thy remembrance when it shall ^{aa}be well with thee, and ^{ab}shew kindness, I pray thee, unto me, and make mention of me unto Pharaoh, and bring me out of this house: ^{ac}for indeed I was ^{ad}stolen away out of the land of the Hebrews: ^{ae}and ^{af}here also have I done nothing that they should put me into the ^{ag}dungeon. ^{ah}When the chief baker saw that the interpretation was good, he said unto Joseph, I also was in my dream, and, behold, three ^{ai}baskets of ^{aj}white bread were on my head: ^{ak}and in the uppermost basket there was of all manner of bakemeats for Pharaoh; and the birds did eat them out of the basket upon my head. ^{al}And Joseph answered and said, This is the interpretation thereof: the three baskets are three days; ^{am}within yet three days shall Pharaoh ^{an}lift up thy head from off thee, and shall ^{ao}hang thee on a tree; and the birds shall eat thy flesh from off thee. ^{ap}And it came to pass the ^{aq}third day, which was Pharaoh's ^{ar}birthday, that he made a ^{as}feast unto all his servants: and he ^{at}lifted up the head of the chief butler and the head of the chief baker among his servants. ^{au}And he restored the chief butler unto his butlership again; and he gave the cup into Pharaoh's hand: ^{av}but he hanged the chief baker: as Joseph had interpreted to them. ^{aw}Yet did not the chief butler remember Joseph, but ^{ax}forgot him.

41¹ And it came to pass at the ^aend of two ^bfull years, that Pharaoh ^cdreamed: and, behold, he ^dstood by the ^eriver. ^fAnd, behold, there came up out of the river seven ^gkine, well favoured and fatfleshed; and they fed in the ^hreed-grass. ⁱAnd, behold, seven other ^jkine came up after them out of the river, ill favoured and leanfleshed; and stood by the other ^kkine upon the ^lbrink of the river. ^mAnd the ill favoured and leanfleshed ⁿkine did eat up the seven well favoured and fat ^okine. So Pharaoh ^pawoke. ^qAnd he ^rslept and ^sdreamed a second time: and, behold, seven ^tears of corn came up upon one ^ustalk, ^vrank and good. ^wAnd, behold, seven ears, thin and ^xblasted with the east wind, sprung up after them. ^yAnd the thin ears swallowed up the seven ^zrank and full ears. And Pharaoh ^{aa}awoke, and, behold, it was a dream. ^{ab}And it came to pass in the ^{ac}morning that his spirit was ^{ad}troubled; and he ^{ae}sent and called for all the ^{af}magicians of Egypt, and all the wise men thereof: and Pharaoh told them his dream; but there was none that could ^{ag}interpret them unto Pharaoh. ^{ah}Then ^{ai}spake the ^{aj}chief butler unto Pharaoh, ^{ak}saying, I ^{al}do remember my faults this day: ^{am}Pharaoh was ^{an}wroth with his servants, and put me in ward in the house of the captain of the guard, me and the chief baker: ^{ao}and we dreamed

f 57^b

a 101

b 106

40⁷ According to E Joseph is the slave of Pharaoh's chief executioner 37³⁶, but he is not himself a prisoner, as is implied in 'with him,' which must therefore be due to E.

14 The phraseology of this verse has echoes of J, and the last

clause 'bring me out of this house' is rather the language of a prisoner than a slave cp 10^b. Had J also a story of the dreams?

41¹ M § *Yeor*, that is, the Nile.

8 M Or, *sacred scribes*.

9 M Or, *will make mention of*.

J
g Cp 37^{18W}
r 40⁸
s 40¹⁸
t 40¹⁹
u 40¹⁵ cp 40²⁸
v 2 Sam 12²⁰ 5
Piel†
w 40⁸
x Ct 44 14²⁴
y 40⁸ 45⁸
z 40⁸
a' 5†
b' 37²⁴
c' 29-31 34 47 51
Prov 31⁰ Eccl
51†
d' 27³⁶
e' 22⁸
f' 29 Deut 12 4⁶
g' 39⁵

E
P
c 70
d 8b
e 29
f 43

a dream in one night, I and he; we dreamed each man according to the interpretation of his dream. ¹² And there was with us there a young man, an Hebrew, 'servant to the captain of the guard; and we 'told him, and he interpreted to us our dreams; to each man according to his dream he did interpret. ¹³ And it came to pass, as he interpreted to us, so it was; 'me he 'restored unto mine 'office, and him he 'hanged. ¹⁴ Then Pharaoh "sent and called Joseph, 'and they brought him 'hastily out of the "dungeon: and he shaved himself, and 'changed his raiment, and came in unto Pharaoh. ¹⁵ And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, "I have dreamed a dream, and there is none that can interpret it: and I have heard say of thee, that when thou hearest a dream thou canst interpret it. ¹⁶ And Joseph answered Pharaoh, saying, 'It is not in me: 'God shall give Pharaoh an answer of peace. ¹⁷ And Pharaoh spake unto Joseph, 'In my dream, behold, I stood upon the brink of the river: ¹⁸ and, behold, there came up out of the river seven kine, fatfleshed and well favoured; and they fed in the reed-grass: ¹⁹ and, behold, seven other kine came up after them, poor and very ill favoured and leanfleshed, such as I never saw in all the land of Egypt for badness: ²⁰ and the lean and ill favoured kine did eat up the first seven fat kine: ²¹ and when they had eaten them up, it could not be known that they had eaten them; but they were still ill favoured, as 'at the beginning. So I 'awoke. ²² And I saw in my dream, and, behold, seven ears came up upon one stalk, full and good: ²³ and, behold, seven ears, 'withered, thin, [and] 'blasted with the east wind, sprung up after them: ²⁴ and the thin ears swallowed up the seven good ears: and I told it unto the magicians; but there was none that could declare it to me. ²⁵ And Joseph said unto Pharaoh, The dream of Pharaoh is one: what 'God is about to do he hath declared unto Pharaoh. ²⁶ The seven good kine are seven years; and the seven good ears are seven years: the dream is one. ²⁷ And the seven lean and ill favoured kine that came up after them are seven years, and also the seven 'empty ears 'blasted with the east wind; they shall be seven years of famine. ²⁸ That is the thing which I spake unto Pharaoh; what 'God is about to do he hath shewed unto Pharaoh. ²⁹ "Behold, there come seven years of great 'plenty throughout all the land of Egypt: ³⁰ and there shall arise after them seven years of famine; and all the plenty shall be forgotten in the land of Egypt; and the famine shall consume the land.

...³¹ And the plenty shall not be known in the land by reason of that 'famine which followeth; for it shall be very 'grievous.

³² And for that the dream was 'doubled unto Pharaoh 'twice, it is because the thing is established by God, and God will 'shortly bring it to pass. ³³ Now therefore let Pharaoh 'look out a man 'discreet and wise, and set him over the land of Egypt.

³⁴ Let Pharaoh do [this], and let him 'appoint 'overseers over the land,

41¹³ **M** Or, *I was restored . . . and he was hanged.*

²⁹ The recital of Pharaoh's dreams is practically homogeneous, save for the insertion from J in ¹⁴. There are, indeed, some small phraseological differences in the repetition (e.g. ¹⁴ 'by the river,' ¹⁷ 'on the brink of the river'; עַל מֵיָהָר ²⁻⁴ and הָיָה ¹⁸, cp J in ³⁹ but also E ²⁹¹⁷), but these seem altogether inadequate to establish any diversity of origin. The account of Joseph's counsel to the king, however, and his subsequent promotion shows various marks of its dual source. Thus ³⁰ and ³¹ seem to contain duplicate predictions: in ³³ Pharaoh is advised to nominate one minister with full responsibility, but in ³⁴ a fresh suggestion is made for the appointment of a number of officers, while the reservation of one-fifth of the produce is plainly different from the recommendation to collect 'all the food' of the coming plentiful years. But ³³ is the natural sequel of ³², and ^{35a} apparently refers to ²⁹ (the plural subject being an editorial accommodation). The food was to be stored in the

cities ^{85c} 48, where its sale was under Joseph's direction ^{86b} 42^d; and this points to a different arrangement from the migrations rendered necessary in 47²¹. The investiture of Joseph ⁴¹⁻⁴³ with power over 'all the land of Egypt' is described in terms harmonious with J, and contrasting with his elevation 'over Pharaoh's house' ⁴⁰ cp 45^d. But many critics, it may be noted, attribute ⁴²⁻⁴ (in whole or part) to E. The name Poti-phera, however, bears a most suspicious likeness to Potiphar, Joseph's master, according to E 37³⁶. It seems possible that the same name was lodged in the traditions, but was variously applied in J and E. If ⁴⁵ is rightly assigned to J, the name in ⁵⁰ is due to the harmonist. The duplicates in ^{45b} and ^{46b} suggest that in ^{45b} ^{46a} there is an extract from P's brief notice of Joseph's administration: the datum of age is in P's manner, and is hardly to be reconciled with the description of Benjamin's youth in JE.

J E

J E

J E P

h' 47²⁴i' 48 Josh 10⁶j' 49 Ex 814^ak' 49 Ex 814^al' 49 Ex 814^am' 49 Ex 814^an' 49 Ex 814^ao' 49 Ex 814^ap' 49 Ex 814^aq' 49 Ex 814^ar' 49 Ex 814^as' 49 Ex 814^at' 49 Ex 814^au' 49 Ex 814^av' 49 Ex 814^aw' 49 Ex 814^ax' 49 Ex 814^ay' 49 Ex 814^az' 49 Ex 814^aaa' 49 Ex 814^aab' 49 Ex 814^aac' 49 Ex 814^aad' 49 Ex 814^aae' 49 Ex 814^aaf' 49 Ex 814^aag' 49 Ex 814^aah' 49 Ex 814^aai' 49 Ex 814^aaj' 49 Ex 814^aak' 49 Ex 814^aal' 49 Ex 814^aam' 49 Ex 814^aan' 49 Ex 814^aao' 49 Ex 814^aap' 49 Ex 814^aaq' 49 Ex 814^aar' 49 Ex 814^aas' 49 Ex 814^aat' 49 Ex 814^aau' 49 Ex 814^aav' 49 Ex 814^aaw' 49 Ex 814^aax' 49 Ex 814^aay' 49 Ex 814^aaz' 49 Ex 814^aba' 49 Ex 814^abb' 49 Ex 814^abc' 49 Ex 814^abd' 49 Ex 814^abe' 49 Ex 814^abf' 49 Ex 814^abg' 49 Ex 814^abh' 49 Ex 814^abi' 49 Ex 814^abj' 49 Ex 814^abk' 49 Ex 814^abl' 49 Ex 814^abm' 49 Ex 814^abn' 49 Ex 814^abo' 49 Ex 814^abp' 49 Ex 814^abq' 49 Ex 814^abr' 49 Ex 814^abs' 49 Ex 814^abt' 49 Ex 814^abu' 49 Ex 814^abv' 49 Ex 814^abw' 49 Ex 814^abx' 49 Ex 814^aby' 49 Ex 814^abz' 49 Ex 814^aca' 49 Ex 814^a

and "take up the ^hfifth part "of the land of Egypt in the seven plenteous years,

^{35a} And let them "gather all the food of these good years that come, ^{35b}and "lay up corn "under the hand of Pharaoh for food,

^{35c} in the "cities, and let them keep it. ^{36a} And the food shall be for a "store to the land against the seven years of famine, which shall be in the land of Egypt;

^{36b} that the land "perish not through the famine.

³⁷ And the thing "was good in the eyes of Pharaoh, and in the eyes of "all his servants. ³⁸ And Pharaoh said unto his servants, Can we find such a one as this, a man in whom the spirit of God is? ³⁹ And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, Forasmuch as "God hath shewed thee all this, there is none so "discreet and wise as thou: ⁴⁰ thou shalt be "over my house, and "according unto thy word shall all my people "be ruled: only in the throne will I be greater than thou. . . .

⁴¹ And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, "See, I have "set thee over all the land of Egypt. ⁴² And Pharaoh took off his "signet ring from his hand, and put it upon Joseph's hand, and "arrayed him in vestures of "fine linen, and put a gold "chain about his neck; ⁴³ and he made him to ride in the second "chariot which he had; and they cried before him, "Bow the knee: and he "set him over all the land of Egypt. ⁴⁴ And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, I am Pharaoh, and without thee shall no man lift up his hand or his foot in all the land of Egypt. ^{45a} And Pharaoh "called Joseph's name Zaphenath-paneah; and he gave him to wife Asenath the daughter of Poti-phera priest of On.

. . . ^{45b} And Joseph went out over the land of Egypt. ^{46a} And Joseph was thirty years "old when he stood before Pharaoh king of Egypt.

^{46b} And Joseph went out from the presence of Pharaoh, and "went throughout all the land of Egypt.

⁴⁷ And in the seven plenteous years the earth brought forth by "handfuls. ⁴⁸ And he "gathered up all the food of the seven years which were in the land of Egypt, and laid up the food in the "cities: the food of the field, which was round about every city, laid he up in the same.

⁴⁹ And Joseph "laid up corn as the "sand of the sea, "very much, until he "left "numbering; for it was without number.

⁵⁰ And unto Joseph "were born two sons before the year of famine came, which "Asenath the daughter of Poti-phera priest of On bare unto him.

⁵¹ And Joseph called the name of the firstborn "Manasseh: For, [said he], God hath made me forget all my "toil, and all my "father's house.

⁵² And the name of the second called he "Ephraim: For God hath made me "fruitful in the land of my "affliction. ⁵³ And the seven years of plenty, that was in the land of Egypt, "came to an end. ⁵⁴ And the seven years of famine "began to come, according as Joseph had said: and there was famine in all lands; but in all the land of Egypt there was bread. ⁵⁵ And when all the land of Egypt was "famished, the people "cried to Pharaoh for bread: and Pharaoh said unto all the Egyptians, Go unto Joseph; "what he saith to you, do.

^{56a} And the famine was over "all the face of the earth.

^{56b} And Joseph opened all the "storehouses, and sold unto the Egyptians; "and the famine was "sore in the land of Egypt.

41⁴⁰ M Or, order themselves. Or, do homage.—^h 'kiss' cp 143.

42 M Or, cotton.

43 M Abrech, probably an Egyptian word, similar in sound to the Hebrew word meaning to kneel.

51 M That is, Making to forget.

52 M From a Hebrew word signifying to be fruitful.

66a Apparently a doublet of 64.

66b ^h literally 'all in which was . . .'. Sam adds 'corn,' ^h point to words equivalent to the RV. ^h is generally regarded as corrupt. The last clause, omitted by ^h, may be due to R².

J	E	JE	J	E	P
		57 And all 'countries came into Egypt to Joseph for to buy corn; 'because the famine was 'sore in all the earth.			
a 5 Hithpa*		42 ¹ 'Now Jacob saw that 'there was corn in Egypt, and Jacob said unto his sons, Why do ye 'look one upon another? . . .			a 84
b 27 ⁶		... ² And he said, 'Behold, I have heard that 'there is corn in Egypt: get you down thither, and buy for us from thence; 'that we may live, and not die.			
c 43 ⁸ 47 ¹⁰		³ And 'Joseph's ten brethren went down to buy corn from Egypt.			
d Ct 5 op 6		⁴ But Benjamin, Joseph's brother, Jacob sent not with his brethren; for he said, Lest peradventure 'mischief befall him. ⁵ And the sons of 'Israel came to buy among those that came: for the famine was in the 'land of Canaan.			
e 38 44 ²⁹ Ex 31 ³² †		⁶ And Joseph 'was the 'governor over the land; he it was that 'sold to all the people of the land: and Joseph's brethren came, and 'bowed down themselves to him with their 'faces to the earth.			b 12 ^a
f Cp 49		⁷ And Joseph saw his brethren, and he knew them, but 'made himself strange unto them, [7 ^b] ^{7c} and he said unto them, Whence come ye? And they said, From the land of Canaan to buy 'food. . . .			
g Eccles 7 ¹⁹ 8 ⁵		⁸ And Joseph knew his brethren, but they knew not him. ⁹ And Joseph 'remembered the 'dreams which he 'dreamed 'of them,— ^{7b} 'and he spake 'roughly with them;—and said unto them, Ye are spies; to see the nakedness of the land ye are come. ¹⁰ And they said unto him, Nay, 'my lord, but to buy food are 'thy servants come. ¹¹ We are all one man's sons; we are 'true men, 'thy servants are no spies. ¹² And he said unto them, Nay, but to see the nakedness of the land ye are come. ¹³ And they said, We 'thy servants are twelve brethren, the sons of one man in the land of Canaan; and, behold, the youngest is this day with our father, and one 'is not. ¹⁴ And Joseph said unto them, That is it that I 'spake unto you, 'saying, Ye are spies: ¹⁵ hereby ye shall be 'proved: by the life of Pharaoh ye shall not go forth hence, except your youngest brother come hither. ¹⁶ Send one of you, and let him 'fetch your brother, and ye shall be 'bound, that your words may be 'proved, whether there be truth in you: or else by the life of Pharaoh surely ye are spies. ¹⁷ And he 'put them all together into ward three days. ¹⁸ And Joseph said unto them the 'third day, This do, and 'live; for I 'fear God: ¹⁹ if ye be true men, let one of your brethren be 'bound in your prison house; but go ye, carry corn for the 'famine of your			c 101
i 40 ¹⁴ 23					d 56 ^a
m 37 ⁵ ..					e 73 ^a
n Cp 1 ⁿ					
					f 102
o 19 31-34 5 ^a					
p 36 37 ³⁰					
q Cp 218 ⁵					
r 5 ^a					
s 27 ⁴⁵					
t 18 24 cp 30 ³⁰					
u 46 ²⁹ Ex 14 ⁶					
v 5 = gathered					
w 22 ⁴ cp 119 ⁴					
x 20 ⁷ 5 ^a					
y 38 Ps 37 ¹⁹ †					

415^{7a} 5 'all the earth' followed by a plural verb: cf the plural of the same noun in 54 'all lands.'

57^b This clause has somewhat the air of an editorial annotation, hardly needed after 56^a: the word 'was sore' is not J's usual phrase cp 56^b.

42¹ The narrative in 42-45 presents the same general characteristics as that in 40-41; there are considerable portions which are clearly uncompounded; there are others in which the interlacing of different documents appears extremely close. To the indications already enumerated the following parallels and contrasts may be added:—

J
Israel 42⁵ 43⁸ 5 11 45²⁸.
Joseph recognizes his brethren 42⁷.

He does not disclose himself but makes kindly inquiries 42⁷ 43⁷.. 37.. His brothers describe him as 'the man' 43³⁻⁵ 7 &c.

The money is found in the mouth of the sacks, when one of them is opened for provender on the way 42²⁷ 28^a 43¹² 18 21 44⁸.

J employs the word *amtahath* for sack 42^{27b} 28 43¹² 18 21-23 28 44⁸ 11†.

E
Jacob 42¹ 36 45²⁷.
42⁸.

Speaks roughly and accuses them of being spies 7^b v. 30. His brothers describe him as 'the man, the lord of the land' 42³⁰ 35.

The money is found in the sacks on being emptied when they reach Jacob, provision for the way being furnished separately 42²⁵ 33.

E uses *saq* 42²⁵ 35; its occurrence in 42^{27a} seems due to the compiler.

J
The brothers wait till the corn is consumed before making a second journey 43³.

Judah takes the lead 43³ 8 44¹⁴ 18.

The analysis founded on these differences both of substance and form cannot, however, attain in many cases to more than various degrees of probability, and it is sometimes possible that a passage which seems to be simple may comprise diverse elements. Thus in 43⁹ 'of my hand shalt thou require him' may be a doublet (E) of 'surety' (J); so that 9^b 10 may conceivably be drawn from E. Similarly in 45⁷ 'to preserve you a remnant' (J), and 'to save you alive' (E). The linguistic affinities are not by any means always decisive: an attempt is made in the margin to indicate their conflicting character: as in the story of Jacob, so here, the similarities of style are very close. Thus two words are used for corn, *shebher* 42¹. 19 26 43⁸ 44³ 47¹⁴* and *bar* 41³⁵ 49 42³⁻²⁵ 45²³. Both seem employed by each writer as by Amos 8⁵.

⁵ On the expression 'land of Canaan' 5 7 13 30 32 cp 40²⁸.

⁶ This clause may be due to E, cp the late usage of עַיִן; in Chaldee frequent in Daniel and in Eze 4²⁰ 7²⁴; cp 40²⁸.

^{7b} This clause seems out of place in the present text of 7, and appears to suit E's bitter accusation 'ye are spies' better than J's friendly inquiry 'whence come ye?' It is therefore transposed to 9.

J	E	JE	J	E	P
3 Cp Num 12 ⁷ § Deut 7 ⁹ 28 ²⁰ ⁷ 2 17 ¹⁹ a' 2 Sam 14 ¹³ Exr 10 ¹⁹ ⁷ b' 3 ⁵ c' Deut 32 ⁸ d' 27 37 ²⁵		houses: ²⁰ and bring your youngest brother unto me; so shall your words be ²¹ verified, and ye shall not die. And they did so. ²¹ And they said 'one to another, We are ²² verily ²³ guilty concerning our brother, in that we saw the ²⁴ 'distress of his soul, when he ²⁵ 'besought us, and we would not hear; ²⁶ therefore is this ²⁷ 'distress come upon us. ²⁸ And ²⁹ 'Reuben answered them, saying, Spake I not unto you, saying, Do not sin against the child; and ye would not hear? therefore also, behold, his blood is required. ³⁰ And they knew not that Joseph understood them; for there was an ³¹ 'interpreter between them. ³² And he turned himself about from them, and wept; and he returned to them, and spake to them, and took Simeon from among them, and ³³ 'bound him before their eyes. ³⁴ Then Joseph commanded to fill their vessels with corn, and to ³⁵ 'restore every man's money into his ³⁶ 'sack, and to ³⁷ 'give them provision for the way: and thus was it done unto them. ³⁸ And they ³⁹ 'laded their asses with their corn, and departed thence.			g 112 h 85
a' 37 ²² f' 35 ot 37 g' 45 ²¹ h' Cp 31 ¹⁷ 46 ⁵ §		... ³⁷ And as one of them opened his sack to give his ass ³⁸ 'provender in the ³⁹ 'lodging place, he ⁴⁰ 'espied his money; and, behold, it was in the mouth of his ⁴¹ 'sack. ⁴² And he said unto his brethren, My money is restored; and, lo, it is ⁴³ 'even in my ⁴⁴ 'sack: and their heart failed them".			i 67 j 53
i' 25 ² j' Cp 1 ¹ 43 ¹² 21 k' 18 ⁹ §		²⁹ And they came unto Jacob their father unto the land of Canaan, and told him all that had befallen them; ³⁰ saying, The man, the lord of the land, spake ³¹ 'roughly with us, and took us for spies of the country. ³² And we said unto him, We are ³³ 'true men; we are no spies: ³⁴ we be twelve brethren, sons of our father; one ³⁵ 'is not, and the youngest is this day with our father in the land of Canaan. ³⁶ And the man, the lord of the land, said unto us, Hereby shall I know that ye are ³⁷ 'true men; leave one of your brethren with me, and take [corn for] the ³⁸ 'famine of your houses, and go your way: ³⁹ and bring your youngest brother unto me: then shall I know that ye are no spies, but that ye are ⁴⁰ 'true men: so will I deliver you your brother, and ye shall ⁴¹ 'traffic in the land. ⁴² And it came to pass as they ⁴³ 'emptied their ⁴⁴ 'sacks, that, behold, every man's ⁴⁵ 'bundle of money was ⁴⁶ 'in his ⁴⁷ 'sack: and when they and their father saw their bundles of money, they were ⁴⁸ 'afraid.— ⁴⁹ And they turned ⁵⁰ 'trembling ⁵¹ 'one to another, saying, What is this that God hath done unto us?— ⁵² And Jacob their father said unto them, Me have ye ⁵³ 'bereaved of my children: Joseph ⁵⁴ 'is not, and Simeon is not, and ye will take Benjamin away: all these things are ⁵⁵ 'against me. ⁵⁶ And ⁵⁷ 'Reuben spake unto his father, saying, ⁵⁸ 'Slay my two sons, if I bring him not to thee: deliver him into my hand, and I will ⁵⁹ 'bring him to thee again.			k 28
l' 34 ¹⁰ m' 14 ¹⁴ n' Ct 27 43 ²¹ o' 28 ¹⁷ p' Ex 19 ¹⁶		... ⁵⁸ And he said, My son shall not go down with you; for his brother is ⁵⁹ 'dead, and he only is ⁶⁰ 'left: if ⁶¹ 'mischieff befall him by the way in the which ye go, then shall ye ⁶² 'bring down my ⁶³ 'gray hairs with ⁶⁴ 'sorrow to ⁶⁵ 'the ⁶⁶ 'grave.			
q' Ex 12 27 ²⁹ cp Gen 18 ²⁵		⁴³ And the famine was ⁴⁴ 'sore in the land. ⁴⁵ And it came to pass, when they had ⁴⁶ 'eaten up the corn which they had brought out of Egypt, their father said unto them, Go again, buy us a ⁴⁷ 'little ⁴⁸ 'food. ⁴⁹ And Judah spake unto him, saying, The ⁵⁰ 'man did solemnly ⁵¹ 'protest unto us, saying, ⁵² 'Ye shall not see my face, except your brother be with you. ⁵³ If thou ⁵⁴ 'wilt send our brother with us, we will ⁵⁵ 'go down and buy thee food: ⁵⁶ but if thou wilt not send him, we will not go down: for the ⁵⁷ 'man said unto us, Ye shall not see my face, except your brother be with you. ⁵⁸ And ⁵⁹ 'Israel said, Wherefore ⁶⁰ 'dealt ye so ill with me, as to tell the ⁶¹ 'man whether ye had yet a brother? ⁶² And they said, The ⁶³ 'man ⁶⁴ 'asked straitly concerning ourselves, and concerning our ⁶⁵ 'kindred,			l 75 a 26 b 51 c 84 d 49 e 60
r' 44 ²⁰ ot 13 s' 7 ²³ cp 69, ot t' 44 ²⁰ u' Ct 15 ¹⁵ § v' 44 ²⁹ 21 ¹ a 18 ²³ § b 42 ⁷ c 6 ⁷ 44 ²⁸ ot d 12 ³⁰ 33 e 12 ³⁰ 33 f 12 ³⁰ 33 g 12 ³⁰ 33 h 12 ³⁰ 33 i 12 ³⁰ 33 j 12 ³⁰ 33 k 12 ³⁰ 33 l 12 ³⁰ 33 m 12 ³⁰ 33 n 12 ³⁰ 33 o 12 ³⁰ 33 p 12 ³⁰ 33 q 12 ³⁰ 33 r 12 ³⁰ 33 s 12 ³⁰ 33 t 12 ³⁰ 33 u 12 ³⁰ 33 v 12 ³⁰ 33 w 12 ³⁰ 33 x 12 ³⁰ 33 y 12 ³⁰ 33 z 12 ³⁰ 33					

42²⁸ The rest of this verse 28^b is marked by E's phraseology, cp 'one to another,' 'Elohim,' and seems misplaced here. It appears most appropriate after 35, when the discovery is made

that each man's money has been returned to him cp 42¹⁸.

³⁶ M Or, upon.

³⁸ M § Sheol. See 37³⁶.

J E

J E

J E P

j Ex 34²⁷ Deut
17²⁰ et 41⁴⁰k 11²³ 39¹l 43³
m 44²⁸ op 38¹⁷n 31³⁹o 44³² op 213^a
p 31⁴⁵
q 19¹⁸r Cp 27²⁶ 5s 27³⁸
t 5⁶u 4³
v 37²⁶

w 5 = restored

x 45²⁷
y 45¹⁸z 5⁶a Cp 39²¹
b Ct 50 Deutc 13¹⁷ Jer 42¹³
d 42¹⁹ 24e Cp 39⁴ 44¹ 4f Ex 22¹ Deut
28²¹g 26 Josh 11¹¹ al
h 25 Deut 28²⁹i 12¹⁷j Deut 9¹⁴ 25
k 101l Hithpa⁷
m 18²⁸n 24²⁸o 27. op 20⁶ Ex
18⁷ Judg 6²⁸p 18⁴q Cp 26² 5r Cp 73
s 33³

t Ct 14 5

u 1 Kings 3²⁶
v Hos 11⁸ cpw Lam 1¹⁰x Ex 21⁵ 4²⁴y Ex 8³ cpz Judg 15¹
a Sam 13¹⁰b Kings 12¹⁵ 5c Kings 12¹⁵ 5d Kings 12¹⁵ 5e Kings 12¹⁵ 5f Kings 12¹⁵ 5g Kings 12¹⁵ 5h Kings 12¹⁵ 5i Kings 12¹⁵ 5j Kings 12¹⁵ 5k Kings 12¹⁵ 5

saying, Is your father 'yet alive? 'have ye another brother? and we told him 'according to the tenor of these words: could we in any wise know that he would say, 'Bring your brother down? ⁸ And Judah said unto 'Israel his father, Send the lad with me, and we will arise and go; that we may 'live, and not die, 'both we, and thou, and also our 'little ones. ⁹ I will 'be surety for him; of my hand shalt thou 'require him: if I bring him not unto thee, and 'set him before thee, then 'let me bear the blame 'for ever: ¹⁰ for 'except we had 'lingered, 'surely we had now returned a 'second time. ¹¹ And their father 'Israel said unto them, If it be so 'now, do this; take of the 'choice fruits of the land in your vessels, and 'carry down the 'man a 'present, a 'little 'balm, and a 'little honey, 'spicery and myrrh, 'nuts, and almonds: ¹² and take double money in your hand; and the money that was 'returned in the 'mouth of your 'sacks carry again in your hand; 'peradventure it was an 'oversight: ¹³ take also your brother, and arise, go again unto the 'man.

. . . ¹⁴ and 'God Almighty 'give you 'mercy before the 'man, that he may release unto you your 'other brother and Benjamin. And if I be 'bereaved of my children, I am bereaved.

¹⁵ And the men took that 'present, and they took double money in their hand, and Benjamin; and rose up, and went down to Egypt, and stood before Joseph. ¹⁶ And when Joseph saw Benjamin with them, he said to the 'steward of his house, Bring the men into the house, and 'slay, and 'make ready; for the men shall dine with me at 'noon.

¹⁷ And the man did as Joseph bade; and the man brought the men into Joseph's house. ¹⁸ And the men were afraid, because they were brought into Joseph's house; and they said, 'Because of the money that was 'returned in our 'sacks 'at the first time are we brought in; that he may 'seek occasion against us, and 'fall upon us, and take us for bondmen, and our asses. ¹⁹ And they 'came near to the 'steward of Joseph's house, and they spake unto him at the door of the house,

and said, ²⁰ 'Oh my lord, we came indeed down 'at the first time to buy food: ²¹ and 'it came to pass, when we came to the 'lodging place, that we opened our 'sacks, and, behold, every man's money was in the 'mouth of his sack, our money in full 'weight: and we have brought it again in our hand. ²² And other money have we 'brought down in our hand to buy food: we know not who put our money in our 'sacks. ²³ And he said, 'Peace be to you, fear not: your God, and the 'God of your father, hath given you 'treasure in your sacks: I had your money. 'And he brought 'Simeon out unto them. ²⁴ And the man brought the men into Joseph's house, and gave them water, and they 'washed their feet; and he gave their asses 'provender. ²⁵ And they 'made ready the 'present against Joseph came at 'noon: for they heard that they should eat bread there. ²⁶ And when Joseph came home, they brought him the 'present which was in their hand into the house, and 'bowed down themselves to him to the earth. ²⁷ And he asked them of their 'welfare, and said, Is your father 'well, the old man 'of whom ye spake? Is he 'yet alive? ²⁸ And they said, 'Thy servant our father is 'well, he is 'yet alive. And they 'bowed the head, and made obeisance. ²⁹ And he lifted up his eyes, and saw Benjamin his brother, his mother's son, and said, Is this your youngest brother, 'of whom ye spake unto me? And he said, God be 'gracious unto thee, my son. ³⁰ And Joseph 'made haste; for his 'bowels did 'yearn upon his brother: and he 'sought where to weep; and he entered into his 'chamber, and wept there. ³¹ And he washed his face,

43⁹ M 5 I shall have sinned against thee for ever.11a M See 37²⁰.

14 M 5 El Shaddai.—The occurrence of this name (cp 'x)

seems due to the late redaction which has left its traces on other portions of the Joseph-cycle cp 40²².

18 M 5 roll himself upon us.

J	JE	E	P
w' 45 ^{1a}	and came out; and he "refrained himself, and said, Set on bread.		
w' 46 ²⁴ Ex 8 ²⁶	³² And they set on for him by himself, and for them by themselves,		
w' 25 ²²	and for the Egyptians, which did eat with him, by themselves: because		
	the Egyptians might not eat bread with the Hebrews; for that is an		
	"abomination unto the Egyptians. ³³ And they sat before him, the		
	firstborn according to his "birthright, and the youngest according to		
	his "youth: and the men "marvelled one with another. ³⁴ And "he took		
	[and sent] "messes unto them from before him: but Benjamin's "mess		
	was five "times so much as any of theirs. And they drank, and "were		
	merry with him.		
	⁴⁴ And he commanded the "steward of his house, saying, Fill the		
	men's sacks with food, as much as they can carry, "and put every man's		
	money in his sack's mouth. ² And put my "cup, the silver cup, in the		
	"sack's mouth of the youngest, and his corn money. And he did "according		
	to the word that Joseph had spoken. ³ As soon as the morning was		
	light, the men were sent away, they and their asses. ⁴ [And] when		
	they were gone out of the city, and were not yet "far off, Joseph said		
	unto his "steward, Up, follow after the men; and when thou dost		
	"overtake them, say unto them, Wherefore have ye rewarded evil for		
	good? "[Wherefore have ye stolen my silver cup?] ⁵ "Is not this it		
	in which my lord drinketh, and whereby he indeed "divineth? ye have		
	"done evil in so doing. ⁶ And he "overtook them, and he spake unto		
	them these words. ⁷ And they said unto him, Wherefore speaketh "my		
	lord "such words as these? "God forbid that "thy servants should do		
	such a thing. ⁸ Behold, the money, which we found in our "sacks'		
	mouths, we "brought again unto thee out of the land of Canaan: "how		
	then should we steal out of thy lord's house silver or gold? ⁹ With		
	whomsoever of "thy servants it be found, let him "die, and we also will		
	be "my lord's bondmen. ¹⁰ And he said, Now also let it "be "according		
	unto your words: he with whom it is found shall be my bondman;		
	and ye shall be "blameless. ¹¹ Then they "hasted, and took down		
	every man his "sack to the ground, and opened every man his sack.		
	¹² And he "searched, [and] "began at the eldest, and "left at the		
	youngest: and the "cup was found in Benjamin's "sack. ¹³ Then they		
	"rent their clothes, and "laded every man his ass, and returned to the		
	city. ¹⁴ And "Judah and his brethren came to Joseph's house; and		
	he was "yet there: and they "fell before him on the ground. ¹⁵ And		
	Joseph said unto them, What deed is this that ye have done? know		
	ye not that such a man as I can indeed "divine? ¹⁶ And "Judah said,		
	What shall we say unto "my lord? what shall we speak? or how shall		
	we "clear ourselves? God hath found out the "iniquity of "thy servants:		
	"behold, we are "my lord's bondmen, "both we, "and he also in whose		
	hand the cup is found. ¹⁷ And he said, "God forbid that I should do so:		
	the man in whose hand the cup is found, he shall be my bondman; but		
	as for you, get you up "in peace unto your father.		
	¹⁸ Then Judah came near unto him, and said, "Oh my lord, let "thy		
	servant, I pray thee, speak a word in my lord's "ears, and let not thine		
	anger burn against "thy servant: for thou art even as Pharaoh. ¹⁹ "My		
	lord asked "his servants, saying, 'Have ye a father, or a brother?		
	²⁰ And we said unto "my lord, We "have a father, an old man, and a child		
	of his "old age, a little one; and his brother is "dead, and he alone is		
	"left of his mother, and his father loveth him. ²¹ And thou saidst unto		
	"thy servants, "Bring him down unto me, that I may set mine eyes upon		

43^{34a} M Or, messes were taken. 34^b M H drank largely.44¹ The return of each man's money a second time can hardly be part of the original story. The device of the cup is designed to test the loyalty of the brothers to Benjamin. But a repetition of the gift of the money (by which their honesty had been already successfully proved "b) has no further signi-ficance. And when the sacks are opened ¹¹, nothing is said of its discovery, cf 42²⁷, and 42³⁰.⁴ The words in brackets found in G L C seem to have dropped accidentally out of the text.¹⁶ Some critics propose to read 'they' as in ⁷. Judah seems first to act as spokesman in ¹⁶.

	J E	JE	J E P
		him. ²² And we said unto ^h my lord, The lad cannot leave his father: for if he should leave his father, his father would die. ²³ And thou	
a' 43 ⁸		^h saidst unto ^h thy servants, Except your youngest brother come down with you, ye shall see my face no more. ²⁴ And ^h it came to pass ^k when we came up unto ^h thy servant my father, we told him the words of ^h my lord. ²⁵ And our father said, ^h Go again, buy us a ^h little food. ²⁶ And we said, We cannot go down: if our youngest brother ^h be with us, then will we go down: for we may not see the ^h man's face, except our youngest brother be with us. ²⁷ And thy servant my father said unto us, Ye know that my wife bare me two sons: ²⁸ and the one went out from me, and I said, Surely ^h he is torn in pieces; and I have not seen him since: ²⁹ and if ye take ^h this one also from me, and ^h mischief befall him, ^h ye shall bring down my gray hairs with ^h sorrow to ^h the ^h grave. ³⁰ Now therefore when I come to thy servant my father, and the lad be not with us; seeing that ^h his life is bound up in the lad's life; ³¹ it shall come to pass, when he seeth that the lad is not [with us], that he will die: and ^h thy servants shall ^h bring down the gray hairs of thy servant our father with sorrow to ^h the ^h grave. ³² For ^h thy servant became ^h surety for the lad unto my father, saying, If I bring him not unto thee, then shall I ^h bear the blame to my father for ever. ³³ Now therefore, let ^h thy servant, I pray thee, abide instead of the lad a bondman to ^h my lord; and let the lad go up with his brethren. ³⁴ For ^h how shall I go up to my father, and the lad be not with me? lest I see the evil that shall come on my father.	k 3 l 51
d' 37 ^{25b} e' 29 ²⁷ 33 35 ²⁷ 5 f' 42 ²⁸		⁴⁵ ^{1a} ^h Then Joseph could not ^h refrain himself before all them that stood by him; and he cried, Cause every man to go out from me. ^{1b} And there stood no man with him, while Joseph ^h made himself known unto his brethren. ² And he ^h wept aloud: and the Egyptians heard, ^{2b} and the ^h house of Pharaoh heard. ³ And Joseph said unto his brethren, I am Joseph; ^h doth my father yet live? And his brethren could not answer him; for they ^h were troubled at his presence. ⁴ And Joseph said unto his brethren, ^h Come near to me, I pray you. And they came near. And he said, I am Joseph your brother, whom ye ^h sold into Egypt. ^{5a} And now be not ^h grieved, ^{5b} And be not ^h angry with yourselves, ^{5c} that ye ^h sold me hither: ^{5d} for God did send me before you to ^h preserve life. ⁶ For these two years hath the famine been ^h in the land: and there are yet five years, in the which there shall be neither ^h plowing nor ^h harvest. ⁷ And God sent me before you to preserve you a ^h remnant in the earth, and to ^h save you alive ^h by a great ^h deliverance. ⁸ So now it was not you that sent me hither, but God: and he hath made me a father to Pharaoh, and lord of all his ^h house, and ^h ruler over all the land of Egypt. ^{9b} ^h Haste ye, and go up to my father, and say unto him, Thus saith thy	m 75
g' 43 ⁹			
a 43 ¹¹			
b Num 12 ⁶ 28 ¹ c Cp Num 14 ^{1b}			
d 50 ⁴ 16 e Ct 43 ²⁷ 44 ¹⁹⁻²⁴ f Ex 15 ^{10a}			
g 27 ²⁶			
h 5 37 ²⁸ i 31 ³³ 5 ¹			a 79
j Ct Lev 13 ¹⁰ 24 5 ¹ k 48 ¹⁶ 5 l Ex 34 ²¹ 1 Sam 812 ¹ m 22 ² Ex 23 ¹⁶ n 5 ¹ Am 1 ⁶ 21 o 50 ²⁰ Ex 17 p 32 ⁸ q 41 ¹⁴ r 5 28 cp 24 ²			b 43

44^{28a} 31 M 5 evll.—Cp Ex 32¹² 5.29b 31 M 5 Sheol. See 37²⁵.30 M. Or, his soul is knit with the lad's soul. See 1 Sam 18¹.

45¹ The narrative of Joseph's disclosure of himself and the subsequent invitation to his father and brethren is obviously composite, but some uncertainty still hangs about the details. The opening seems to be derived from J in sequel to the pleading of Judah, and with this is associated the allusion to the transaction with the Ishmaelites ⁴. Joseph's message to his father follows in ⁹ with the promise of residence in Goshen ¹⁰. The urgency of ⁹ is repeated in ¹³; in ¹⁴ Joseph falls on Benjamin's neck cp ²⁸; the 'little ones' ¹⁹ also seem to belong to J, and in ²⁸ it is Israel who accepts his son's proposal. On the other hand a number of indications plead

for E. In ^{1b} 'stood' represents a different 5 compared with ^{1a}; 'made himself known' 'wept aloud' each occur but once elsewhere and both in E; the question in ³ is E's parallel to the inquiry in 43²⁷; in ^{5b-6} the use of Elohims makes for E (cp the marginal passages) as do the parallels to ¹³ and ¹⁶. The account of Pharaoh's command to Joseph ¹⁶⁻¹⁸ is a duplicate of Joseph's instructions ⁹⁻¹¹, while the gifts of Joseph in ^{21b-23} produce the desired effect on Jacob ²⁵⁻²⁷ (cf Israel ²⁸). In the sequel J represents Joseph as only informing Pharaoh about his family when they have actually reached Goshen 46²⁸...: there is thus a clear divergence between the two narratives.

² M 5 gave forth his voice in weeping.⁵ So 5, T nor angry with yourselves.⁷ M. Or, to be a great company that escape.

	J E	J E	J E P
<p>47¹² 50²¹ Cp 6 Niph Prov 20¹² 23²¹ 30²¹</p>	<p>son Joseph, *God hath made me lord of all Egypt: come down unto me, tarry not: ¹⁰ and thou shalt dwell in the land of *Goshen, and thou shalt be near unto me, thou, and thy children, and thy children's children, and thy *flocks, and thy herds, and all that thou hast: ¹¹ and there will I *nourish thee; for there are yet *five years of famine; lest thou *come to poverty, thou, and thy household, and all that thou hast.</p>		<p>o 39 d 33</p>
	<p>¹² And, behold, your eyes see, and the eyes of my brother Benjamin, that it is my mouth that speaketh unto you.</p>		
	<p>¹³ And ye shall tell my father of all my glory in Egypt, and of all that ye have seen; and ye shall *haste and bring down my father hither.</p>		
	<p>¹⁴ And he *fell upon his brother Benjamin's neck, and wept; and Benjamin wept upon his neck.</p>		<p>o 28</p>
<p>Ct 2b w 41²⁷</p>	<p>¹⁵ And he kissed all his brethren, and wept upon them: and after that his brethren talked with him. ¹⁶ And the *fame thereof was heard in Pharaoh's house, saying, Joseph's brethren are come: and it *pleased Pharaoh well, and his servants. ¹⁷ And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, Say unto thy brethren, This do ye; *lade your *beasts, and go, get you unto the land of Canaan; ¹⁸ and take your father and your households, and come unto me: and I will give you the *good of the land of Egypt, and ye shall eat the fat of the land.</p>		
<p>x 5¹ Ct 44¹² y Ex 22⁶ cp Num 20⁴ z 20 22 24¹⁰</p>	<p>¹⁹ Now thou art commanded, this do ye; take you *wagons out of the land of Egypt for your *little ones, and for your wives, and bring your father, and come. ²⁰ Also *regard not your stuff; for the *good of all the land of Egypt is yours. ²¹ And the *sons of Israel *did so:</p>		
<p>21²⁷ 46²⁸ Num 7² 8²</p>	<p>²¹ And Joseph gave them *wagons, *according to the commandment of Pharaoh, and *gave them provision for the way. ²² To all of them he gave each man *changes of raiment; but to Benjamin he gave three hundred pieces of silver, and *five changes of raiment. ²³ And to his father he sent *after this manner; ten asses laden with the *good things of Egypt, and ten she-asses laden with corn and bread and *victual for his father by the way. ²⁴ So he sent his brethren away, and they departed: and he said unto them, See that ye *fall not out by the way. ²⁵ And they went up out of Egypt, and *came into the land of Canaan unto Jacob their father. ²⁶ And they told him, saying, Joseph is *yet alive, and he is *ruler over all the land of Egypt. And his heart *fainted, for he *believed them not. ²⁷ And they told him all the words of Joseph, which he had said unto them: and when he saw the *wagons which Joseph had sent to carry him, the spirit of Jacob their father *revived.</p>		<p>f 5a</p>
<p>U Cp Dent 7¹⁶ C 42⁵ d' 20²⁸ Ex 17⁶ Josh 5¹⁵ Cp 7¹⁹ J' 42²⁶ J' 41¹⁴ A' 43²⁴</p>	<p>²⁸ And Israel said, It is *enough; Joseph my son is *yet alive: I will go and see him before *I die.</p>		
<p>J 2 Chron 11²⁸ Dan 4¹² 21⁴</p>	<p>⁴⁶ And *Israel *took his journey with *all that he *had, *and came to Beer-sheba.</p>		
<p>K 5 = tremble Ex 15¹⁴ Dent 25⁵ I' 42²⁹ n' Cp 3 n' Hab 14 Ps 77³ 38²¹ C 15⁸</p>	<p>² And God *spake unto *Israel in the *visions of the night, and said, *Jacob, Jacob. And he said, *Here am I. ³ And he said, I am God,</p>		
<p>J' 5 lived cp Ps 22²⁶ 60²² q' Ex 9²⁸ r' 43²⁷ s' 46³⁰ 27⁴ a 11² b 22⁸ c Num 12⁶ cp 15¹ d Cp 22¹¹</p>			<p>a 49 b 124 c 104</p>

45^s The language of this verse is not inconsistent with J ('haste' 43, 'tarry not' 19¹⁷ cp Josh 10¹⁹) except in the use of 'Elohim' which is no longer dramatically appropriate as in 43²³ 44¹⁶ between supposed strangers, and may be due to editorial assimilation, cp 50⁴⁸. The words can hardly be referred to E who ascribes to Pharaoh 17: the first invitation to Jacob and his sons to settle in Egypt.

19 The first words of this verse 'now thou art commanded' do not seem to cohere with what precedes or follows. The instructions begin in 17: from Pharaoh to Joseph: they are continued without a break in 19 from Joseph to his brethren. 19 appears to come from another hand. In the opening phrase the Hebrew conjugation (found elsewhere only in P Ex 34³⁴ Lev 8¹⁵ 10¹³ Num 3¹⁶ 36², and Ezek 12⁷ 24¹⁸ 37⁷) is unusual; (G) reads 'command thou,' Sam 'I have commanded.' The uncertainty of the text is probably due to editorial touches which cannot now be fully traced. But it does not seem

necessary to ascribe the whole of 19: to R cp 46³¹: the peculiar phrase in 20^a 'your eye shall not pity,' though common in D 43^b in another application, is not exclusively Deuteronomic Ezek 5¹¹ 7⁴ 9 & 10 Is 13¹⁸ cp 1 Sam 24¹⁰: in 20^b 'the good of all the land' seems an original parallel to 18, rather than an editorial addition which would have been superfluous. But the union of 19: with 17: begot some slight touches in 21 from R. It would seem from 9: 46³¹ that the initiative in sending for Jacob, according to J, lay with Joseph: E also ascribes the gift of wagons to him 21²⁷; the references to Pharaoh, therefore, in 21 and 46: must be later editorial interpretations of Joseph's action.

46¹⁴ This clause is probably due to the editor who combined J and E. In 37¹⁴ (J) Israel seems to be living in Hebron: while E 46⁵ apparently regards Beer-sheba as his home. 15 seems the sequel of the vision in 3:, and is therefore placed after 4.

3 Probably Jacob originally as in 2b.

	J	JE	E	P
<p>6 31⁵ Ex 3⁶ op 190 f 2113 g Cp 28²⁰ 31⁵ h 17¹⁸ i 31⁶⁴</p>		<p>the 'God of thy father: 'fear not to go down into Egypt; for 'I will there 'make of thee a great nation: 'I will go down 'with thee into Egypt; and I will 'also 'surely 'bring thee up again: and Joseph shall 'put his hand upon thine eyes.—1^b 2^a And [he] 'offered sacrifices unto the God of his father Isaac.—5 And Jacob 'rose up from Beer-sheba. 'And the sons of Israel carried Jacob their father, and their 'little ones, and their wives, in the wagons which Pharaoh had sent to carry him.</p>		<p>d 154 e 193 f 126 g 237 h 136 i 194 j 128 k 52</p>
<p>i 12⁵</p>		<p>... 6 And they 'took their cattle, and their 'goods, which they had 'gotten in the 'land of Canaan, and came into Egypt, Jacob, 'and all his seed 'with him: 7 his sons, and his sons' sons 'with him, his daughters, and his sons' daughters, and all his seed brought he with him into Egypt.</p>		<p>l 155 m 4 n 162 o 176</p>
<p>j 387 10</p>		<p>8 'And 'these are the names of the children of Is-rael, which came into Egypt, Jacob and his sons: Reuben, Jacob's firstborn. 9 And the sons of Reuben; Hanoch, and Pallu, and Hezron, and Carmi. 10 And the sons of Simeon; 'Jemuel, and Jamin, and Ohad, and 'Jachin, and 'Zohar, and Shaul the son of a Canaanitish woman. 11 And the sons of Levi; 'Gershon, Kohath, and Merari. 12 And the sons of Judah; Er, and Onan, and Shelah, and Perez, and Zerah: but Er and Onan 'died in the 'land of Canaan. And the sons of Perez were Hezron and Hamul. 13 And the sons of Issachar; Tola, and 'Puvah, and Iob, and Shimron. 14 And the sons of Zebulun; Sered, and Elon, and Jahleel. 15 'These are the sons of Leah, which she bare unto Jacob in 'Paddan-aram, 'with his daughter Dinah: all the 'souls of his sons and his daughters were thirty and three. 16 And the sons of Gad; 'Ziphion, and Haggi, Shuni, and 'Ezbon, Eri, and 'Arodi, and Areli. 17 And the sons of Asher; Imnah, and Ishvah, and Ishvi, and Beriah, and Serah their sister: and the sons of Beriah; Heber, and Malchiel. 18 'These are the sons of Zilpah, which Laban gave to Leah his daughter, and these she bare unto Jacob, even sixteen 'souls. 19 The sons of Rachel Jacob's wife; Joseph and Benjamin. 20 And unto Joseph in the land of Egypt were born Manasseh and Ephraim, which 'Ase-nath the daughter of Poti-phaera priest of On bare unto him. 21 And the sons of Benjamin; 'Bela, and Becher, and Ashbel, Gera, and Naaman, 'Ehi, and Rosh, 'Muppim, and 'Huppim, and Ard. 22 These are the sons of Rachel, which 'were born to Jacob: all the souls were fourteen. 23 And the sons of Dan; 'Hushim. 24 And the sons of Naphtali; 'Jahzeel, and Guni, and Jezer, and 'Shillem. 25 These are the sons of Bilhah, which Laban gave unto Rachel his daughter, and these she bare unto Jacob: all the souls were seven. 26 All the 'souls that came with Jacob into Egypt, which 'came out of his loins', 'besides Jacob's sons' wives, all the souls were threescore and six; 27 and the sons of Joseph, which 'were born to him in Egypt, were two souls: all the souls of the house of Jacob, which came into Egypt, 'were threescore and ten.</p>		<p>p 188 q 6 r 146</p>
<p>k Ct 35²² 30²¹</p>				
<p>l 41⁸⁰ m Num 26²⁸.</p>				
<p>n 6 Sam she bore cp 15</p>				
<p>o Ex 1⁵⁴</p>				
<p>p 35²⁸ q Ex 1⁵ op Dent 10²⁸</p>				
<p>r Cp 43² 44¹⁸ s 6 Sam & pre-sent himself 29 t 6=bound Ex 14⁶</p>		<p>28 'And he sent 'Judah before him unto Joseph, to 'shew the way before him unto 'Goshen; and they came into the land of Goshen. 29 And Joseph 'made ready his chariot, and went up to 'meet 'Israel his father, to 'Goshen; and he presented himself unto him, and 'fell on his neck, and wept on his neck a good while. 30 And 'Israel said unto Joseph,</p>		<p>s 31 t 39 u 183 v 28</p>

46^{1b} This clause may originally have followed the theophany in 2-4 cp 127 26²⁴. 31²⁴ 54.

5 An addition by R, perhaps on a basis of J cp 45¹⁹ 21. In 45²⁷ the wagons were sent by Joseph. The designation 'sons of Israel' may be due to R² cp 8; but cp 45^{21b}.

8 This list appears to be of a secondary character. It possesses many of the marks characteristic of P, but on the other hand it is by no means in entire accord with other data, cp 21 with Num 26²⁸. The variations in (8) show to how late a date editorial manipulation continued. One of the difficulties was to fill up the traditional number of seventy persons 47 op Dent 10²² *. The method of the table is not quite consistent. According to 8-15 Dinah is not reckoned in the computation, but in 16-18 Serah the daughter of Asher is counted. The reference in 18^b seems to exclude Er and Onan; but the total thirty-three in 15 is only reached by including them or else adding in Dinah and Jacob himself. If 12^b be the correction of an editor acquainted with 38, the latter solution is possible (Dillmann); but the statement in 8 'which came into Egypt' must not be taken too literally; 20 includes Joseph's sons who were born in Egypt, and Er and Onan may be therefore counted loosely among the children of Israel. The general evidence

points to a writer familiar with P, but also acquainted with other documents besides; and the list will belong to the group of later materials designated as P² cp *Introd* XIII 10.

10a M In Num 26¹³; Chron 4²⁴ Nemuel.

10b M In: Chron 4²⁴ Jarib.

10c M In Num 26¹⁵; Chron 4²⁴ Zerah.

11 M In: Chron 6¹⁶ Gershom.

13 M In: Chron 7¹ Puah, Jashub. See Num 26²⁸.

16a M In Num 26¹⁵ Zephon.

16b M In Num 26¹⁶ Ozi.

16c M In Num 26¹⁷ Arod.

21a M In Num 26²⁸ Aitram.

21b M In Num 26²⁹ Shephupham, in: Chron 7¹³ Shuppim.

21c M In Num 26²⁹ Hupham.

23 M In Num 26⁴² Shuham.

24a M In: Chron 7¹³ Jahziel.

24b M In: Chron 7¹³ Shallum.

25 M Or, souls belonging to Jacob that came.

28 The sequel of 46^{1a}: the reference to Goshen shows that the story follows on 45¹⁰. As it appears from 47¹ that Pharaoh hears of the arrival of Joseph's family for the first time, it is plain that the invitation in 45¹⁷ is from a different hand.

* Strack has pointed out a curious instance of artificial arrangement. Leah's descendants number thirty-two without Dinah while Rachel has fourteen. The numbers for the corresponding handmaids are halved, Zilpah having sixteen and Bilhah seven. See *Genesis* (in *Kurzgef. Comm*) 149.

J	JE	E	P
w 45 ²⁶ cp 91 ^b	"Now let me die, since I have 'seen thy face, that thou art "yet alive. 31 And Joseph said unto his brethren, and unto his 'father's house, I will go up, and 'tell Pharaoh, and will say unto him, My brethren, and my 'father's house, which were in the land of Canaan, are come unto me; 32 and the men are "shepherds, <i>for they have been keepers of 'cattle</i> ; and they have brought their 'flocks, and their 'herds, and "all that they have. 33 And "it shall come to pass, "when Pharaoh shall 'call you, and shall say, What is your "occupation? 34 that ye shall say, 'Thy servants have been keepers of 'cattle from our 'youth even 'until 'now, 'both we, and our fathers: 'that ye may dwell in the land of 'Goshen; for every "shepherd is an 'abomination unto the Egyptians.		w 62 x 203 y 153 z 218
v 121 ² cp 3	47 ¹ Then Joseph went in and "told Pharaoh, and said, My father and my brethren, and their flocks, and their herds, and all that they have, are come out of the 'land of Canaan; and, behold, they are in the land of 'Goshen. 2 And from among his brethren he took 'five men, and 'presented them unto Pharaoh. 3 And Pharaoh said unto his brethren, What is your 'occupation? And they 'said unto Pharaoh, 'Thy servants are shepherds, 'both we, and our fathers. 4 "And they said unto Pharaoh, To 'sojourn in the land are we come; for there is no 'pasture for thy servants' flocks; for the 'famine is sore in the land of Canaan: now therefore, we pray thee, let thy servants dwell in the land of 'Goshen. "And Pharaoh said unto Joseph— ^{6b} In the land of 'Goshen let them dwell: and if thou knowest 'any "able men among them, then make them rulers over my 'cattle.—		a' 208 b' 18 c' 33 d' 124 e' 139 f' 73 g' 187 h' 11 i' 221
w 47 ⁸ Ex 15 ¹³			a Cp 74
x 821			b 39
y 324			c 74
z 432			d 73
a 4651			e 11
b Cp 43 ³⁴			f 29
c 4633			g 84
d 4634			h 18
e 1210			i 185
f 5 ¹ cp 165			j 141
g 468			k 145
h 468 8 26. ct 28			l 93
i 4146			m 182
j Ct 4631			n 197
k 3410			o 53 ^a
l Ex 22 ⁵ 1 Sam 15 ⁹ 16 ¹			
m 11 Lev 23 ⁴³			
n 25 ⁷			
o Ct 44 ⁴ Ex 14 ⁹ 5			
p Ct 6b			
q 4511			
r Cp 29 ^b			
s Prov 26 ¹⁸ † cp 1911 5			
t Lev 19 ⁹ 23 ²² Pt ⁹ cp 31 ⁴⁶			
u 1915			
v 422			
	And "Jacob and his sons ^h came into Egypt to Joseph. And Pharaoh the 'king of Egypt heard.] 5 "And Pharaoh 'spake unto Joseph, saying, 'Thy father and thy brethren are come unto thee: 6a the land of Egypt is 'before thee; in the 'best of the land make thy father and thy brethren to "dwell; 7 And Joseph brought in Jacob his father, and 'set him before Pharaoh: and Jacob blessed Pharaoh. 8 And Pharaoh said unto Jacob, How many are the "days of the years of thy life? 9 And Jacob said unto Pharaoh, The days of the years of my "sojournings are an 'hundred and thirty years: few and evil have been the days of the years of my life, and they have not 'attained unto the days of the "years of the life of my fathers in the days of their "sojournings. 10 And Jacob blessed Pharaoh, and went out from the presence of Pharaoh. 11 And Joseph "placed his father and his brethren, and gave them a "possession in the land of Egypt, in the 'best of the land, in the land of 'Rameses, as Pharaoh had commanded:		
	12 And Joseph 'nourished his father, and his brethren, and all his father's household, with bread, "according to the number of their 'little ones. 13 "And there was no bread in all the land; for the 'famine was very sore, so that the land of Egypt <i>and the land of Canaan</i> 'fainted by reason of the famine. 14 And Joseph 'gathered up all the money that was "found in the land of Egypt, <i>and in the land of Canaan</i> , for the 'corn which they		

^{4b} The text here adopted in ⁵. is derived from the Greek which places ^{4b} between ⁴ and ⁵; the words found in ⁶ but absent from ⁵ are inserted in brackets.

⁵ P's parallel to the preceding story of Israel's settlement in J: cf 7 with 2, 'land of Rameses' ¹¹ with 'land of Goshen' ⁴ 6: the sequel is found in 27b 28.

¹² So M. T *according to their families.*

¹³ The account of the progress of the famine, leading up to the explanation of Egyptian fiscal arrangements in ²⁸, has seemed to some critics out of place here. Wellhausen finds it appropriate neither to J nor E in its present connexion and suggests that it was derived originally from some parallel to 41. Others more confidently attach it to 41¹⁴. It is supposed that

the second year ¹⁸ would then fit the date in 45^e ¹¹. The marks of J's authorship are, however, numerous, cp the margins, and the parallels especially in 18, 34. Yet one or two peculiarities at least, may be detected: thus the word 'give' ¹⁵ is used with an object as in 29¹¹ 30¹ E, contrasted with J's employment of it as an interjection cp 164: and the phrase 'the famine was sore' ²⁰ is identical with that in 41⁵⁵. These instances are hardly adequate to support a plea for E's presence when the text shows none of the incongruities of a composite narrative: but the possibility of it must at any rate be admitted, though further proof seems wanting (Holzinger thinks the probability especially strong in 19-26). The references to 'the land of Canaan' ¹⁵⁻¹⁶ can hardly have belonged originally to the narrative which related how the soil of Egypt was gradually bought up for Pharaoh, and must be assigned to E.

	J	E	JE	J	E	P					
	"bought: and Joseph brought the money into Pharaoh's house. ¹⁵ And when the money was "all spent in the land of Egypt, and in the land of Canaan, all the Egyptians came unto Joseph, and said, "Give us bread: for why should we die in thy presence? for [our] money "faileth. ¹⁶ And Joseph said, Give your "cattle; and I will give "you for your cattle, if money "fail. ¹⁷ And they brought their cattle unto Joseph: and Joseph gave them bread in exchange for the "horses, and for the "flocks, and for the herds, and for the asses: and he "fed them with bread in exchange for all their cattle for that year. ¹⁸ And when that year was "ended, they came unto him the second year, and said unto him, We will not "hide from "my lord, how that our money is "all spent; and the herds of cattle are my lord's; there is nought "left in the sight of my lord, "but our "bodies, and our lands: ¹⁹ wherefore should we die before thine eyes, "both we and our land? "buy us and our land for bread, and we and our land "will be servants unto Pharaoh: and give us seed, "that we may live, and not die, and that the land be not "desolate. ²⁰ So Joseph "bought all the land of Egypt for Pharaoh; for the Egyptians sold every man his field, because the famine was "sore upon them: and the land became Pharaoh's. ²¹ And as for the people, "he removed them "to the "cities from one "end of the border of Egypt even to the other end thereof. ²² "Only the land of the priests bought he not: for the priests had a "portion from Pharaoh, and did eat their portion which Pharaoh gave them; "wherefore they sold not their land. ²³ Then Joseph said unto the people, Behold, I have "bought you this day and your land for Pharaoh: "lo, here is seed for you, and ye shall "sow the land. ²⁴ And it shall come to pass at the ingatherings, that ye shall give a fifth unto Pharaoh, and four "parts shall be your own, for seed of the field, and for your food, and for them of your households, and for food for your "little ones. ²⁵ And they said, Thou hast "saved our lives: let us "find grace in the sight of "my lord, and we "will be Pharaoh's servants. ²⁶ "And Joseph "made it a statute concerning the land of Egypt "unto this day, that Pharaoh should have the fifth; only the land of the priests alone became not Pharaoh's.										
	^{27a} And "Israel dwelt in the land of Egypt, in the land of "Goshen.										
	<div><div>^{27b} "And they "gat them possessions therein, and were "fruitful, and multiplied exceedingly.</div><div>²⁸ And Jacob lived in the land of Egypt "seventeen years: so the days of Jacob, "the years of his life, were an "hundred forty and seven years.</div></div>										
	<div><div>²⁹ And the "time drew near that "Israel must die: and he called his son Joseph, and said unto him, If now I have "found grace in thy sight, put, I pray thee, "thy hand under my thigh, and "deal kindly and truly with me; bury me not, I pray thee, in Egypt: ³⁰ but when I "sleep with my fathers", thou shalt "carry me out of Egypt, and bury me in "their "buryingplace. And he said, I will do "as thou hast said. ³¹ And he said, Swear unto me: and he "swore unto him. And "Israel bowed himself upon the "bed's head.</div><div>^{48¹} "And it came to pass "after these things, that one said to Joseph,</div></div>										
w 18 cp Josh 3 ¹⁶											
x Cp 29 ²¹ 30 ¹ 5											
y Is 16 ⁴ 29 ²⁰ Ps 77 ⁸ †											
z Sam 8 bread											
a' Ex 9 ⁸											
b' Josh 7 ¹⁹ Pl ¹											
c' 42 ³⁸						P 56					
d' 5 [*]						q 13 ⁸					
e' 39 ¹											
f' 44 ⁹											
g' 42 ³											
h' Lev 26 ³² . Num 21 ³⁰ ⁸											
i' 41 ³⁶											
j' 41 ³⁵											
k' 19 ⁴ 5											
l' Ezek 16 ²⁷ Prov 30 ⁸ 31 ¹⁵						r 85					
m' Ezek 16 ⁴⁸ † w' 26 ¹²											
n' 43 ³⁴											
y' 19 ¹⁹											
z' 21 ¹ m' b' q' 1 Sam 30 ²⁵						s 31 ^a					
						t 14 ^{2b}					
						u 49					
						v 127 w 73					
x' Cp 9						x 93					
y' 5 = the days Deut 31 ¹⁴ 1 Kings 2 ¹⁴ cp Gen 27 ⁴¹						y 57					
z' 2 ²											
a' Deut 31 ¹⁶ ^a											
b' 5 = bring 45 ¹⁹ 27 w' 35 ²⁰ x' 24 ⁹						z 2					
y' 48 ^{2b} 49 ^{23b} Ex 8 ³ ^a						a 95					

^{47^{17a}} M. ⁵ cattle of the flocks, and for the cattle of the herds.—
^{26¹⁴} 2 Chron 32²⁹† cp 33.

^{17b} M. ⁵ led them as a shepherd.—Cp Ex 15¹⁵ Hithpa 33¹⁴°.

^{21a} M. According to Sam ⁵ ⁹, he made bondmen of them, from etc.

^{21b} M. Or, according to their cities.

²² The clauses relating to the priests' land ²² ²¹ may possibly be later additions. ^{27b} The sequel of 11.

²⁹ The manner of the oath exacted by Israel from Joseph presents an unmistakable parallel to that demanded by Abraham from his servant ²⁴, and is unanimously assigned to J.

³⁰ This verse seems to have been altered by the harmoniser who has in view the statements of 49²⁹.. 50^{12b} 13. The oath subsequently recited by Joseph 50⁵ specifies Jacob's own burying-place. Bruston has conjectured, ZATW 1887, 206 ff, that the original form of 48⁷ once stood between ²⁹ and ³⁰, and that J represented Jacob as desirous of interment in Rachel's grave.

^{48¹} With the exception of 3-7 which is at once recognized as belonging to P, this chapter presents several perplexities. The burial-oath in 47²⁹⁻³¹ is the preparation for the funeral solemnities of 50¹⁻¹⁰, but before the narrative of Israel's death both J and E seem to have included a special blessing on

J	E	JE	J	E	P
a 5 ^o ct 47 ²⁰ b 41 ⁸⁰		Behold, thy father is ^a sick: and he took with him his ^b two sons, Manasseh and Ephraim. ^{2a} And one told Jacob, and said, Behold, thy son Joseph cometh unto thee:			
c Num 13 ⁸⁰ d 47 ⁸¹		... ^{2b} and ^b Israel ^a strengthened himself, and sat upon the ^d bed.			b 49
e 35 ^o op 35 ⁹⁷ f 35 ⁹ g 61 ³ 5 h 17 ⁴ 5 i 28 ³ j 35 ¹³ k Cp 1187 ^b		<div>³ And Jacob said unto Joseph, "God ^eAlmighty appeared unto me at ^aLuz in the ^dland of Canaan, and ^bblessed me, and said unto me, ⁴ ^eBehold, I will make thee ^afruitful, and multiply thee, and I will ^amake of thee a ^acompany of peoples; and will ^agive this land to ^athy seed after thee for an ^aeverlasting ^bpossession. ⁵ And ^anow thy two sons, which were born unto thee in the land of Egypt before I came unto thee into Egypt, are mine; Ephraim and Manasseh, even as Reuben, and Simeon, shall be mine. ⁶ And thy ^bissue, which thou ^abegettest after them, shall be thine; they shall be called after the name of their brethren in their inheritance. ⁷ ^aAnd as for ^ame, when I came from ^aPaddan, Rachel died ^aby me in the ^dland of Canaan in the way, when there was still some way to come unto Ephrath: and I buried her there in the way to Ephrath (the same is Beth-lehem).</div>		c 1 d 4 e 73 f 162 g 62 h 127	
l Ct 1160					i 30 j 94 k 6
m 33 ⁵		⁸ And ^b Israel ^a saw Joseph's sons, and said, ^a "Who are these? ^{9a} And Joseph said unto his father, They are my sons, whom God hath given me here.			
n 45 ¹⁸ o 27 ¹		^{9b} And he said, ^a "Bring them, I pray thee, unto me, and I will bless them. ^{10a} Now the ^e eyes of ^b Israel were ^d dim for age, so that he could not see.			l 78
p Cp 173 ^a q 29 ¹⁸ .. r 5 Piel ^a s Cp 119 ^a		^{10b} And he brought them near unto him; and he ^a kissed them, and ^a embraced them. ¹¹ And ^b Israel said unto Joseph, I had not ^a thought to ^a see thy face: and, lo, God hath let me see thy seed also. ¹² And Joseph brought them out from between his knees; and he ^a bowed himself with his face to the earth.			m 12 ^a
t 5=bring 9b u 10 ^b 5 v 27 ²⁸ ct 10 ^b		¹³ And Joseph ^a took them both, Ephraim in his right hand toward ^b Israel's left hand, and Manasseh in his left hand toward Israel's right hand, and ^a brought them near unto him. ¹⁴ And ^b Israel stretched out his right hand, and laid it upon Ephraim's head, who was the ^a younger, and his left hand upon Manasseh's head, ^a "guiding his hands wittingly; for Manasseh was the firstborn. ¹⁵ And he blessed ^a Joseph, and said, The God before whom my fathers Abraham and Isaac did ^a walk, the God which hath ^a fed me ^a "all my life long unto this day, ¹⁶ the ^a angel which hath ^a redeemed me from all evil, ^a "bless the lads; and let my name be named on them, and the name of my fathers Abraham and Isaac; and let them ^a grow into a ^a "multitude in the midst of the earth.			n 92
r 24 ⁴⁰ w Num 22 ⁸⁰ 5† x Cp 91 y Cp 151 6 ^a z 5† aa 30 ⁸⁰					o 208 p 4 q 10 ^a

Joseph's house. Two blessings are here recorded ¹⁵, and ²⁰, one being pronounced on 'the lads' ¹⁸, the other being uttered in the singular 'in thee' ²⁰. Moreover, the two sons of Joseph are twice 'brought near' to their grandfather ^{10b} and ^{13b}. The narrative therefore shows signs of composition from two sources. In 48^{1-2a} the indications point slightly to E, while ^{2b} is obviously connected with 47⁸¹. At ⁵ the reappearance of the name 'Israel' suggests J once more; but the statement that Israel 'saw' Joseph's sons conflicts with 'could not see' ¹⁰, and it appears better therefore to attribute the clause to E, the use of 'Israel' for 'Jacob' being due to E cp 11²¹. The sequel of ^{9b} ^{10a} is found in ¹³, where Joseph fulfils the injunction of ^{9b}, while ¹¹ belongs to ^{8a}. The action of ¹³, where Joseph removes his sons from Jacob's embrace, presupposes ^{10b}, while he reverently prepares to receive his father's blessing himself. The incident in ¹³, 17-19 has been regarded by Kuenen as a later insertion in E's narrative: but these verses are entirely coherent with the passage previously assigned to J, and the marginal references confirm the ascription. On the blessings cp 15^a.

48³ M 5 El Shaddai.

⁴ M Or, hast begotten.

^{7a} This verse has no connexion with the prophecy about Ephraim and Manasseh. In its present form it depends on 35¹⁸. It has been conjectured that a reference to Rachel may have followed 49³¹. If P supposed Rachel to have been buried

with Leah at Machpelah, the discrepancy, when JE was combined with it, may have been too glaring, and the present passage may have been inserted editorially, based on the older document.

^{7b} M Or, to my sorrow.

⁸ T beheld. 5 = saw, ct 10^a 'could not see,' cp 11 'see thy face,' 'see thy seed.' By analogy with ¹⁷ the sequence of verbs in ⁸ might be translated 'and when Israel saw Joseph's sons, he said.'

¹⁴ M Or, crossing his hands.—5 Piel† cp Gen 3⁸ Deut 29³ 32⁸ 20 Josh 17. Hiph^a.

¹⁵ 5 them. A confusion seems to have arisen in the combination of the two stories. According to ^{9b} Israel desires to bless his grandchildren, and Joseph brings them to him ¹³. It would be natural for the blessing to follow, and it is found accordingly in ¹⁵, cp 'walk' 24⁴⁰, the references to the fathers cp 28¹³, the phrases 'all my life long,' 'grow into a multitude,' and the general prophetic character. But in ²⁰ another blessing is pronounced on 'them,' yet it is delivered in the singular, 'in thee.' It would seem that this is the benediction on Joseph cp 15, for which preparation was made as he prostrated himself to receive it ¹². In J, therefore, the blessing on 'the lads' has been accidentally transferred to Joseph: in E the benediction on Joseph alights upon his sons. The critical difficulty would perhaps be most easily settled by transposing the two introductions ^{15a} and ^{20a}.

J	E	JE	J	E	P
a' Cp 38 ¹⁰ §		17 And when Joseph saw that his father laid his right hand upon the head of Ephraim, it ^a 'displeased him: and he ^b 'held up his father's hand, to remove it from Ephraim's head unto Manasseh's head. 18 And Joseph said unto his father, ^c 'Not so, my father: for this is the first-born; put thy right hand upon his head. 19 And his father refused, and said, I know [it], my son, I know [it]: he also shall become a people, and he also shall be great: ^d 'howbeit his younger brother shall be greater than he, and his seed shall become ^e 'a multitude of nations.			
b' Cp Ex 17 ¹²		20 And he blessed them that day, saying, "In thee shall Israel bless, saying, God make thee as Ephraim and as Manasseh: and he set Ephraim before Manasseh. 21 And Israel said unto Joseph, ^f 'Behold, I die: but God shall be ^g 'with you, and ^h 'bring you again unto the ⁱ 'land of your fathers. 22 Moreover I have given to thee one ^j 'portion above thy brethren, which I took out of the hand of the ^k 'Amorite with my ^l 'sword and with my bow ^k .			
c' Ex 10 ¹¹					
d' §=but 28 ¹⁹					
e' 25 ¹² at 50 ⁶ .					
f' §=restores					
g' 37 ²²					
h' 31 ⁸					
i' Josh 24 ¹²					
j' 28 ¹ op 28 ¹⁹		49 ^{1a} "And Jacob ^a 'called unto his sons,			
k' 29 ³		... ^{1b} And [he] said: ^b 'Gather yourselves together, that I may tell you that which shall ^c 'befall you ^d 'in the latter days.			
l' 42 ⁴ 38		2 ^{ad} Assemble yourselves, and hear, ye sons of Jacob;			
m' 41 ³⁵ Josh 10 ⁶		And hearken unto Israel your father.			
n' 29 ³²		3 Reuben, thou art my ^e 'firstborn, my ^f 'might, and the ^g 'beginning of my ^h 'strength;			
o' 41 ¹⁵ Ex 6 ¹⁶ al		The excellency of ⁱ 'dignity, and the excellency of ^j 'power.			
p' Deut 21 ¹⁷		4 ^u 'Unstable as water, ^v 'thou shalt not have the excellency;			
q' Cp 4 ⁷ §		Because thou wentest up to thy ^w 'father's bed:			
r' Ex 15 ² 15		Then defiledst thou it: he went up to my ^x 'couch.			
s' §†		5 ^l 'Simeon and Levi are brethren;			
t' 35 ²²		Weapons of violence are their ^m 'swords.			
u' §*		6 O my soul, come not thou into their ⁿ 'council;			
v' L ^{11a}		Unto their assembly, my ^o 'glory, be not thou ^p 'united;			
w' 34 ²⁵		For in their anger they ^q 'slew ^r 'a man,			
x' Ps 16 ⁹ 57 ⁶		And in their selfwill they ^s 'houghed ^t 'an ox.			
y' Is 14 ¹⁰ 1 ^a		7 Cursed be their anger, for it was ^u 'fierce;			
z' 86 ¹¹ †		And their ^v 'wrath, for it was ^w 'cruel:			
aa' 34 ²⁶		I will divide them in Jacob,			
ab' Josh 10 ⁶ 9 ^a		And ^x 'scatter them in Israel.			
ac' §=strong op		8 Judah, thee shall thy brethren ^y 'praise:			
ad' Ex 14 ²¹ Num 13 ²⁵		Thy hand shall be on the neck of thine enemies;			
ae' §* Am 1 ¹¹		Thy father's sons shall bow down before thee.			
af' §=hard 35 ¹⁷		9 Judah is a ^z 'lion's whelp;			
ag' 11 ⁸		From the ^{aa} 'prey, my son, thou art gone up:			
ah' 29 ²⁵		He ^{ab} 'stooped down, he ^{ac} 'couched as a lion,			
ai' Deut 33 ²²		And as a lioness; who shall rouse him up?			
aj' Nah 2 ¹³ Ezek 19 ²		10 ^{ad} The sceptre shall not depart from Judah,			
ak' Num 23 ²⁴ *		Nor ^{ae} 'the ^{af} 'ruler's staff from between his feet,			
al' Num 24 ⁹ *		^{ag} 'Until Shiloh come;			
am' 14 ²⁵ 47		And unto him shall the ^{ah} 'obedience of the peoples be.			
an' 24 ⁴ b					
ao' Num 21 ¹⁸					
ap' Deut 33 ²¹					
aq' Prov 30 ¹⁷ †					

48¹⁹ M. § *fulness*.

22 M Or, *mountain slope*, § *shechem*, shoulder.—A reference to the future home of the tribe of Ephraim. The representation in 33¹⁹ implies peaceful acquisition and not conquest. Kuenen has suggested that the text should read as in Josh 24¹² 'not with my sword nor with my bow,' the negative being omitted by the editor to harmonize with the story in 34, in which, however, E's share is doubtful.

49^{1a} This clause seems to have formed part of P's recital of Jacob's last instructions to his sons, cp the sequence 'called to' 'blessed' 28b, 'charged' 29, with the identical series 28¹. J, however, must also have had some introduction.

20 M Or, *By*.—Cp 12³.

1^b Perhaps a gloss; cp Stärk, *ZATW* 1891, 251, on the other hand, Cheyne, *Introd to the Book of Isaiah* 11².

2 This poem is incorporated in J's narrative, but it is probably of independent origin; cp *Introd* XIV 2. A few points of phraseological contact are noted in the margins.

3 M Or, *firstfruits*.4a M Or, *Bubbling over*.4b M Or, *have not thou*.5 M Or, *compact*.6a M Or, *secret*.—Cp Am 3⁷.6b M Or, *men*.6c M Or, *ozen*.10a M Or, *a lawgiver*.

10b M Or, *Till he come to Shiloh, having the obedience of the peoples*. Or, as read by G, *Until that which is his shall come &c*. Another ancient rendering is, *Till he come whose it is &c*.

J	JE	E	P
^c 3a16 ^a	11 Binding his 'foal unto the vine, And his ass's colt unto the ^d choice vine; He hath washed his 'garments in wine, And his 'vesture in the blood of grapes:		
^d Cp Ia 5 ² Jer ^a 21 ⁴ ^e 2 Sam 12 ⁴	12 His eyes shall be 'red with wine, And his teeth white with milk.		
^f 9 ²⁷	13 Zebulun shall 'dwell at the 'haven of the sea: And he shall be for an 'haven of 'ships; And his 'border shall be 'upon Zidon.		
^g Dent 28 ⁶⁶ Judg 5 ¹⁷ ^k Ct Ex 26 ²² ⁴⁰ ⁱ Prov 17 ²² ²⁵ 15 ¹⁵ Q ^j Judg 5 ¹⁶ ^k * 2 Sam 12 ⁸	14 Issachar is a 'strong ass, 'Couching down between the 'sheepfolds: 15 And he saw 'a resting place that it was good, And the land that it was 'pleasant; And he bowed his shoulder to 'bear, And became a servant under 'taskwork.		
^l * Ia 46 ⁴ 53 ⁴ ^m Cp Dent 20 ¹¹ Joah 16 ¹⁰ 17 ¹² ⁿ 30 ⁸	16 Dan shall 'judge his people, As one of the tribes of Israel.		
^o Cp 22 ²⁰ 6	17 Dan shall be a 'serpent in the way, An 'adder in the path, That 'biteth the horse's 'heels, So that his 'rider falleth backward.		
^p Num 21 ⁹ ^q 3 ¹⁵ ^r Ex 15 ¹ ^s * Ia 61 ⁷ Ps 25 ⁵ ^t Ex 14 ¹³ 15 ² ^u Ct 30 ¹¹ ^v Hab 3 ¹⁸	18 'I have 'waited for thy 'salvation, O Yahweh. 19 Gad, 'a 'troop 'shall 'press upon him: But he shall press upon their 'heel.		
^w 30 ¹³ ^x Num 13 ²⁰ ^y * Lam 4 ⁶ ^z * Hab 3 ¹⁸ Ps 18 ³³ ^{aa} Num 24 ⁴ 16 Dent 32 ¹ Joah 24 ²⁷ ^{ab} Cp 41 ⁵²	20 'Out of 'Asher his bread shall be 'fat, And he shall yield royal 'dainties. 21 Naphtali is a 'hind let loose: He giveth 'goodly 'words. 22 Joseph is 'a 'b' fruitful bough, A fruitful bough by a fountain; His 'branches 'run over the 'wall.		
^{ac} Judg 5 ⁴ ^{ad} Ps 18 ²⁹ ^{ae} Ex 14 ¹ ^{af} Ps 18 ¹⁴ ^{ag} 27 ⁴¹ 50 ¹⁶ ^{ah} 48 ²² ^{ai} Num 24 ²¹	23 The archers have 'sorely grieved him, And 'shot at him, and 'persecuted him: 24 But his 'bow abode in 'strength, And the arms of his hands were made 'strong, 'By the hands of the 'Mighty One of Jacob, ('From thence is 'the shepherd, the stone of Israel,)		
^{aj} Ia 24 ¹ ^{ak} Cp 48 ¹⁵ ^{al} 31 ⁵ ^{am} Cp 21 ¹ ^{an} 27 ³⁹ ^{ao} Cp 12 ² Ex 15 ⁸ Dent 8 ⁷ 33 ¹⁸ ^{ap} * Hos 2 ²	25 Even by the 'God of thy father, who shall help thee, And by the 'Almighty, who shall bless thee, With blessings of heaven 'above, Blessings of the 'deep that 'coucheth beneath, Blessings of the 'breasts, and of the womb. 26 The blessings of thy father Have 'prevailed above 'the blessings of my progenitors Unto the utmost 'bound of the 'everlasting hills": They shall be on the head of Joseph, And on the 'crown of the head of him 'that was separate from his brethren.		
^{aq} 71 ² Ex 17 ¹¹ ^{ar} Dent 33 ¹⁵ Hab 3 ⁴⁴ ^{as} Dent 33 ¹⁶ 20 ^{at} * Ia 17 ⁶ ^{au} 37 ³⁸ ^{av} * Ia 33 ²⁸ ^{aw} Ex 15 ⁹	27 Benjamin is a 'wolf that 'ravineth: In the morning he shall devour the 'prey, And at even he shall divide the 'spoil.		

49^{12ab} M. *g* beach.—Dent 17 Joah 9¹ cp Judg 5¹⁷.13a M. Or, *by*. 15 M. Or, *rest*.—Num 10²³ Dent 12⁹.17 M. Or, *horned make*.18 The devotional style of this verse, contrasted with the descriptive character of the rest of the poem, suggests that it was originally a marginal annotation by a pious scribe. Cp Fripp, *Genesis* 135.19a M. *g* gedud, a marauding band.—Ps 18²⁹.19b M. *g* gad, to press.20 M. According to some ancient versions, *Asher, his bread &c.*22a M. *g* the son of a fruitful tree.22b M. *g* daughters.24a M. Or, *active*.—Cp 2 Sam 6¹⁴.24b The description of Joseph is much fuller than that of any of the other tribes, and between 25. and Dent 33¹⁵⁻¹⁶ there is an obvious connexion. It is not so certain, however, on which side lies the originality. On the probability that this passage is a later addition to the text, cp Fripp, *ZATW* 1891, 262-6: or the addition may begin at 25.24c M. Or, *From thence, from the shepherd*. Or, as otherwise read, *by the name of the shepherd*.25a M. According to some ancient authorities, *the blessings of the ancient mountains, the desire (or, desirable things) of the everlasting hills*.25b M. Or, *that is prince among*.—Ct Num 6².

J	P	
<p>2¹ Ct 47³⁰ 2² 23⁸ 2³ 25¹⁰ 2⁴ 23⁴ 2⁵ Cp 35²⁸ 2⁶ 23¹⁷</p>	<p>28 "All these are the twelve tribes of Israel: and this is it that their father spake unto them, and blessed them; every one according to his blessing he blessed them. 29 And he charged them, and said unto them, 'I am to be gathered unto my people: 'bury me with my fathers in the 'cave that is in the field of 'Ephron the Hittite, 30 in the cave that is in the field of 'Machpelah, which is 'before Mamre, in the 'land of Canaan, which Abraham 'bought with the field from Ephron the Hittite for a 'possession 'of a buryingplace: 31 there they buried 'Abraham and Sarah his wife; there they buried 'Isaac and Rebekah his wife; and there I buried Leah': 32 the 'field and the cave that is therein, which was purchased from the children of Heth. 33 And when Jacob 'made an end of charging his sons,</p>	<p>a 188 b 94 c 75 d 10 e 5 f 64 g 4 h 127</p>
<p>d¹ 5 = left off 17²⁸</p>	<p>...33^b he gathered up his feet into the bed,...</p>	
	<p>35^c he 'yielded up the ghost, and was 'gathered unto his people.</p>	<p>i 51</p>
<p>a Cp 28 b 3 28 5 Cant 2¹² c 25²⁴ d 5¹ e Cp 2185 f 45² g 44¹⁸ h 47²⁸ 24³ i Ct 48²¹ j 5 = burying place 47³⁰ k 26²⁸ Num 21¹⁸ l Cp 74</p>	<p>50¹ "And Joseph 'fell upon his father's face, and wept upon him, and kissed him. 2 And Joseph commanded his servants the physicians to 'embalm his father: and the physicians embalmed 'Israel. 3 And forty days were 'fulfilled for him; for so are fulfilled the days of 'embalming: and the Egyptians wept for him threescore and ten days. 4 And when the days of 'weeping for him were past, Joseph 'spake unto the 'house of Pharaoh, 'saying, If now I have 'found grace in your eyes, speak, I pray you, in the 'ears of Pharaoh, saying, 5 My father 'made me swear, saying, 'Lo, I die: in my 'grave which I 'have 'dugged for me in the 'land of Canaan, there shalt thou bury me. Now therefore let me go up, I pray thee, and bury my father, and I will come again. 6 And Pharaoh said, Go up, and bury thy father, according as he made thee swear. 7 And Joseph went up to bury his father: and with him went up all the servants of Pharaoh, the elders of his house, and all the elders of the land of Egypt, 8 and all the house of Joseph, and his brethren, and his father's house: only their 'little ones, and their 'flocks, and their herds, they left in the land of 'Goshen. 9 And there went up with him 'both chariots and horsemen: and it was a very 'great 'company. 10 And they came to the threshing-floor of Atad, which is 'beyond Jordan, and there they 'lamented with a very great and 'sore 'lamentation: and he made a 'mourning for his father seven days. 11 And when the inhabitants of the land, the 'Canaanites, saw the 'mourning in the floor of Atad, they said, This is a 'grievous 'mourning to the Egyptians: 'wherefore the name of it was called Abel-mizraim, which is 'beyond Jordan.</p>	<p>a 49 b 31 c 52 d 33 e 39 f 11 g 78</p>
<p>m 32⁷ n Cp 221 o Ct 23²⁸ p 5¹ Am 5¹⁸ q 27^{41b} r 12⁶ ct 15¹⁶ 48²²</p>	<p>12 "And 'his sons did unto him according as he 'commanded them: 13 for his sons carried him into the land of Canaan, and buried him in the 'cave of the field of Machpelah, which Abraham bought with the field, for a possession of a buryingplace, of Ephron the Hittite, before Mamre.</p>	<p>h 15^b</p>
<p>s 49²⁸ ct Joseph 7 t 5 = charged 49²⁸ 33 u 49²⁸</p>	<p>14 And Joseph 'returned into Egypt, he, and his brethren, and 'all that went up with him to bury his father, after he had buried his father. 15 "And when Joseph's brethren saw that their father was dead, they</p>	
<p>v 5 = came again 5 w Cp 7...</p>		

49²⁸ These clauses, in P's manner, seem due to the compiler, who has incorporated the previous poem from JE. With the subsequent instructions for burial ct 47²⁹⁻³¹, and cp 50^{12b} 13.

31 It has been suggested that P here added the name of Rachel cp 48⁷.

33b A touch probably incorporated by R from J's account of the death of Jacob cp 47³¹ 48².

50¹ The narrative of the mourning for Israel is studded with the characteristic phrases of J. This does not exclude the possibility of the incorporation of touches from E; but the indications adduced by Holzinger (10^b cp 2^b and 10^a, and the two

clauses in 2) are not very strong. The recital of the oath in 5 reproduces 47²⁹, ct 49²⁸...

5 M. Or, bought.—Ges-Brown, *Hebr Lex*, unhesitatingly identifies 5 with the meaning 'dig' cp 26²⁵ Ex 21³³ Num 21¹⁸ 2 Chron 16¹⁴.

12 The conclusion of P's narrative of Jacob, following 49²⁸⁻³³.

15 The petition of Joseph's brethren for forgiveness appears in the main to be derived from E cp 19. But it may be questioned whether the story is quite homogeneous. The opening of 15 יצאו can hardly be correct; the same verb occurs

	J	JE	E	P	
a Gen 46 ^{28f}				Jacob. ² Reuben, Simeon, Levi, and Judah; ³ Issachar, Zebulun, and Benjamin; ⁴ Dan and Naphtali, Gad and Asher. ⁵ And all the 'souls that 'came out of the loins ^a of Jacob were seventy souls: and Joseph was in Egypt already.	b 146
b Ct Gen 50 ²⁸ c Gen 7 ¹ cp Judg 2 ³⁰		⁶ And Joseph ^b died, and all his brethren, and all that 'generation.			
d Cp 7 ^{26p} e Gen 6 ¹¹				. . . ⁷ And the children of Israel were 'fruitful, and 'increased abundantly, and 'multiplied, and 'waxed 'exceeding 'mighty; and the 'land was filled with them.	c 73 d 157 e 63
f Cp Gen 39 ⁶		⁸ Now there arose a new king over Egypt, which 'knew not Joseph. ⁹ And he said unto his people, Behold, the people of the children of Israel are 'more and 'mightier than we: ¹⁰ 'come, let us 'deal wisely with them; lest they 'multiply, and 'it come to pass, that, 'when there 'falleth out any war, they 'also join themselves unto 'our 'enemies, and			f 59 g 164
g Eccles 7 ^{16f} h Cp 7 12 20b i Gen 7 ^{17b} j Gen 4 ²⁴ 49 ¹ j ⁵ = them that hate us Gen 24 ⁶⁰					h 3 ^b i 126 j 167

17 This verse shows some signs of combination. P's usual formula is 'be fruitful and multiply,' but he also employs the verb 'to swarm.' On the other hand he does not use the verb 'wax mighty' or the derivative adjective, save in Num 32¹ (probably founded on earlier materials). The verb is found in 20 and in Gen 26^{16a}; the adjective in 9 Gen 18¹⁸ Num 14¹² 22⁶ (as well as seven times in D). But J must have related

the increase of the Israelites cp 9^b, and J also uses the verb 'to multiply' cp 10 20b Gen 7^{17b} 16¹⁰ 22¹⁷ (Hiph). The words 'and multiplied and waxed mighty' may be provisionally ascribed to incorporation by R, and 20b is perhaps an accidental duplicate of the same original, misplaced.

⁹ M Or, too many and too mighty for us.

Elohim 2102 and he deals well with them 20a. Traces of the Yahwist are seen at once in 3² 7. 16-18, and the allusions to the affliction of Israel 7 seem to rest on 11¹. After 6² the distinction founded on the varying use of the divine name ceases to be applicable, though in some rare cases Elohim is still preferentially employed, e.g. 13¹⁷⁻¹⁹. (2) Side by side with these variations of theological conception are corresponding historical differences. According to J Gen 45¹⁰ 46²⁸ 47^{27a} Israel is settled in Goshen, and this view is found in 82² 9³⁶. As a pastoral people their flocks and herds Gen 46³² 47¹ 50⁸ are of the utmost importance to them 10⁹. 24 12³² 38. Their men are 600,000 in number, beside women and children; and Pharaoh takes 'his people' 13⁶ in pursuit of them. But in E Gen 46¹⁸ and P Gen 47¹¹ the Israelites settle in Egypt. There they are accordingly found in close proximity with Egyptian neighbours, from whom they can ask for valuables 32²² 11¹², or from whose houses they must carefully distinguish their own that Yahweh may pass over them 12¹³. They are near enough to the capital for the king to communicate with the Hebrew midwives, and few enough to need only two 11¹⁸.; while Pharaoh thinks 600 chariots sufficient for their capture on the march 14¹⁸. (3) The story of Moses further shows some interesting variations. In 21⁵ he dwells in the land of Midian, and 18 21 marries the daughter of the priest of Midian and has one son 21. cp 41⁹. When he returns to Egypt his wife and son accompany him 4²⁰. In 31, however, his father in law is named Jethro cp 41⁹, and Moses leads the flock to the mountain of God, identified as Horeb cp 'this mountain' 12. On his return to Egypt his wife remains behind, and when Jethro brings her to her husband she has two sons 18⁶; later on, she is described as a Cushite, Num 12¹.

(4) In the interviews with Pharaoh one set of demands is urged by Moses alone in the name of 'Yahweh God of the Hebrews' 31⁸ 5³ 7¹⁶ 9¹. 13 10^{3f}; and Moses asks leave to go three days' journey into the wilderness to sacrifice to Yahweh 31⁸ 5³ 27, or serve him 7¹⁶ 81 20 9¹ 13 10³ &c. Another formula is found in 31² 'serve Elohim upon this mountain,' while in the name of 'Yahweh God of Israel' Moses requires the release of Israel that they may hold a feast to him in the wilderness 5¹. A third demand is made by Aaron 7²⁻⁷. (5) On the special narratives of the plagues cp 7²⁸, and on the rod of Moses 4²⁴. (6) Different laws will be found in 12 and 13 concern-

ing the Passover and Unleavened Bread, and concerning the firstling dues. In 12¹⁻²⁰ 43-50 the language bears very numerous marks of P; the laws are divinely addressed to Moses and Aaron 1 43, and designed for the congregation 2. But in 21 13³ Moses speaks alone to the elders 21 or the people 27b 13³ and the legal phraseology shows affinities of a quite different type. While details must be sought in the Analysis, the Word-lists, and the conspectus of the Laws, the general significance of these data may be exhibited for the opening chapters in the following table:—

J	E	P
The people in Goshen 82 ² 9 ³⁶ . They are afflicted 11 ¹ , and Yahweh sees it 3 ⁷ 17, and their cry comes to him 3 ^{9a} . Yahweh promises to deliver them 3 ⁸ 5 ²³ , and bring them up to a land flowing with milk and honey 3 ⁸ 17 13 ⁵ : Moses reluctant 41 ⁹ , Aaron assigned as his spokesman, he being Aaron's God 4 ¹⁶ .	The people in Egypt 12 ¹⁸ . 3 ²² 11 ² . [Elohim] sees their oppression 3 ^{9b} . Elohim proposes to send Moses to Pharaoh 31 ⁸ , and promises to be with him 31 ⁸ : the name Yahweh given 31 ⁸ : Moses very great in Pharaoh's eyes 11 ² .	The people in Egypt 17 12 ¹³ . Elohim hears their groaning 24 6 ⁸ . Elohim reveals himself as Yahweh 6 ⁸ : promises to take Israel for a people 6 ⁸ and bring it into the land concerning which he lifted up his hand 6 ⁸ : Moses to go in to Pharaoh 6 ¹¹ , and made his god, Aaron being Moses' prophet 7 ¹ .
Yahweh God of the Hebrews 31 ⁸ 5 ³ 7 ¹⁶ 9 ¹ 13 10 ³ . Demand for permission to go three days' journey 5 ³ 27. Sacrifice to Yahweh 31 ⁸ 5 ³ 28. Moses marries Zipporah, daughter of the priest of Midian 221 and has one son 22; they go with him to Egypt 4 ¹⁶ . Moses' rod changed to a serpent 4 ²⁴ .	Yahweh God of Israel 5 ¹ . Moses sent to Pharaoh to bring Israel forth 31 ⁸ -13. Serve Elohim on this mountain 31 ² . Moses marries the daughter of Jethro 31; they have two sons who remain with their mother under Jethro's care 181 5. The rod of God given to Moses 4 ^{20b} , cp 7 ^{20b} 9 ²³ 10 ¹³ .	Yahweh will bring them forth 6 ⁸ . Yahweh will be to Israel for Elohim 6 ⁷ . Aaron's rod changed to a reptile 7 ⁹ cp 19 85-14.

J	JE	E	P	
k 5† cp 191	¹ fight against us, and get them up out of the land. ¹¹ Therefore they did 'set over them 'taskmasters to 'afflict them with their "burdens. And they "built for Pharaoh 'store cities, Pithom and 'Raamses. ¹² But the more they 'afflicted them, the more they "multiplied and the more they "spread abroad. And they "were 'grieved because of the children of Israel:			k 156
l 37 ³¹ Gen 166 m 211 ⁵⁴ 66† n Gen 417 o 5* 1 Kings 9:19 p 1237				l 193
q Num 223b cp Gen 2746 Lev 2023 Num 215*				m 80
r 65 Hiph* cp Esok 2515 s 14 Lev 2543 46 53 cp Esok 344† t Gen 4023 Is 224 Fiel† Ex 2321 Hiph* u 69 Deut 266 r Gen 113	^{14a} "and they 'made their lives 'bitter with "hard service, in 'mortar and in brick, and in all manner of service in the field.		¹³ And the Egyptians 'made the children of Israel to 'serve with 'rigour"	
w 5 = said cp Gen 227 x Gen 3517 3828†			^{14b} all their service, wherein they made them serve with 'rigour.	
y Jer 183† z Gen 4237	¹⁵ "And the king of Egypt "spake to the Hebrew "midwives, of which the name of the one was Shiphrah, and the name of the other Puah: ¹⁶ and he "said, When ye "do the office of a midwife to the Hebrew women, and see them upon the 'birthstool; if it be a son, then ye shall "kill him; but if it be a daughter, then she shall live. ¹⁷ But the midwives "feared God, and did not as the king of Egypt commanded them, but "saved the 'men children alive. ¹⁸ And the king of Egypt "called for the midwives, and said unto them, 'Why have ye 'done this thing, and have "saved the men children alive? ¹⁹ And the midwives said unto Pharaoh, Because the Hebrew women are not as the Egyptian women; for they are lively, and are delivered 'ere the midwife come unto them. ^{20a} And God 'dealt well with the midwives:			n 108 o 234 p 139 q 146a
a' Gen 457 U' 1814 Gen 407 cp 230	^{20b} And the people "multiplied, and 'waxed very mighty. ²¹ and 'it came to pass, because the midwives "feared God, that he made them houses.			r 132 s 28
c' Josh 56* ct 18 d' Gen 1212 a Gen 202 ct 89 b Cp Gen 3017 19 c 3 Josh 24* ct 12 5 d Gen 614 71 e 5* f Is 343† g Is 196 h 715 Gen 413* i Gen 224	²² And Pharaoh charged all his people, saying, Every son 'that is born ye shall cast into "the river, and every daughter ye shall "save alive. ²¹ "And there went a man of the house of Levi, "and "took [to wife] a daughter of Levi. ² And the woman "conceived, 'and bare a son: and when she saw him that he was a goodly child, she 'hid him three months. ³ And when she could not longer 'hide him, she took for him an "ark of "bulrushes, and 'daubed it with "slime and with 'pitch; and she put the child therein, and laid it in the 'flags by the river's brink. ⁴ And his sister stood 'afar off, to "know what would be done to him. ⁵ And the daughter of Pharaoh came down to bathe at the river; and her maidens walked along by the 'river side; and she saw the ark among the 'flags, and sent her "handmaid to fetch it. ⁶ And she opened it, and saw the child: "and, behold, the babe wept. And she had			t 3*

¹¹³ M Or, *abhorred*. ¹⁵ The verb finds its complement in ^{14b}.
^{14a} In this verse, also, mingled elements may be traced.
^{14a} seems a doublet of ¹³; 'hard service' undoubtedly stood in JE as well as in P (69) cp Deut 266 (*Introd* i 174); while the allusion to 'mortar and brick' recalls the language of Gen 113. The hand of the expander may probably be traced in the awkward grammatical collocation of the words 'wherein' &c.
¹⁵ The story of the midwives contrasts with the command in ²²: the use of Elohim ¹⁷ 20, suggests E, who elsewhere seems to love the detail of names (cp *Introd* XII 3 i 116).
²² M See Gen 411.
^{21a} The linguistic indications in ¹ and ⁶ point to E rather than J.
^{1b} This clause seems to owe its present form to R. 5 would

be strictly rendered 'and took the daughter of Levi.' Either the name of the future mother of Moses has dropped out accidentally; or it has been omitted designedly on account of divergence from the definite statements of P; or the words 'the daughter of Levi' have been editorially inserted instead of the more common formula 'a wife of the daughters of Levi' to harmonize with Num 2650 (cp Dillmann).

^{2a} M That is, *papyrus*.—Cp Is 182 357 Job 811†.

^{2b} M That is, *bitumen*.—Cp Gen 113 1410†.

⁴ For the peculiar form of infinitive cp Gen 463 *yrig*.

⁶ The use of the second word 'babe' and the further phrase 'had compassion' has suggested to some critics (Wellhausen, Dillmann, Bacon, among them) that this clause is derived from a parallel narrative by J.

J	E	JE	J	E	P
j Gen 19 ¹⁶		^j compassion on him, and said, This is one of the Hebrews' children.			
k Cp Gen 35 ⁸		⁷ Then said his sister to Pharaoh's daughter, Shall I go and call thee			
l Cp Gen 24 ⁴⁵		a ^k nurse of the Hebrew women, that she may nurse the child for thee?			
m ^h		⁸ And Pharaoh's daughter said to her, Go. And the ^l maid went and			
n Gen 15 ¹		called the child's mother. ⁹ And Pharaoh's daughter said unto her,			
o Gen 21 ⁸		"Take this child away, and nurse it for me, and I will give thee thy			
		"wages. And the woman took the child, and nursed it. ¹⁰ And the			
		child grew, and she brought him unto Pharaoh's daughter, and he			
		became her son. And she called his name "Moses, and said, Because			
		I ^l drew him out of the water. . . .			
p Cp 23		. . . ¹¹ And ^l it came to pass ^q in those days, when Moses was grown up,			
q Gen 6 ⁴		that he went out unto his brethren, and looked on their ^l burdens: and			
r 11		he saw an Egyptian smiting an Hebrew, one of his brethren. ¹² And he			
s ^h = turned Gen		^l looked this way and that way, and when he saw that there was no man,			
t Gen 35 ⁴		he smote the Egyptian, and ^l hid him in the sand. ¹³ And he went out			
u Cp Gen 13 ⁸ ^h		the second day, and, behold, two men of the Hebrews strove together:			
v Gen 28 ¹⁰		and he said to him that did the wrong, Wherefore smitest thou thy			
w 4 ²⁴		fellow? ¹⁴ And he said, Who made thee ^l a prince and a judge over us?			
x Gen 16 ⁶		thinkest thou to kill me, as thou killedst the Egyptian? And Moses			
y Gen 24 ¹¹		feared, and said, ^l Surely the thing is known. ¹⁵ Now when Pharaoh			
z 19 Prov 20 ⁵ P ^s		heard this thing, he ^l sought to slay Moses. But Moses fled ^l from the			
aa 30 ¹⁴		face of Pharaoh, and ^l dwelt in the land of Midian: and he sat down by			
ab ^h = gutters		a ^l well. ¹⁶ Now the priest of Midian had seven daughters: and they			
ac Gen 30 ²⁶		came and ^l drew water, and filled the ^l troughs to water their father's			
ad Gen 38 ⁴		flock. ¹⁷ And the shepherds came and ^l drove them away: but Moses			
ae ^h = saved 14 ⁸⁰		stood up and ^l helped them, and watered their flock. ¹⁸ And when they			
af Gen 26 ²⁷		came to ^l Reuel their father, he said, ^l How is it that ye are ^l come so			
ag Cp Gen 27 ²⁰ ^h		^l soon to day? ¹⁹ And they said, An Egyptian ^l delivered us out of the			
ah Gen 32 ¹¹		hand of the shepherds, and moreover he ^l drew water for us, and watered			
ai Gen 31 ²⁴		the flock. ²⁰ And he said unto his daughters, And ^l where is he? ^l why			
aj Gen 18 ²⁷ ^h		is it that ye have left the man? ^l call him, that he may eat bread.			
ak 4 ²⁵ 18 ²		²¹ And Moses ^l was content to dwell with the man: and he gave Moses			
al Cp 4 ²⁵ et 18 ²		^l Zipporah his daughter. ²² And she bare ^l a son, and he called his			
am Gen 12 ¹⁰		name Gershom: for he said, I have been ^l a ^l sojourner in a ^l strange land.			
an Cp Gen 31 ¹⁶		²³ And ^l it came to pass in the course of those many days, that the			
ao ^h Ezek 9 ⁴		king of Egypt died. [→4 ¹⁹]			
ap 21 ⁶ al					
aq ^h = service 14					
ar Job 8 ¹⁶ et					
as 12 ¹¹					
at ^h et Gen					
au 18 ²⁰					
av 6 ⁶⁵					
aw 6 ⁶⁵ Judg 2 ¹⁸					
ax Ezek 30 ²⁴					
ay Gen 6 ¹²					
az 210 ^{ab}					
aa 11 ²¹⁸					
ab 218					
		23 ^b And the children of Israel ^l sighed by reason of the ^l bondage, and they			
		^l cried, and their ^l cry came up unto God by reason of the bondage. ²⁴ And			
		God ^l heard their ^l groaning, and God ^l remembered his covenant with			
		Abraham, with Isaac, and with Jacob. ²⁵ And God ^l saw the children of			
		Israel, and God took knowledge [of them].			
		31 ^l Now Moses was ^l keeping the flock of ^l Jethro his father in law,			

210^a M ^h Mosheh.10^b M ^h mashah, to draw out.11 Many critics assign 11-14 or 11-15^a to E. The indications are slight, but the balance seems in favour of J.15 The words 'dwelt' and 'sat down' are the same ^h, and this awkward repetition is perhaps to be explained out of the amalgamation of different stories. (3) attempts to mitigate it by rendering 'and dwelt in the land of Midian, and having come into the land of Midian he sat down on the well.'18 The priest of Midian who in ²¹ becomes the father in law of Moses has in ¹⁶ no name, but in ¹⁸ he is called Reuel cp Num 10²⁹ f. In 31 4^{18b} 18¹... however, he is designated Jethro (4^{18a} Jether) and in Num 10²⁹ Judg 4¹¹ Hobab son of Reuel (on the meaning of ^h see Dillm, and Ges-Brown, *Hebr Lex*). The name Jethro seems clearly to belong to E, while 'Hobab son of Reuel' may be assigned to J. It is supposed by some critics that R has struck out the name which probably once stood in ¹⁶, and that Reuel in ¹⁸ is likewise editorial. ²² M ^h Ger.23 (3) repeats 23^a before 4¹⁹ which was probably its originalplace. The compiler may have transferred it as a suitable connecting link with the summary of P 23^b-25, the continuation of 14. But it is also possible that 23^a rightfully follows 22 and that 4¹⁹ 24-26 stood in immediate sequence with it. The death of the king, in this view, was the immediate cause of Moses' return. The strange incident in 4²⁴-26 seems better placed before the great commission in 31⁶... for why should Yahweh seek to kill the leader to whom he has entrusted the deliverance of Israel? According to this arrangement, adopted by Bacon and Battersby, the revelation in the bush took place on the journey back, or in Goshen.31^a All three documents J E P related the divine commission to Moses to deliver the Israelites. In E and P this is combined with a solemn revelation of God by the name of Yahweh (cp *Introd* i 112 and 121). P's account is postponed till 6²... but E's narrative has been amalgamated with J's. The main elements of the united product can be separated by the usual criteria. But the importance of this crisis in the career of Moses for the subsequent history of Israel has apparently

J	E	JE	J	E	P
b Gen 31 ¹⁸		"the priest of Midian: and he ^b led the flock to the back of the wilderness, and came to the 'mountain of God, "unto ^b Horeb.			b 105
c 4 ⁸⁷ 18 ⁵ 24 ¹³		... ² And the 'angel of Yahweh appeared unto him in a 'flame of fire out of the midst of a 'bush: and he ^d looked, and, behold, the bush ^f burned with fire, and the bush was not consumed. ³ And Moses said, I will ^g turn aside 'now, and see this great sight, ^h why the bush is not burnt. ^{4a} "And Yahweh saw that he turned aside to see,			c 4 d 55 e 186
d §†		^{4b} And God called unto him out of the midst of 'the bush, and said, 'Moses, Moses. And he said, 'Here am I.			f 104
e 1-4 Deut 33 ^{10†}		⁵ and he said, Draw not nigh 'hither: ⁱ put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place 'whereon thou standest is "holy ground.			g 94 ^b
f Cp Deut 4 ¹¹		⁶ "And he said, I am "the "God of thy father, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. And Moses 'hid his face; for he was 'afraid to 'look upon God.			h 179 i 237 j 23 k 83 l 19 m 136 n 34
g Gen 19 ²		⁷ And Yahweh said, I have 'surely 'seen the 'affliction of my people which are in Egypt, and have heard their 'cry by reason of their 'task-masters; for 'I know their 'sorrows; ⁸ and I am 'come down to "deliver them out of the hand of the Egyptians, and to "bring them up out of that land unto a 'good land and a large, unto a "land flowing with milk and honey", "unto the place of the Canaanite, and the Hittite, and the Amorite, and the Perizzite, and the Hivite, and the Jebusite. ^{9a} And 'now, behold, the 'cry of the children of Israel is "come unto me.			o 187 p 126
h Gen 26 ¹⁷		... ^{9b} "Moreover I have seen the "oppression wherewith the Egyptians 'oppress them. ¹⁰ "Come 'now therefore, and I will "send thee unto Pharaoh, that thou mayest bring forth my people the children of Israel out of Egypt. ¹¹ "And Moses ^b said unto God, Who am I, that I should go unto Pharaoh, and that I should bring forth the children of Israel out of Egypt? ¹² And he said, "Certainly I will 'be with thee; and this shall be the ^d token unto thee, that I have sent thee: when thou hast brought forth the people out of Egypt, ye shall "serve God upon this mountain. ¹³ And Moses said unto God, Behold, when I come unto the children of Israel, and shall say unto them, "The God of your fathers hath sent me unto you; and they shall say to me, What is his name? what shall I say unto them?			q 130
i Gen 22 ¹¹		¹⁴ "And God said unto Moses, "I AM THAT I AM: and he said, 'Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, "I AM hath sent me unto you.			r 222 ^b
j Gen 16 ¹³		¹⁵ And God said moreover unto Moses, 'Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, "Yahweh, "the God of your fathers, the God of			
k Josh 2 ¹⁵ ct					
Deut 7 ¹ §					
l 8 ²² §					
m Cp 19 ¹² 78 ⁹					
n Gen 46 ³ cp 16					
o Deut 31 ¹⁷					
p Cp 10 ²					
q 41 Gen 20 ³²					
r 17 ct 86 cp 111					
s 19 4 ¹⁴					
t § Jer 45 ³					
u 5 ¹³ 12 ¹⁷ 18 ²					
v Gen 32 ¹¹					
w Cp 26 ⁹					
x Gen 18 ²¹					
y Deut 26 ⁷ ct 7					
z 22 ²¹ 23 ⁹					
aa Gen 37 ²⁰					
ab Cp 16 ²					
ac 12-15 4 ²⁸					
ad Ct 4 ¹⁰ 612 71					
ae Cp Gen 20 ¹¹ §					
af § = sign ct					
ag 4 ¹⁷					
ah Cp 51 24 ⁴					

begotten a variety of editorial amplifications, designed partly to prepare the way for the great struggle between Moses and Pharaoh, partly to introduce Aaron, and partly to bring conflicting details into harmony. In the process of compilation each document, it would seem, has suffered excision and curtailment, and it is probable that some passages have been dislocated from their original setting and transposed cp 2²⁰. The general justification of the analysis will be found in the margins.

^{31b} Some critics think that according to E the father in law of Moses was not himself priest. If so, these words must be regarded as a harmonistic addition cp 2¹⁸.

¹⁰ Possibly an editorial explanation; § has 'mount Horeb' as in 3⁸ cp 17².

^{4a} T And when Yahweh saw . . . God called. § runs literally 'And Yahweh saw . . . and God called . . . and he said, . . . may thus quite well introduce ⁵, while ^{4b} opens E's theophany.

^{4b} § as in ² may be rendered 'a' or 'the.' If the latter rendering be preferred, these words must be regarded as R's addition (so Bacon). But both J and E may quite well have preserved the same detail: cp E's reference in Deut 33¹⁶.

⁶ T moreover. But the conjunction is the same as in ⁴. The repetition 'and he said' suggests another hand cp Gen 16¹⁰ (9-11).

⁸ Similar enumerations will be found in 17 13⁵ 23²³ 28 33² 34¹¹ Deut 7¹ 20¹⁷ Josh 9¹ 11³ 12⁸ 24¹¹. Opinion is divided as to their character in JE: are they original, or are they editorial amplifications? The longer lists in Gen 10¹⁶⁻¹⁸ 15¹⁹⁻²¹ have

certainly the air of additions. In the present passage the phrases 'good land' 'flowing with milk and honey' have a Deuteronomic sound. On the other hand, the phraseology of D cannot be wholly new; it must have had some basis in prior usage; and it would be natural that the earlier writers should use sparingly and on the most solemn occasions a terminology which had already become traditional: moreover, the term 'place' is not found again in this connexion, but cp 2²⁶5. The repetition in 17 (inverting the order of the clauses) is more likely to be due to R. § in both passages adds 'the Girgashite,' thus bringing the list up to the Deuteronomic 'seven' Deut 7¹. Cp Holzinger, *Eint* 483.

¹⁰ § = and also, apparently an editorial connexion, ^{9b} being a duplicate of ⁷.

¹¹ Each narrative describes the reluctance of Moses to undertake the difficult task of the liberation of Israel, cp J 4¹⁰ . . . P 612 71.

^{14a} At this point E discloses for the first time the name Yahweh. But the real answer to the question in ¹³ is contained in ¹⁵. The form employed in ^{14b} is never employed elsewhere, and ¹⁴ appears to be a later insertion designed to explain the divine name Yahweh which is here connected with the verb *hayah* 'to be.' The two answers are editorially linked by the particle rendered *moreover* (= 'again' Gen 4²⁵ 35⁹).

^{14b} M Or, I AM, BECAUSE I AM. Or, I AM WHO AM. Or, I WILL BE THAT I WILL BE. ^{14c} M Or, I WILL BE. § Ehyeh.

¹⁵ § Jehovah, from the same root as Ehyeh.

J	E	JE	J	E	P
		Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, hath sent me unto you: this is my name for ever, and this is my ^J memorial unto ^J all generations.			
^J Hos 12 ⁵					a 151
^J Prov 27 ²⁴ §†					t 146 ^b
^{op} 17 ¹⁸					
^M 4 ¹⁸ Num 11 ¹⁶	16	Go, and ^h gather the ^h elders of Israel together, and say unto them, ^h Yahweh, ^h the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, hath appeared unto me, saying, I have ^h surely ^h visited you, and [seen] that which is ^h done to you in Egypt: ¹⁷ and I have ^h said, I will ^h bring you up out of the ^h affliction of Egypt unto the land of the Canaanite, and the Hittite, and the Amorite, and the Perizzite, and the Hivite, and the Jebusite, unto a ^h land flowing with milk and honey.			u 44
^J 4 ⁸¹ Gen 50 ²⁴					v 87 ^c
^J Cp 8					w 131
					x 86
18... L7ac	18	And they shall ^h hearken to thy voice: and thou shalt come, thou and the ^h elders of Israel, unto the king of Egypt, and ye shall say unto him, Yahweh, the ^h God of the Hebrews, hath ^h met with us: ^h now let us go, ^h we pray thee, ^h three days' journey into the wilderness, that we may ^h sacrifice to Yahweh our God.			y 174
^J 5 ⁸ & 17 28 25 27 10 ²⁵					z 205 ^b
^J Cp 280 ^b					
^M Ex 34 ¹⁰ Josh 3 ⁸		19 ^h And ^h I know that the king of Egypt will not give you leave to go, no, not by a ^h 'mighty hand. 20 And I will ^h put forth my hand, and smite Egypt with all my ^h wonders which I will do ^h in the midst thereof: ^h and after that he will let you go.			a' 31 ^b
^M 10 ¹ cp 58					b' 3 ^b
^{op} 11 ⁸ cp Gen 32 ²⁰ rd					
^J Gen 31 ⁴²		21 ^h And I will ^h give this people favour in the sight of the Egyptians: and ^h it shall come to pass, that, when ye go, ye shall not go ^h empty: 22 but ^h every woman shall ask of her ^h 'neighbour, and of her that sojourneth in her house, ^h 'jewels of silver, and jewels of gold, and ^h 'raiment: and ye shall put them upon your sons, and upon your daughters; and ye shall ^h 'spoil the Egyptians.			c' 161
^J 11 ⁸ 12 ³⁵					a 134
^J Cp 124 ⁹					b 44 ^b
^J Gen 24 ⁶⁸					
^J 12 ³⁶ & 2 Chron 20 ²⁵					c 205 ^b
^a Cp 828					d 120 ^b
b 316					
c Gen 39 ¹²					
d Gen 25 ¹⁸					
e Gen 19 ¹⁶					
f 316					
g Gen 16 ⁵					
h Num 12 ¹⁰ & 2 Kings 5 ²⁷					
i 2 Kings 5 ¹⁴					
					e 126

316 This phrase coinciding with that in 15 cp 13 may be due to the harmonizer, but cp 42.

19 These verses do not seem in their present form to belong either to J or to E. Not to J because (1) they interrupt the connexion between 316-18 and 41, and (2) they contain distinct literary marks of E, 'give you leave' 3118, and the peculiar infinitive 'to go' § 1219^a. Yet on the other hand the phrase 'by a mighty hand' does not belong to E, but tends to appear in passages kindred with D cp 280^b: for 'wonders' cp 3410. The passage seems to have been amplified from E by E¹.

21 These instructions must obviously belong to the narrator who regards the Israelites as settled, not apart in the land of Goshen, but among the Egyptians themselves cp 7²².

43 The rod was one of the ancient elements of the tradition. Here it is represented as the shepherd's staff which was naturally in Moses' hands, and it becomes the medium of the

display of the divine power to him. In E it is apparently given him by God 17, and consequently bears the name 'rod of God' 20^b (cp 'mountain of God'): as such, it is the instrument with which Moses achieves the wonders 7^{20b} 9²³ 10¹³. P transfers the rod to Aaron, and supplies a different occasion for its conversion into a serpent cp 7¹³. J's story of the signs seems to be considerably abbreviated. It is not made clear from 1-8 that the signs are to be repeated for the persuasion of the incredulous Israelites; but this becomes plain from 9 cp 30. 8 may have read originally 'if they will not believe the first sign, neither hearken to thy voice.'

5 M § nahash.—Cp 206 and et 7².

6 A reference to a third sign which has become in E and P the basis of one of the plagues, no longer designed for the assurance of the Israelites, but for the punishment of Pharaoh cp E 7¹⁵ 17^b 20^b, P 7¹⁹.

J	E	JE	J	E	P
j 5 ²³ 9 ²⁴ Gen 39 ⁵ §		the dry land. ¹⁰ And Moses said unto Yahweh, 'Oh Lord, I am not eloquent, 'neither 'heretofore, nor 'since thou hast spoken unto 'thy servant: for I am 'slow of speech, and of a slow tongue. ¹¹ And Yahweh said unto him, Who hath made man's mouth? or who maketh [a man] dumb, or deaf, or seeing, or blind? is it not I Yahweh? ¹² 'Now therefore go, and I will 'be with thy mouth, and 'teach thee what thou shalt speak.			f 56 ^b g 11 h 169 i 73 j 78
k Gen 46 ²⁸ Ex 15 ²⁵ 24 ¹² al		¹³ 'And he said, 'Oh Lord, send, 'I pray thee, by the hand of him whom thou wilt send. ¹⁴ 'And the 'anger of Yahweh was kindled against Moses, and he said, 'Is there not Aaron thy brother the Levite? I know that he can speak well. 'And also, behold, he cometh forth 'to meet thee: and when he seeth thee, he will be 'glad in his 'heart. ¹⁵ And thou shalt speak unto him, and put the words in his mouth: and I will 'be with thy mouth, and with his mouth, and will 'teach you what ye shall do. ¹⁶ And he shall be thy spokesman unto the people: and it shall come to pass, that he shall be to thee a mouth, and thou shalt be to him 'as God.			k 187 l 130 m 186 n 233
l Cp Gen 13 ⁹ 37 ¹³ §		... ¹⁷ And thou shalt take in thine hand 'this 'rod, wherewith thou shalt do the signs.			o 183
m Cp 9 ⁹ 6 n Gen 6 ⁶		¹⁸ And Moses went and returned to 'Jethro his 'father in law, and said unto him, Let me go, I pray thee, and return unto my brethren which are in Egypt, and see whether they be 'yet alive. And Jethro said to Moses, Go 'in peace.			
o Cp 2 ⁶ p Cp 2 ⁶		¹⁹ And Yahweh said unto Moses in Midian, Go, return into Egypt: for all the men are dead which 'sought thy life. ²⁰ And Moses took his wife and his 'sons, and 'set them upon an ass, and he returned to the land of Egypt.			
q 3 ¹		^{20^b} And Moses took the 'rod of God in his hand.			
r Gen 45 ⁸ § cp 9 ^{1b} s Gen 44 ¹⁷		²¹ 'And Yahweh said unto Moses, When thou goest back into Egypt, see that thou do before Pharaoh all the 'wonders which I have put in thine hand: but I will 'harden his heart, and he will not let the people go.			
t 2 ¹⁵		²² And thou shalt say unto Pharaoh, 'Thus saith Yahweh, Israel is my son, my 'firstborn: ²³ and I have said unto thee, Let my son go, that he may 'serve me; and thou hast 'refused to let him go: behold, I will slay thy son, thy firstborn.			p 87 ^a
u § = made them to ride Gen 41 ⁴³ Deut 32 ¹⁸		... ²⁴ 'And it came to pass on the way at the 'lodging place, that			q 68
v 7 ⁹ 11 ⁹ ct 3 ²⁰ §					r 53
w Gen 27 ¹⁹					
x 7 ¹⁶ 10 ⁵ 7 11 24 26 12 ⁸¹					
24... 26ma					

4¹⁰ M § A man of words.—This passage is the counterpart in J of 3¹¹. E, cp 4¹² and 3¹².

13 In 13-16 it is not apparent in what way the anger of Yahweh expresses itself against the reluctance of Moses. It is believed, therefore, that this is really a later insertion to prepare for the introduction of Aaron, for whom a place had to be found in the story. The want of uniformity in his appearances, the curious alternation between plural and singular verbs in the immediate context of his entry into the narrative (cp 8⁹ 12^a 25 28 9²⁷ 10¹⁶ 17^b with 9⁹ 12^b 29 9²³ 10^{7a} 18), and the fact that in the earliest extant account of the sanctuary he had no function, Joshua being the servitor of Moses in the Tent of Meeting Ex 33¹¹, render it probable that the passages narrating his activity are all secondary as compared with the original J. The description of Aaron as 'the Levite' (in the sense of priest) on whom devolves the duty of proclaiming to the people the divine teaching, points in the same direction; ct 18²⁰. where Moses is himself the giver of teaching (*torah*). Cornill ascribes his appearance here, as well as in 27. 29. and the rest of the passages in 5-10 to RP, cp Num 1¹⁸. But this seems to overlook the parallel in 6¹² 7¹. which cannot be regarded as the source of 4¹³. The passage is therefore viewed as secondary in J but older than P.

14 This passage is certainly related to 27. But it can hardly be by the same writer (Bacon), for it implies that Aaron has already started, whereas according to 27 he has not yet received the divine command to join Moses in the wilderness. It seems better, therefore, to regard it as a sign of editorial preparation, introduced by the connecting link 'and also.' Its removal improves the connexion of 14^a and 15.

17 Cp 2^a and 2^{10b} 17^b 20^b 9²³ 10¹³ 14¹⁶ 17⁵ 9. Dillmann conjectures that the pronoun 'this' is due to R replacing 'rod of God' as in 20^b. But the passage seems rather to indicate

a gift on the part of God (like the stone tables). The 'signs' are probably not to be interpreted of those recounted in 3-9; they are those to be hereafter performed against Pharaoh. In that case the passages in E preparing Moses for the resistance of Pharaoh have been set aside in the process of uniting J and E.

14 M § Jether.

19 According to 3¹⁸ Moses has already received instructions to return, so that in the original narrative of J this passage may have preceded the theophany in 3². now combined with E. It is suggested, therefore, that it followed 23^a.

20 J has only related the birth of one son 2²², and 25 implies that there was no second. The plural seems to be an editorial reference to 18²⁻⁴.

21^a The commission to Moses in this passage may be founded upon older elements, but its place here is due to R, who has attached it to 19-20 with the echoing phrase 'when thou goest to return into Egypt'; the word 'wonders' recurs later in P cp Deut 4³⁴ &c. The message to Pharaoh in 22. is never repeated, and if the passage is not to be assigned to editorial preparation, it must have been transposed from some later scene, such as the beginning of 11⁴ (Dillm 10²⁸).

21^b M § make strong.—Cp 10²⁰ 27, ct 7¹⁴.

24 The story in 24-26 has many peculiar features. The sudden and unexpected intervention of Yahweh, the perplexing silence concerning its cause and purpose especially after the great task just assigned to Moses, the remedy adopted by Zipporah, her archaic use of the flint knife, and the obscurity of her utterance—these are all marks of great antiquity. The source from which the incident has been drawn, prior to its incorporation in J, cannot be determined; its interpretation belongs to the history of circumcision.

	J	E	JE	J	E	P
y 27 Gen 32 ¹⁷ z 21 ⁵ a' Gen 18 ²⁵ b' 21 ¹ c' Ezek 39 ⁴ d' Gen 19 ¹² §			Yahweh 'met him, and 'sought to 'kill him. ²⁵ Then b'Zipporah took a 'flint, and cut off the foreskin of her son, and 'cast it at his feet; and she said, Surely a 'bridegroom of blood art thou to me. ²⁶ So he let him alone. Then she said, 'A bridegroom of blood [art thou], because of the circumcision.			
e' 31			²⁷ And Yahweh said to Aaron, Go into the wilderness to meet Moses. And he went, and 'met him in the 'mountain of God, and kissed him.			
f' Op 17			²⁸ And Moses told Aaron all the words of Yahweh wherewith he had sent him, and all the 'signs wherewith he had charged him.			
g' 31 ⁵			²⁹ And Moses and Aaron went and 'gathered together all the elders of the children of Israel: ³⁰ and 'Aaron spake all the words which Yahweh had spoken unto Moses, and did the signs in the sight of the people. ³¹ And the people believed: and when they heard that Yahweh had 'visited the children of Israel, and that he had 'seen their affliction, then they 'bowed their heads and worshipped.			
A' 37			⁵¹ And afterwards Moses and Aaron came, and said unto Pharaoh, 'Thus saith Yahweh, the God of Israel, Let my people go, that they may 'hold a feast unto me in the wilderness. ² And Pharaoh said, Who is Yahweh, that I should 'hearken unto his voice to let Israel go? I know not Yahweh, and moreover I will not let Israel go.			a 12 ^b
a 10 ⁹ 23 ¹⁴ 32 ⁵			... ³ And they said, 'The God of the Hebrews hath 'met with us: let us go, we pray thee, 'three days' journey into the wilderness, and 'sacrifice unto Yahweh our God; lest he 'fall upon us with 'pestilence, or with the sword.			a 87 b 44 ^b
b 31 ⁵ c Op 31 ⁵ et Deut 22 ⁶ § d 8 17 31 ⁵ e 9 ³ 16 et Num 14 ¹² Lev 26 ⁷⁵ Deut 28 ²¹ §			⁴ And the king of Egypt said unto them, Wherefore do ye, Moses and Aaron, 'loose the people from their 'works? get you unto your 'burdens.			c 85
f Op 32 ²⁵ g 23 ¹² 18 cp Gen 46 ³⁸ h 111 i Ct 12 ¹⁵ § j Cp 28 ³ k Gen 24 ³⁵ l 8 14 16-19 Gen 11 ³ m 12 Num 15 ³² § n 30 ² 37 ¹ Ezek 45 ¹¹ 2 Chron 24 ¹³ § o 8 11 19 21 ¹⁰ al p § Niph [†] q § = service 14 r Gen 44 ⁹ s Cp 218 ⁵ §			⁵ And Pharaoh said, Behold, the people of the land are now many, and ye 'make them rest from their 'burdens. ⁶ And the same day Pharaoh commanded the 'taskmasters of the people, and their 'officers, saying, ⁷ Ye shall no more give the people 'straw to make 'brick, as heretofore: let them go and 'gather straw for themselves. ⁸ And the 'tale of the bricks, which they did make heretofore, ye shall lay upon them; ye shall not 'diminish aught thereof: for they be 'idle; therefore they cry, saying, Let us go and 'sacrifice to our God. ⁹ Let 'heavier 'work be laid upon the men, that they may labour therein; and let them not 'regard lying words. ¹⁰ And the taskmasters of the people went out, and their 'officers, and they 'spake to the people, saying, Thus saith Pharaoh, I will not give you straw. ¹¹ Go yourselves, get you straw where ye can find it: for nought of your 'work shall be 'diminished.			d 83
t Ex 15 ⁷ 1s 52 ⁴ al u Gen 10 ¹ § v Cp 164 w Gen 26 ²⁷ x Cp Gen 47 ²² §			¹² So the people were 'scattered abroad throughout all the land of Egypt to 'gather 'stubble for straw. ¹³ And the taskmasters were 'urgent, saying, Fulfil your 'works, [your] 'daily tasks, as when there was straw. ¹⁴ And the 'officers of the children of Israel, which Pharaoh's taskmasters had set over them, were beaten, 'and demanded, 'Wherefore have ye not fulfilled your 'task 'both yesterday 'and to-day, in making 'brick as heretofore? ¹⁵ Then the 'officers of the children of Israel came and cried unto Pharaoh, saying, Wherefore dealest thou thus with 'thy			e 72 f 80 g 11 h 73

42⁵ M § made it touch.—Cp 12²² = strike.

25 M Or, A bridegroom of blood in regard of the circumcision.

30 Cp 13¹⁸. The text of RV ascribes the performance of the signs to Aaron. But this is certainly not contemplated in 1-2, nor is it suggested in 13-16. The original subject of 'did' (§ he did) must be Moses; and the present form of the verse must result from the later redaction.

51 J and E appear both to have related the demand made by Moses on behalf of the Israelites for the royal permission to depart, and the opening of 5 seems to contain material from each source. Thus 3 is a doublet of 1 and 5 of 4; 3 is easily identified with J (see the margins) and 1, 4, therefore, fall most naturally to E. The place of Aaron in the original narrative

is doubtful cp 41¹⁵; according to J the petition of Moses was to be supported by the elders 31⁵. It has been suggested that the plea alleged in the latter part of 1 may be due to E, who seeks to bring E into accord with J. In 13¹⁷⁻¹⁹ a special reason is assigned why the Israelites did not march to Canaan by the shortest route from the south-west, but in 31⁵ a visit to the sacred mountain is already contemplated, and 1⁵ is not, therefore, out of harmony with E. The story in 5-25 seems to be all of one piece, and the linguistic indications point to J rather than E.

6 The reference to the 'officers' 6 10 seems to be an editorial anticipation of 14 where they are first described.

14 M § saying.

	J	JE	J	E	P
y Gen 43 ⁹ §	servants? ¹⁶ There is no straw given unto ^b thy servants, and they say to us, Make brick: and, behold, thy servants are beaten; but the ^b fault is in thine own people. ¹⁷ But he said, Ye are ^b idle, ye are idle: therefore ye say, Let us go and ^d sacrifice to Yahweh. ¹⁸ Go therefore now, and work; for there shall no straw be given you, yet shall ye deliver the ^b 'tale of bricks. ¹⁹ And the ^b 'officers of the children of Israel did see that they ^b 'were in evil case, when it was said, Ye shall not ^b 'minish aught from your bricks, [your] ^b 'daily tasks. ²⁰ And they met Moses and Aaron, who stood in the way, as they came forth from Pharaoh: ²¹ and they said unto them, Yahweh look upon you, and ^b 'judge; because ye have made our ^b 'savour to be ^b 'abhorred in the eyes of Pharaoh, and in the eyes of his servants, to put a sword in their hand to slay us. ²² And Moses returned unto Yahweh, and said, Lord, wherefore hast thou ^b 'evil entreated this people? ^b 'why is it that thou hast sent me? ²³ For ^b 'since I came to Pharaoh to speak in thy name, he hath ^b 'evil entreated this people; neither hast thou ^b 'delivered thy people at all.				
s Ezek 45 ^{11†} cp 8					
a' Gen 16 ⁵					
u' Gen 82 ¹ 27 ²⁷					
c' Gen 34 ³⁰ ct 16 ²⁴					
d' Gen 43 ⁶ § Num 11 ¹¹					
e' 31 ¹⁰ 4 ¹³					
f' 3 ⁸					
a 3 ¹⁹					
b 3 ²⁰					
c 11 ¹ 12 ³⁹ cp 14 ⁸					
d Gen 17 ¹ 35 ⁹					
e 2 ²⁴					
f 1 ¹³ §					
g Cp 125 ^{5b} § 90					
h 11 ¹¹					
i § = deliver 3 ⁸					
j § = service 114					
k Cp 180 ¹⁰					
l Lev 26 ¹²					
m Num 14 ³⁰					
Ezek 20 ⁶ 15 ²³					
28 42 367					
n Dent 33 ⁴ Ezek 11 ¹⁶ 25 ⁴ 10 33 ²⁴					
36 ² 64					
o § = hard service 114					
p 30 [†] ct 4 ¹⁰ .					
	² "And God spake unto Moses, and said unto him, 'I am Yahweh: ³ and I ^d 'appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, as ^b 'EL SHADDAI, but ^b 'by my name Yahweh I was not ^b 'known to them. ⁴ And I have also ^b 'established my covenant with them, to give them the ^b 'land of Canaan, the ^b 'land of their sojournings, wherein they sojourned. ⁵ And moreover ^b 'I have ^b 'heard the groaning of the children of Israel, whom the Egyptians ^b 'keep in bondage; and I have ^b 'remembered my covenant. ⁶ ^b 'Wherefore ^b 'say unto the children of Israel, 'I am Yahweh, and I will bring you out from under the ^b 'burdens of the Egyptians, and I will ^b 'rid you out of their ^b 'bondage, and I will ^b 'redeem you with a ^b 'stretched out arm, and with great ^b 'judgements: ⁷ and I will take you ^b 'to me for a people, and I will ^b 'be to you a God: and ye shall ^b 'know that I am Yahweh your God, which bringeth you out from under the ^b 'burdens of the Egyptians. ⁸ And I will bring you in unto the land, concerning which I ^b 'lifted up my hand to give it to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob; and I will give it you for an ^b 'heritage: 'I am Yahweh. ⁹ And Moses spake so unto the children of Israel: but they hearkened not unto Moses for ^b 'anguish of spirit, and for ^b 'cruel bondage. ¹⁰ And Yahweh ^b 'spake unto Moses, saying, ¹¹ Go in, ^b 'speak unto Pharaoh king of Egypt, that he let the children of Israel go out of his land. ¹² And Moses ^b 'spake before Yahweh, saying, Behold, the children of Israel have not hearkened unto me; how then shall Pharaoh hear me, ^b 'who am ^b 'of ^b 'uncircumcised lips? ¹³ "And Yahweh spake unto Moses and unto Aaron, and gave them a charge unto the				

51⁹ M Or, were set on mischief, when they said.

61 This verse seems most naturally treated as the divine reply to the expostulation of Moses 5²², and is consequently assigned to J. In 12³¹, Pharaoh bids the children of Israel depart immediately and in 1:39 they are 'thrust (= driven) out.' For 'strong hand' (other than Yahweh's) cp Num 20²⁰; used of Yahweh Ex 3¹⁹ 13⁹ 32¹¹.

² Cp 3¹², and Introd V 2 i 33 and XIII 1 i 121.

^{3a} So M. §. T God Almighty.

^{3b} M Or, as to.

^{3c} M Or, made known.

⁶ Driver, LOT⁶ 151, ascribes 4-6 to Ph (cp Introd XIII 87 i 145). The chief linguistic support for this attribution is probably to be found in the formula 'I am Yahweh.' But this appears sufficiently explained as the repetition of the revelation in 2. There do not seem any other distinctive marks of Ph: and the words 'redeem' 6 'judgements' 6 with the phrases of 7 seem rather to belong to P⁶. The parallels with Ezekiel deserve attention. It may further be remarked that 3-5 would be very incomplete without some hint of the mode by which the divine promise would be carried out. Reminiscences of J may be

found in 'burdens' and 'deliver' 6.

⁹ M Or, impatience, § shortness of spirit.—§†.

¹³ The text in this passage seems to be a later amalgam. The answer of Yahweh to the question of Moses 12, is not delivered until 7¹, where the way is prepared for it by the repetition of the dialogue 22-30. The intervening matter is by no means homogeneous. Only three tribes are catalogued, Reuben, Simeon, and Levi. The first two 14 15 have their brief counterparts in Gen 46⁹. The treatment of Levi is much fuller 16-25, and is apparently designed to introduce Aaron and Moses, of whose descent nothing has as yet been said. Bacon regards this passage as original to P, and proposes to attach it to 15. It is no doubt full of P's phrases, but the detail seems unequal; 21. interrupts the family history of Amram; and the fragments cannot be said to be harmoniously welded together, or to form a suitable transition from the compact summary of 1-5 to the subsequent narrative of the bondage of Israel and the revelation of Yahweh. They must be assigned in their present connexion to the secondary elements of P. It is noteworthy that nothing is said of the wife of Moses; did P find the

J E	P	
g Gen 46 ⁹	children of Israel, and unto Pharaoh king of Egypt, to bring the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt.	
r Gen 46 ¹⁰	14 'These are the heads of their 'fathers' houses: the 'sons of Reuben the firstborn of Israel; Hanoch, and Pallu, Hezron, and Carmi: 'these are the 'families of Reuben.	q 188 r 66 s 65
s Gen 46 ¹¹ Num 3 ¹⁷	15 And the 'sons of Simeon; Jemuel, and Jamin, and Ohad, and Jachin, and Zohar, and Shaul the son of a Canaanitish woman: 'these are the families of Simeon. 16 And 'these are the names of the sons of Levi 'according to their 'generations; 'Gershon, and Kohath, and Merari: and the 'years of the life of Levi were an 'hundred thirty and seven years.	t 18 u 77 v 182 w 93
t Num 3 ¹⁸	17 The sons of 'Gershon; Libni and Shimei, 'according to their families. 18 And the sons of 'Kohath; Amram, and Izhar, and Hebron, and Uzziel: and the 'years of the life of Kohath were an 'hundred thirty and three years. 19 And the sons of 'Merari; Mahli and Mushi. 'These are the families of the Levites according to their 'generations.	
u Num 3 ¹⁹ 26 ⁵⁹	20 And Amram took him 'Jochebed his father's sister to wife; and she bare him Aaron and Moses: and the 'years of the life of Amram were an 'hundred and thirty and seven years. 21 And the sons of Izhar; 'Korah, and Nepheg, and Zichri. 22 And the sons of Uzziel; Mishael, and Elzaphan, and Sithri. 23 And Aaron took him Elisheba, the daughter of Amminadab, the sister of Nahshon, to wife; and she bare him 'Nadab and Abihu, Eleazar and Ithamar. 24 And the sons of Korah; Assir, and Elkanah, and Abiasaph; 'these are the families of the Korahites. 25 And Eleazar Aaron's son took him one of the daughters of Putiel to wife; and she bare him 'Phinehas. 'These are the heads of the 'fathers' [houses] of the Levites 'according to their families. 26 'These are that Aaron and Moses, to whom Yahweh said, Bring out the children of Israel from the land of Egypt according to their hosts. 27 'These are they which spake to Pharaoh king of Egypt, to bring out the children of Israel from Egypt: these are that Moses and Aaron.	
v Num 3 ²⁰	28 And it came to pass on the day when Yahweh spake unto Moses in the land of Egypt, 29 that Yahweh 'spake unto Moses, saying, 'I am Yahweh: 'speak thou unto Pharaoh king of Egypt all that I speak unto thee. 30 And Moses said before Yahweh, Behold, I am 'of uncircumcised lips, and how shall Pharaoh hearken unto me?	
w Num 26 ⁵⁹ †	71 And Yahweh said unto Moses, 'See, I have made thee a 'god to Pharaoh: and Aaron thy brother shall be thy 'prophet. 2 Thou shalt speak all that I command thee: and Aaron thy brother shall speak unto Pharaoh, 'that he let the children of Israel go out of his land. 3 And 'I will 'harden Pharaoh's heart', and multiply my 'signs and my 'wonders in the land of Egypt. 4 But Pharaoh will not hearken unto you, and I will lay my hand upon Egypt, and bring forth my 'hosts, my people the children of Israel, out of the land of Egypt by great 'judgements. 5 And the Egyptians shall 'know that I am Yahweh, when I 'stretch forth mine hand upon Egypt, and bring out the children of Israel from among them. 6 And Moses and Aaron did so; 'as Yahweh commanded them, so did they. 7 And Moses was fourscore years 'old, and Aaron fourscore and three years old, when they spake unto Pharaoh.	x 14 y 12
a Cp 299	8 'And Yahweh 'spake unto Moses and unto Aaron, saying, 9 When	z 188
b Ct 4 ¹⁸		
c Cp 2124		
d 611		
e Ps 95 ⁸ Prov 28 ¹⁴ † Ct Ex 13 ¹⁵		
f Cp 2102 ⁴		
g Cp Ezek 6 ¹⁴ &c (7)		

tradition of her foreign origin incompatible with the stricter ideas of his time?

7⁸ The narrative of the wonders 7⁸-11¹⁰ is plainly composite. Various reasons unite to enforce this conclusion; the following analysis is founded on two broad classes of evidence, (a) material differences of representation, and (b) accompanying peculiarities of phraseology. (1) Scattered through the record occur short sections of which 7⁸-13 is the type. They are based on the idea of 'showing a wonder' 7⁹. Moses receives the divine command, and transmits it to Aaron, who executes it with his rod: the magicians of Egypt then attempt to produce the same marvel, at first with success, but afterwards impotently: the heart of Pharaoh is strong, and he will not listen. These common marks unite the following passages 7⁷-13 19-20 22 85-7 158 16-19 98-12. They are unconnected by any marks of time; they constitute a succession of displays of power increasing in force until the editorial close in 11¹⁰. Their recurring phrases (see the margins), the peculiar relation of Moses and Aaron cp 7¹, the prominence assigned to Aaron as the agent of the wonder with his rod cp Num 17⁸, while elsewhere the wonder is wrought by Moses with his rod, justify the ascription of these passages to P. Some points of linguistic affinity with JE are of course inevitable, in travelling over so much common ground. (2) The materials left after the elimination of P, again exhibit differences both of conception and language. Thus (i) J has already located the Israelites in the land of Goshen Gen 45¹⁰ and they are accordingly represented as

residing there in 8²² 9²⁶; they are consequently unaffected by the flies or the hail. On the other hand in 10²¹⁻²³ they are living in the midst of the people in Egypt itself, and their immunity from the oppression of the darkness is secured by the appearance of light in their dwellings. This latter view of their intermingling with the Egyptians lies at the basis of the instructions in 3²¹, and their sequel 11², and the passages founded on it must be assigned to E. Again (ii) the agency by which the plagues are successively induced, varies on different occasions. In one series Moses simply announces to Pharaoh the divine intention, but in another he is directed to stretch out his hand that the visitation may follow 9²² 10¹² 21 (ct 9²⁹ 33). The hand of Moses wields the rod 9²³ 10¹³ cp 22 7^{20b}, apparently the rod of 4¹⁷ expressly given to him for the purpose. The coincidence of (i) and (ii) in 10²¹⁻²³ secures all the rod-passages to E. It will be noticed that these contain no mention of Aaron; Moses throughout appears alone; moreover he does not predict, he performs; no word is said to Pharaoh; act after act follows without recorded speech. (3) The residue exhibits numerous indications of the handiwork of J. The Israelites inhabit the land of Goshen, and are occupied with flocks and herds 8²² 9²⁶ 10² 24 cp Gen 46³² 34 47¹. The reiterated demands addressed to Pharaoh for permission to depart that Israel may serve Yahweh 7¹⁶ 8¹ 20 9¹ 13 10³, carry out the instruction of 3¹⁸, the interviews taking place in the palace ('go in' 3¹⁸ 8¹ 9¹ 10¹, 'stand before' 8²⁰ 9¹³ ct 7¹⁵). The incidents of the several narratives may be tabulated thus:—

J E	P	
A 19 25 16 I 19 12 19 25 16.	Pharaoh shall 'speak unto you, saying, Shew a wonder for you: then thou shalt say unto 'Aaron, Take thy 'rod, and cast it down before Pharaoh, that it become a 'serpent. ¹⁰ And Moses and Aaron went in unto Pharaoh, and they 'did so, as Yahweh had commanded: and Aaron cast down his 'rod before Pharaoh and before his servants, and it became a 'serpent. ¹¹ Then Pharaoh also called for the 'wise men and the 'sorcerers: and they also, the 'magicians of Egypt, did in like manner with their 'enchantments. ¹² For they cast down every man his rod, and they became serpents: but Aaron's 'rod swallowed up their rods. ¹³ And Pharaoh's heart 'was hardened, and he 'hearkened not unto them; 'as Yahweh had spoken.	h 189 ^b
j Ct 4 ³ k Gen 41 ⁸ l 22 ¹⁵ Dent 1810 ^a		
m 22 219 912 ct n 22 215 19 912 ct o 215 22 97 24 cp 78		
p Ct 21 20	14 "And Yahweh said unto Moses, Pharaoh's heart is 'stubborn, he 'refuseth to let the people go. ¹⁵ "Get thee unto Pharaoh in the 'morning; lo, he goeth out unto the water; and thou shalt 'stand	i 68
		j 236 k 215

J	E	P
The river smitten, death of the fish, Frogs. Flies. Murrain. Hail. Locusts. Death of the first-born.	Waters of the river turned to blood. Hail. Locusts. Darkness. [Death of the first-born.]	Aaron's rod changed to a serpent. Waters of Egypt turned to blood. Frogs. Lice. Boils. Death of the first-born.

The narrative of P has probably been preserved intact; portions of J and E have no doubt been curtailed or omitted in the process of amalgamation. The following differences of phrase may be noted:—

J	E	P
Pharaoh 'refuses to let the people go' 714 82 92 101. Yahweh, God of the Hebrews 716 91 12 103. 'Let my people go that they may serve me' 718 81 20 91 15 103. 'Thus saith Yahweh . . . Behold I will . . . 717 81. 20. 91 (7) 15 18 103. 'Intreat Yahweh' 88 20 92 1017. 'Removal' of the plague 88 21 1017 cp 923. Marks of time, 'tomorrow' 810 22 29 96 104. Unheard of character of the infliction 918 24b 106b 14 118. Pharaoh's heart 'stubborn' (Qal and Hiph) 714 815 22 97 24. Pharaoh's heart 'strong' (Qal and Hiph) 935 1020 27.	Moses stretches out his hand with the rod 715 20b 922. 1012. 21. Pharaoh's heart 'strong' (Qal and Hiph) 935 1020 27.	'Say unto Aaron' 79 19 85 16. The magicians 711 22 87 19 911. Aaron stretches out his hand with his rod 79 19 85 16. Land of Egypt 719 21b 85-7 16. 926b 121 12. 17 41. 51. Pharaoh's heart 'strong' (Qal and Hiph) 715 22 819 (912 Pi). And he hearkened not as Yahweh had spoken 715 22 815 19 912.

Other items of linguistic usage will be found noted in the margins. The narrative of J shows occasional signs of expansion in the hortatory manner already noticed in Genesis cp 810b 22b 914-16 29b 101b 2. It is also probable that the part here played by Aaron is due to later remodelling rather than to the original story cp 413x.

79 M. ϕ *tannin*, any large reptile; and so in 10 12.—Cp Gen 121, and ct 12.

11a M. See Gen 418.—Cp 22 87 16 911.

11b M. Or, *secret arts*.

13 M. ϕ *was strong*.—Cp 22 819 912.

14a The miracle of the water is the only 'sign' which seems to have been narrated by all three writers J E P prior to the death of the firstborn, and the compiler has attempted to weld the accounts together. But the narratives are not founded on the same conception, and the result is obviously not homogeneous. In 17b it is predicted that the waters in the River (*y'or*), when struck with the rod of Moses, shall be turned into blood, the term *y'or* being regularly applied to the Nile. But in 19 a fresh command is given to Moses to instruct Aaron to stretch out his rod over the waters of Egypt, which include not only the *y'or* but every drop from the 'streams' (*y'orim*) down to the liquid already standing in the household stores. Plainly 19 20a 21b 22 belong to the series inaugurated by 7-13 cp 78x. The remaining narrative is still composite. The criteria already enumerated in 78x show that 14-17a belongs to J. In the formula 'Thus saith Yahweh . . . Behold I will smite,' Yahweh is obviously the subject of the verb cp 81. 20. 913 18 103, and it is plain from 20 that the writer conceived of Yahweh as himself smiting the river, with the result that the fish died 18 21, and the Egyptians could not drink the water. But if 17a belongs to J, the continuation must be drawn from another source, for Yahweh did not himself wield the rod. This can be no other than E cp 78x. This rod Moses has already been directed to take in his hand 15; with this he smote the waters in the River 20b, and they were turned to blood (ct 19 'become'). In combining the two narratives E has altered the pronoun 'thine' cp 922 1013 21 to 'mine,' as the verb (now assigned to Moses as subject) required the first person. The nature of the change in the river produced by Yahweh, according to J, is not stated. But there is nothing to imply that it consisted in conversion into blood. Nothing, indeed, need have happened to the water at all. Yahweh's power is sufficiently shown in the mysterious death of the fish, which would suffice to pollute the sacred stream, and render it undrinkable. Why, then, should E have united this story of J with the very different incident of E? Because J's reference to the transformation of the Nile waters belonged to another part of the cycle, and could not be utilized here. In 49 Moses is directed to convince his countrymen by taking water out of the river, and pouring it out on the dry soil, when it would become blood. Whether this was actually wrought among the signs which he did before them according to 49, is not stated. But it creates a presumption that J's view of the transaction was limited to a display of the power of Moses before Israel, when the water affected was not the whole river (E), still less every particle in the entire country (P), but only the contents of a vessel which could be emptied on the ground. In the process of compilation, however, these elements were no longer discriminated, and J's account of the death of the fish found its natural explanation in amalgamation with E's independent account of the change of the Nile-stream into blood before Pharaoh and his court. A final harmonistic effort 15 identified the 'rod of God' which was expressly given to Moses for the purpose of working the signs (E) 417 20b, with his own shepherd's staff (J) which had been turned into a snake 42. . .

14b M. ϕ *heavy*.

	J	E	JE	J	E	P	
q 2 ⁵ \S = brink			by the 'river's brink to 'meet him ; and the rod which was turned to a "serpent shalt thou take in thine hand.				l 183
r 3 ¹⁸			16 And thou shalt 'say unto him, Yahweh, the "God of the Hebrews,				m 87 ^c
s 8 ¹ 20 9 ¹ 13 10 ³			hath sent me unto thee, saying, 'Let my people go, that they may serve me in the wilderness: and, behold, "hitherto thou hast not hearkened.				n 222
t Gen 24 ¹⁴ Josh 310 \S			17 ^a "Thus saith Yahweh, 'In this thou shalt "know that I am Yahweh :				o 87 ^a
u 810 23 9 ¹⁴ 10 ³ cp 179 ^b			behold, I will smite 'the river 1 ^b with the rod that is in "mine [thine] hand upon the waters which are in the river, and they shall be 'turned to blood.				
v Ct 4 ⁹			18 And the fish that is in the river shall die, and the river shall "stink ; and the Egyptians shall 'loathe to drink water from the river.				
w 21 814							
z Cp Gen 19 ¹¹ \S							
y 85 ^a Is 14 ²³ al							
z \S = the gather- ing of their waters Gen 1 ¹⁰							
a' 17 ⁵			... 20 ^b And he lifted up the rod, and 'smote the waters that were in the river, in the sight of Pharaoh, and in the sight of his servants ; and all the waters that were in the river were "turned to blood. ... 21 ^a And the fish that was in the river died ; and the river "stank, and the Egyptians could not drink water from the river.			19 And Yahweh said unto Moses, Say unto 'Aaron, Take thy 'rod, and stretch out thine hand over the waters of Egypt, over their rivers, over their "streams, and over their "pools, and over all their 'ponds of water, that they may become blood ; and there shall be blood through- out all the "land of Egypt, both in vessels of wood and in vessels of stone. 21 ^a And Moses and Aaron 'did so, as Yahweh commanded ;	p 4 ^o
b' Cp 11						21 ^b and the blood was throughout all the land of Egypt. 22 And the b' magicians of Egypt did in like manner with their b' enchantments: and Pharaoh's heart "was 'hardened, and he "hearkened not unto them ; "as Yahweh had spoken.	
c' Cp 13							
d' 32 ¹⁵ op 10 ⁶			23 And Pharaoh d'turned and went into his house, neither did he "lay even this to heart.				i 194
e' Gen 21 ³⁰ 26 ¹⁸ ... cp 144			24 And all the Egyptians "dugged round about the river for water to drink ; for they could not drink of the water of the river. 25 And seven days were 'fulfilled, after that Yahweh had "smitten the river.				
f' Gen 25 ¹⁴							
g' Cp 17							

7¹⁵ M See 4³.19 M Or, canals.— \S = river 2³ 7¹⁵ 17.,17^b Cp 11¹⁸.22 M \S was strong.23 M \S set his heart even to this.—Ct 9²¹.

	J E	JE	J E P	
<p>1 [7⁸⁵ in §] a a 3¹⁸ § 9¹ 10¹ b b 20 7¹⁶ c 7^{17a} d 12²⁵ e 10¹⁴ 19 f 2-18 Pa 78⁴⁵ g 105²⁰⁴ h 7¹⁸ ct 5 i Cp 7¹⁵⁷ j Gen 43³⁰ § k Gen 47³¹ l Gen 15¹⁷ m 12²⁴ Dent n 28⁵ 17¹ o [81 in §] p 16 7¹⁹</p>		<p>8¹ And Yahweh said unto Moses, "Go in unto Pharaoh, and say unto him, "Thus saith Yahweh, "Let my people go, that they may serve me. 2 And if thou refuse to let them go, "behold, "I will "smite all thy "borders with "frogs: 3 and the "river shall "swarm with frogs, which shall go up and come into thine house, and into thy "bedchamber, and upon thy "bed, and into the house of thy servants, and upon thy people, and into thine "ovens, and into thy "kneadingtroughs: 4 and the frogs shall come up both upon thee, and upon thy people, and upon all thy servants".</p>		
<p>n 7¹¹</p>		<p>5 And Yahweh said unto Moses, "Say unto Aaron, Stretch forth thine hand with thy rod over the rivers, over the "streams, and over the pools, and cause frogs to come up upon the "land of Egypt. 6 And Aaron stretched out his hand over the waters of Egypt; and the frogs came up, and covered the "land of Egypt. 7 And the "magicians did in like manner with their enchantments, and brought up frogs upon the "land of Egypt.</p>		
<p>o § = remove 31 10¹⁷ cp 224^b p 25 12¹⁸ q § Hithpa" r Cp § 10²⁷ Gen s 30³⁰ Num t 14²⁷ u 23 29 9⁵ 10⁴</p>		<p>8 Then Pharaoh called for Moses and Aaron, and said, "Intreat Yahweh, that he "take away the frogs from me, and from my people; and I will let the people go, that they may "sacrifice unto Yahweh. 9 And Moses said unto Pharaoh, Have thou this "glory over me: against "what time shall I "intreat for thee, and for thy servants, and for thy people, that the frogs be destroyed from thee and thy houses, and remain in the "river "only? 10 And he said, Against "to-morrow. And he said, Be it "according to thy word: "that thou mayest know that there is none like unto Yahweh our God. 11 And the frogs shall "depart from thee, and from thy houses, and from thy servants, and from thy people; they shall remain in the river "only. 12 And Moses and Aaron went out from Pharaoh: and Moses "cried unto Yahweh "concerning the frogs "which he had brought upon Pharaoh. 13 And Yahweh did "according to the word of Moses; and the frogs died out of the houses, out of the courts, and out of the fields. 14 And they "gathered them together in "heaps: and the land "stank. 15 But when Pharaoh saw that there was "respite, he "hardened his heart.</p>		
<p>t 29 cp o § u Gen 12¹⁷ v Gen 41²⁵ 49⁴ w Cp Num 11³² x 7¹⁵ y Lam 3³⁶</p>				
<p>z 7¹³</p>		<p>15^b ["And Pharaoh's heart was hardened] and [he] "hearkened not unto them; as Yahweh had spoken. 16 And Yahweh said unto Moses, "Say unto Aaron, Stretch out thy rod, and smite the dust of the earth, that it may become "lice throughout all the "land of Egypt. 17 And they did so; and Aaron stretched out his hand with his rod, and smote the dust of the earth, and there were lice upon "man, and upon "beast; all the dust of the earth became lice throughout all the "land of Egypt. 18 And the "magicians did so with their enchantments to bring forth lice, but they could not: and there were lice upon "man, and upon beast. 19 Then the magicians said unto Pharaoh, This is the finger of God:</p>		

8¹ T spake. § as in 7¹⁴ 8³⁰ 9¹ 10¹ &c.

4 This announcement was no doubt followed in J by the description of the arrival of the frogs. But R has set this aside in favour of the corresponding extract from P. For 5-7 cp 7²⁸.

5 M. Or, *canals*.

10 This passage is one of a small group of parallel declarations 7^{17b} 8¹⁰ 22⁵ 9¹⁴⁻¹⁶ 29⁵ 10^{1b} 2, which are probably to be regarded as hortatory expansions designed to emphasize the religious lesson of the great conflict. The grounds for this view are in no single case decisive, but they acquire strength by mutual support. In each passage there is a more or less definite disturbance of the context, most clearly visible, perhaps, in 10^{1b} 2. In 8¹⁰ § has a slightly different form of words, 'that thou mayest know that there is no other save Yahweh' cp is 45¹⁴ 21 &c; similarly 22 'that thou mayest know that I am Yahweh the Lord (§⁴ God) of all the earth.' The relation of

these affirmations of the unqualified sovereignty of Yal to the history of Hebrew monotheism would involve inquiry which cannot be undertaken here: but it may be pointed out that the formula 'know that I am Yahweh' 7¹⁷ 10^{2b} coincides with the frequent phrase of P, e.g. 7³ cp 7^{170b}. Extremely elsewhere Deut 29⁶; Kings 20¹³ 28, unrepresented in the ex prophetic literature it suddenly becomes one of the catchwords of Ezekiel who employs it more than sixty times. Its occurrence in 7¹⁷ is rendered more suspicious by the contrast of the noun directly following (אֱלֹהִים for אֱלֹהִים). But cp Driver, Deut

12 M. Or, *as he had appointed unto Pharaoh*.

15a M. § *made heavy*.—Cp 7¹⁴.

15b The natural close of 5-7 (cp 7¹³ 22) would be 'And Pharaoh heart was strong (T hardened) and he hearkened not them' &c. R has removed the first words to join the second clause to the conclusion of J.

16 M. Or, *sand flies*. Or, *fleas*.

J

P

and Pharaoh's heart "was hardened, and he 'hearkened not unto them; as Yahweh had spoken.

a' 9¹³

20 a' And Yahweh said unto Moses, 'Rise up early in the morning, and 'stand before Pharaoh'; "lo, he cometh forth to the water; and say unto him, "Thus saith Yahweh, 'Let my people go, that they may serve me.

b' 21-21 Ps 78⁴⁵105³¹†

c' Cp 8 9 11 29 31

21 Else, if thou wilt not let my people go, behold, I will send b' swarms of flies' upon "thee, and upon thy servants, and upon thy people, and into thy houses: and the houses of the Egyptians shall be full of swarms of flies, and also the ground whereon they are. 22 And I will "sever 'in that day "the land of "Goshen, in which my people dwell, that "no swarms of flies shall be there; 'to the end thou mayest know that I am Yahweh in the midst of the earth. 23 And I will "put a division between my people and thy people: by 'to-morrow shall this sign be. 24 And Yahweh did so; and there came grievous swarms of flies into the house of Pharaoh, and into his servants' houses: and in all the land of Egypt the land was "corrupted by reason of the swarms of flies. 25 And Pharaoh called for Moses and for Aaron, and said, Go ye, 'sacrifice to your God in the land. 26 And Moses said, It is not "meet so to do; for we shall sacrifice the 'abomination of the Egyptians to Yahweh our God: lo, shall we sacrifice the abomination of the Egyptians before their eyes, and will they not "stone us? 27 We will 'go "three days' journey into the wilderness, and sacrifice to Yahweh our God, as he shall command us. 28 And Pharaoh said, I will let you go, that ye may sacrifice to Yahweh your God in the wilderness; only ye shall not go very 'far away: 'intreat for me. 29 And Moses said, Behold, I go out from thee, and I will 'intreat Yahweh that the swarms of flies may 'depart from 'Pharaoh, from his servants, and from his people, 'to-morrow: only let not Pharaoh deal "deceitfully 'any more in "not letting the people go to sacrifice to Yahweh. 30 And Moses went out from Pharaoh, and 'intreated Yahweh. 31 And Yahweh did 'according to the word of Moses; and he 'removed the swarms of flies from "Pharaoh, from his servants, and from his people; there "remained not one. 32 And Pharaoh "hardened his heart "this time also, and he did not let the people go.

d' 9⁴ 11⁷ 33¹⁶e' 9²⁶ Gen 45¹⁰

f' Cp 10b

g' 34² Cp Gen41³²h' Cp Gen 43²⁸i' 19¹³ Cp 21⁶j' 3¹⁶k' Cp Gen 21¹⁴l' Gen 31⁷m' Cp 11 6⁹n' 9¹⁴ Cp 6²a 8¹

9¹ Then Yahweh said unto Moses, "Go in unto Pharaoh, and tell him, "Thus saith Yahweh, the God of the Hebrews, "Let my people go, that they may serve me. 2 For if thou 'refuse to let them go, and wilt hold them 'still, 3 behold, the hand of Yahweh is upon thy 'cattle which is in the field, upon the 'horses, upon the asses, upon the 'camels, upon the 'herds, and upon the 'flocks: there shall be a very 'grievous "murrain. 4 And Yahweh shall "sever between the 'cattle of Israel and the cattle of Egypt: and there shall nothing die of all that belongeth to the children of Israel. 5 And Yahweh appointed a set time, saying, 'To-morrow Yahweh shall do this thing in the land. 6 And Yahweh did that thing on the morrow, and all the 'cattle of Egypt died: but of the cattle of the children of Israel died not one. 7 And Pharaoh sent, and, behold, there was not so much as one of the 'cattle of the Israelites dead. But the heart of Pharaoh was "stubborn, and he did not let the people go.

b 17 Gen 18²²c Cp 9¹⁷d Gen 47¹⁷e 18 5³f 8²²g 8¹⁰h Cp Lev 16¹²i Ezek 10² 7j 10 5¹

8 And Yahweh said unto Moses and unto Aaron, Take to you 'handfuls of "ashes of the furnace, and let Moses 'sprinkle it toward the heaven in the sight of Pharaoh. 9 And it shall 'become small dust over all the 'land of

j 200

k 214

l 143

m 39

n 61

o 86

p 123

a 87

b 68

c 18

d 16

e 33

f 78

g 148

h 27

i 4

8¹⁹ M. § was strong.—Cp 7¹³.

20 Cp the identical phrase in 7¹³ ('cometh forth' = 'goeth out' §). Its insertion here may possibly be a scribal supplement or the unconscious suggestion of memory. It is not repeated in 9¹³.

23 M. Or, set a sign of deliverance. § set redemption.—Is 50³ Ps 111⁹ 130⁷†.

24 M. Or, destroyed.

25 M. § made heavy.—Cp 15.

9⁷ § heavy.—Cp 7¹⁴.

8 M. Or, soot.

J E	P	
i 9-12 Lev 13 ¹⁸ . Deut 28 ²⁷ 35 ^a j Lev 13 ¹² k 9. 5†	Egypt, and shall be a 'boil 'breaking forth with 'blains upon man and upon beast, throughout all the land of Egypt. ¹⁰ And they took 'ashes of the furnace, and stood before Pharaoh; and Moses 'sprinkled it up toward heaven; and it became a boil breaking forth with blains upon man and upon beast. ¹¹ And the 'magicians could not stand before Moses because of the boils; for the boils were upon the magicians, and upon all the Egyptians. ¹² And 'Yahweh 'hardened the heart of Pharaoh, and he 'hearkened not unto them; as Yahweh had spoken unto Moses.	
l 7 ¹¹	¹³ And Yahweh said unto Moses, 'Rise up early in the morning, and 'stand before Pharaoh, and say unto him, 'Thus saith Yahweh, the God of the Hebrews, 'Let my people go, that they may serve me. ¹⁴ For I will 'this time send all my 'plagues upon thine heart, and upon thy servants, and upon thy people; 'that thou mayest 'know that there is none like me in all the earth. ¹⁵ For now I had put forth my hand, and smitten thee and thy people with 'pestilence, and thou hadst been 'cut off from the earth: ¹⁶ 'but in very deed 'for this cause have I made thee to stand, 'for to shew thee my power, and that my name may be 'declared throughout all the earth. ¹⁷ As 'yet 'exaltest thou thyself against my people, that thou wilt 'not let them go? ¹⁸ Behold, 'to-morrow 'about this time I will 'cause it to rain a very 'grievous hail, 'such as hath not been in Egypt since the day it was founded even until now.	j 200 k 214 l 221 m 71 n 219 o 61
o 820	¹⁹ Now therefore send, 'hasten in thy 'cattle and all that thou hast in the field; [for] every man and beast which shall be found in the field, and shall not be brought home, the hail shall come down upon them, and they shall die.	
p 822 q Cp 7 ¹⁹ 5 ^b r Cp 8 ¹⁰ s Cp Ex 23 ²³ t Gen 28 ¹⁹ u 5* Hithpo†	²⁰ He that feared the 'word of Yahweh among the servants of Pharaoh made his servants and his 'cattle flee into the houses: ²¹ and he that 'regarded not the 'word of Yahweh left his servants and his 'cattle in the field.	
r 810 w Josh 11 ⁶ x 23 ^b cp 19 ⁵ y 24 ^b 10 ¹⁴ 14 11 ⁶	²² And Yahweh said unto Moses, 'Stretch forth thine hand toward heaven, that there may be hail in all the land of Egypt, upon man, and upon beast, and upon every 'herb of the field, throughout the land of Egypt. ^{23a} And Moses 'stretched forth his 'rod toward heaven: and Yahweh sent thunder and hail, and fire ran down unto the earth.	p 46
z 5* cp Is 10 ³¹ Jer 4 ⁶ 61 Hiph†	^{23b} And Yahweh 'rained hail upon the land of Egypt,	
a' Cp Gen 15 ¹	^{24a} So there was hail, and fire 'mingled with the hail,	
b' Ct 7 ²³ 5	^{24b} very 'grievous, 'such as had not been in all the land of Egypt 'since it became a nation.	
c' 23 10 ¹² 21.	^{25a} and the hail smote throughout all the land of Egypt all that was in the field, both man and beast.	
d' 4 ¹⁷	^{25b} And the hail smote every 'herb of the field, and brake every tree of the field. ²⁶ Only in the land of 'Goshen, where the children of Israel were, was there no hail. ²⁷ And Pharaoh sent, and called for Moses and Aaron, and said unto them, 'I have sinned 'this time: Yahweh is righteous, and I and my people are wicked. ²⁸ 'Intreat Yahweh; for there hath	q 39 r 62
f' 10 ¹⁶ g' 8 ⁸		

9¹² M 5 made strong.—Cp 7¹³.
¹⁹ According to 9⁵ 'the cattle of Egypt' are already all dead, and in ^{25b}, consequently, the destructive effect of the hail is limited to trees and herbs. The prediction of the death of the cattle which should be exposed to the storm, must therefore be regarded as an editorial afterthought in reference to ^{25a}. The passage which follows ²⁰, seems in like manner to be an annotation, without any strict sequence, founded on the desire to mitigate the severity of the divine judgement in the case of pious heathen. On the phrase 'word of Yahweh' cp Gen 15¹.
²³ The announcement of the hail in ¹⁸ finds its natural consequence in ^{23b} cp 8²⁴ 10¹³, where the plagues arrive without any intervention on the part of Moses. The instruction to him to stretch out his hand, therefore, appears as a new feature. When it is further added 'that there may be hail on man and

upon beast throughout the land of Egypt,' it becomes plain that this passage cannot proceed from the writer of 9. For the general reasons for assigning it to E cp 7⁸. The phrase 'and upon every herb of the field' seems due to the harmonist, as it is used regularly by J cp 2^{1b}, whereas E writes 'herb of the land' 10¹³. In ^{25a} 'sent thunder and hail' is an obvious duplicate of J's 'rained hail'; the reference to 'fire' is resumed in ^{24a}, and ²³ finds its sequel in ²⁵. The source of ²¹ cannot be decided with certainty, and critics differ in their ascription. The explanation seems needless after the general statement of ^{25b}; on the other hand it may be said to prepare the way for 10¹³. And it is not out of harmony with E's general familiarity with matters Egyptian.

^{24a} M Or, *flashing continually amidst*.—5 Ezek 14†.

	J	E	JE	J	E	P
	been enough of [these] "mighty thunderings and hail; and I will let you go, and ye shall stay no longer. ²⁹ And Moses said unto him, As soon as I am gone out of the city, I will "spread abroad my hands" unto Yahweh; the thunders shall 'cease, neither shall there be any more hail; 'that thou mayest know that the earth is Yahweh's. ³⁰ But as for thee and thy servants, I know that ye will 'not yet fear Yahweh "God.					
k' 33 ^a Is. 1 ¹⁶	³¹ And the 'flax and the barley were smitten: for the barley was in the ear, and the flax "was bolled. ³² But the wheat and the 'spelt were not smitten: for they were not "grown up.					
i' Gen 11 ⁸	³³ And Moses went out of the city from Pharaoh, and "spread abroad his hands unto Yahweh: and the thunders and hail 'ceased, and the rain was not "poured upon the earth. ³⁴ And when Pharaoh saw that the rain and the hail and the thunders were 'ceased, he sinned yet more, and 'hardened his heart, he and his servants.					
i' Cp 810b	³⁵ And the heart of Pharaoh "was hardened, and he did not let the children of Israel go; "as Yahweh had spoken "by the hand of Moses.					
k' 5 Is 42 ⁸ 43 ¹⁷ †	10 ¹ And Yahweh said unto Moses, "Go in unto Pharaoh: "for I have "hardened his heart, and the heart of his servants, that I might "shew these "my signs in the "midst of them: ² and that thou mayest tell in the ears of "thy son, and of thy son's son, "what things I have "wrought upon Egypt, and "my signs which I have done among them; that ye may /know that I am Yahweh. ³ And Moses and Aaron went in unto Pharaoh, and said unto him, "Thus saith Yahweh, the God of the Hebrews, "How long wilt thou refuse to humble thyself before me? ⁴ let my people go, that they may serve me". ⁴ Else, if thou 'refuse to let my people go', behold, 'to-morrow will I bring locusts into thy border: ⁵ and they shall cover the 'face of the earth', that one shall not be able to see the earth: and they shall eat the residue of that which is 'escaped, which remaineth unto you from the hail, and shall eat every tree which 'groweth for you out of the field: ⁶ and thy houses shall be filled, and the houses of all thy servants, and the houses of all the Egyptians; as neither thy fathers nor thy fathers' fathers have seen, "since the day that they were upon the earth unto this day. And he "turned, and went out from Pharaoh. ⁷ And Pharaoh's servants said unto him, "How long shall this man be a snare unto us? ⁸ let the men go, that they may serve Yahweh their God: knowest thou 'not yet that Egypt is destroyed? ⁸ And Moses and Aaron were brought again unto Pharaoh: and he said unto them, Go, serve Yahweh your God: but who are they that shall go? ⁹ And Moses said, We will go with our young and with our old, with our sons and with our daughters, with our 'flocks and with our herds will we go; for we must hold a "feast unto Yahweh. ¹⁰ And he said unto them, So be Yahweh 'with you, as I will let you go, and your 'little ones: look to it; for evil is "before you. ¹¹ Not so: go now ye that are men, and serve Yahweh; for that is what ye desire. And they were "driven out from Pharaoh's presence.					
i' Is 28 ²⁵ Ezek 49†	¹² "And Yahweh said unto Moses, "Stretch out thine hand over the land					
m' 5†						
n' 5 ^a 2 Sam 21 ¹⁰ al						
a 81						
b Cp 7 ⁸						
c 30						
d Deut 4 ⁹						
e 5 Hithpa Num 22 ²⁹ †						
f 17 Deut 29 ⁸						
g 7 cp 8 ⁹						
h 7 ¹⁶						
i 810						
j 5 eye 15 Num 22 ⁸ 11†						
k Gen 32 ⁸						
l Gen 25						
m 9 ¹⁸						
n Gen 18 ²²						
o 5 ¹						
p 27 cp 14 ⁸						
q 13 21. 9 ³²						

9²⁸ M 5 voices (or thunderings) of God.—Cp Gen 30⁸. In these verses the editors may have incorporated some touches from E.

³⁰ Omitted by G, and possibly due to later redactional influence cp Gen 21¹⁷. ³¹ M Or, was in bloom.—5†.

³⁴ M 5 made heavy.—Cp 7¹⁴. ^{35a} M 5 was strong.—R may possibly here have assimilated E's phrase 'Yahweh made strong Pharaoh's heart' 10²⁰ 27, to P's formula 7¹³ (Dillm); but J E P all seem to use their formulae in both modes.

^{35b} Another indication of scribal influence. For the phrase 'by the hand of Moses' see 7^{18c}. ^{35c} T By Moses.

10^{1a} At this point the analogy of previous passages suggests that the command should run 'and say unto him' cp 8¹ 20⁹ 15, followed by a fresh divine warning. Only in one case 11⁴⁻⁵ does Moses, when already in the royal audience-chamber, utter Yahweh's intent without prior instruction. As the text stands, Moses is sent to Pharaoh for the first time in the narrative without a message, while an explanation of the divine purpose

is supplied instead in terms which seem to show affinities with Deuteronomic phraseology. The message, however, is obviously contained in 2-4. It is worthy of note that Sam here reads (after 2) 'and say unto him, Thus saith Yahweh . . . unto this day,' while it then appends 3-4 as in 5. This is an interesting if half attempt to restore the divine word to its usual place in J's scheme of narrative. The present arrangement seems due to two causes, (1) a dislocation of text caused by the insertion of 1b-2, and (2) the statement in the sequel 6 'he turned and went out from Pharaoh.' This was required for the subsequent development of the story. But it implied the presence of Moses before the king. To secure that, 3a seems to have been introduced; the editor forgetting that while he brought Moses and Aaron in to the audience, only Moses came out.

^{1b} M 5 made heavy.

² M Or, how I have mocked the Egyptians.

¹⁰ M Or, what ye purpose. 5 before your face.

¹² This passage precisely resembles 9³², and is assigned to E

J	E	JE	J	E	P
r 15b ct 46		of Egypt for the locusts, that they may come up upon the land of Egypt, and eat every 'herb of the land', even all that the hail hath left. 13 ^a And Moses stretched forth his 'rod over the land of Egypt,			
s 9 ²³		13 ^b And Yahweh brought an 'east wind upon the land all that day, and all the night; and when it was morning, the east wind brought the locusts,			
t 14 ²¹ cp Num 11 ²¹ ct Gen 41 ⁶		14 ^a and the locusts 'came up over all the land of Egypt,			
u 19 cp 4 82		14 ^b and [they] rested in all the 'borders of Egypt; 'very 'grievous were they; 'before them there were no such locusts as they, neither after them shall be such. 15 ^a For they covered the 'face of the whole earth, so that the land 'was darkened.			h 78
v 9 ⁴ 24b		15 ^b And they did eat every 'herb of the land, and all the fruit of the trees which the hail had left.			
w Cp 6 918 24b		...15 ^c And there remained not any green thing, either tree or 'herb of the field, through all the land of Egypt. 16 Then Pharaoh 'called for Moses and Aaron in 'haste; and he said, I have 'sinned against Yahweh your God, and against you. 17 Now therefore 'forgive, I pray thee, my sin only 'this once, and 'intreat Yahweh your God, that he may 'take away from me this death only. 18 And he went out from Pharaoh, and 'intreated Yahweh. 19 And Yahweh turned an exceeding strong 'west wind, which took up the locusts, and drove them into the Red Sea; 'there remained not one locust in all the 'border of Egypt.			i 46
x 5 ¹ Mic 3 ⁶ al		20 But Yahweh 'hardened Pharaoh's heart, and he did not let the children of Israel go.			j 43
y 24 88		21 And Yahweh said unto Moses, 'Stretch out thine hand toward heaven, that there may be darkness over the land of Egypt, 'even darkness which may be 'felt. 22 And Moses stretched forth his 'hand toward heaven; and there was a 'thick darkness in all the land of Egypt 'three days; 23 they saw not 'one another, neither rose any from his place for three days: 'but all the children of Israel had light in their dwellings.			k 62 l 48
z 9 ²⁷		24 'And Pharaoh 'called unto Moses, and said, Go ye, serve Yahweh; only let your 'flocks and your herds be 'stayed: let your 'little ones also go with you. 25 'And Moses said, Thou must also give into our hand 'sacrifices and burnt offerings', that we may 'sacrifice unto Yahweh our God. 26 Our 'cattle also shall go with us; there shall not an hoof be 'left behind; for thereof must we take to serve Yahweh our God; and we know not with what we must serve Yahweh, until we come thither.			m 69
a' Cp Gen 50 ¹⁷		27 But Yahweh 'hardened Pharaoh's heart, and he would not let them go.			
b' 88		28 And Pharaoh said unto him, Get thee from me, 'take heed to thyself, see my face no more; for in the day thou seest my face thou shalt die.			n 119 ^a
c' Cp 15b		29 And Moses said, Thou hast spoken well; I will see thy face again no more.			
d' Cp Gen 31 ³⁴		11 ¹ 'And Yahweh said unto Moses, Yet one 'plague more will I bring upon Pharaoh, and upon Egypt; afterwards he will let you go hence: 'when he shall let you go, he shall surely 'thrust you out hence 'altogether. 2 'Speak now in the ears of the people, and let them ask 'every man of his neighbour, and every woman of her neighbour, jewels of silver, and jewels of gold. 3 And Yahweh 'gave the people favour in			o 74
e' Dent 28 ²⁹					p 18
f' Gen 40 ¹² 19 42 ¹⁷					
g' Cp 18 ¹² h' 31 ⁶					
h' 31 ⁶					
i' Gen 24 ⁶					
j' Gen 12 ¹⁷					
k' Gen 18 ²¹ l' 37 ¹					a 119 ^b b 31 ^b

for the same reasons. In 13-15 the two narratives are combined, but they can be disentangled without difficulty. 13^b carries out the next morning the threat of 4 ('to-morrow will I bring'); 14^a 16^b reproduce the language of 13; while 14^b 15^a are founded on phrases in 6 and 5. The conclusion in 30 follows the type of E.

10¹⁴ T went. 5 as in 12.

20 M 5 made strong.—Cp 9²⁵ 10²⁷.

21 M Or, so that men shall grope in darkness.

22 Perhaps originally his 'rod' cp 13 9²³.

23 This clause may be the explanatory note of a later scribal editor; for 'dwellings' cp 25². 27 M 5 made strong.—Cp 10.

11^{1a} The preparations for departure indicated in 1-3 (in conformity with 32¹) obviously interrupt the account of the last interview of Moses with Pharaoh. At the close of the final warning 4-8 he leaves the palace, intending never to see the king again 10²⁹. The intervening verses 1-3 are therefore assigned to E, and are in conformity with his representation of the residence of the Israelites among the Egyptian people. The 'one plague more' is the destruction of the firstborn, which E no doubt related, though his account has been set aside in favour of J and P.

1^b M Or, when he shall let you go altogether, he shall utterly thrust you out hence.

	J E	JE	J E P
c Num 12 ³		the sight of the Egyptians. Moreover the 'man Moses was very great in the land of Egypt, in the sight of Pharaoh's servants, and in the sight of the people.	
f Ps 110 ⁶² Job 34 ³⁰ 12 ²⁹ 12 ²⁹ 12 ²⁹		⁴ And Moses said, 'Thus saith Yahweh, About 'midnight will I go out into the midst of Egypt: ⁵ and all the firstborn in the land of Egypt shall die, from the firstborn of Pharaoh that sitteth upon his throne, even unto the firstborn of the 'maidservant that is behind the 'mill; 'and all the firstborn of cattle. ⁶ And there shall be a great 'cry throughout all the land of Egypt, 'such as there hath been none like it, nor shall be like it any more. ⁷ But against any of the children of Israel shall not a dog 'move his tongue, against man or beast: 'that ye may know how that Yahweh doth 'put a difference between the Egyptians and Israel. ⁸ And all these thy servants shall come down unto me, and bow down themselves unto me, saying, Get thee out, and all the people that follow thee: and after that I will go out. And he went out from Pharaoh in 'hot anger.	c 87 ²
g Num 11 ⁸			d 41
A 9 ¹⁸			e 23
i Ct 822			
j 822			
k Deut 29 ²³ cp 233 9 1 ⁷		⁹ 'And Yahweh said unto Moses, Pharaoh will not hearken unto you: that my 'wonders may be multiplied in the land of Egypt. ¹⁰ And Moses and Aaron did all these wonders before Pharaoh: and Yahweh 'hardened Pharaoh's heart, and he did not let the children of Israel go out of his land.	
l 13 L qdd		¹² ¹² And Yahweh 'spake unto Moses and Aaron in the land of Egypt, 'saying, ² This month shall be unto you the beginning of months: it shall be 'the 'first month of the year to you. ³ 'Speak ye unto all the 'congregation of Israel, 'saying, In the 'tenth [day] of this month they shall take to them every man a 'lamb, 'according to their fathers' houses, a lamb for an household: ⁴ and if the household be too 'little for a lamb, then shall he and his neighbour next unto his house take one according to the 'number of the 'souls; 'according to every man's eating ye shall 'make your count ^b for the lamb. ⁵ Your lamb shall be 'without blemish, a male of the 'first year: ye shall take it from the sheep, or from the goats: ⁶ and 'ye shall 'keep it up until the 'fourteenth day of the same month: and the whole 'assembly of the 'congregation of Israel shall 'kill it 'at 'even. ⁷ And they shall take of the blood, and put it on the two side posts and on the 'lintel, upon the houses wherein they shall eat it. ⁸ And they shall eat the flesh in that night, 'roast with fire, and unleavened bread; with 'bitter herbs they shall eat it. ⁹ Eat not of it 'raw, nor 'sodden at all with water, but 'roast with fire; its head with its 'legs and with the inwards thereof. ¹⁰ And ye shall 'let nothing of it remain until the morning; but that which remaineth of it until the morning ye shall burn with fire. ¹¹ And thus shall ye eat it; with your loins girded, your shoes on your feet, and your staff in your hand: and ye shall eat it in 'haste: it is Yahweh's passover. ¹² 'For I will go through the 'land of Egypt in that night, and will smite all the firstborn in the 'land of Egypt, both man and beast; and against all the gods of Egypt I will execute 'judgements: 'I am Yahweh. ¹³ And the blood shall 'be to you for a token upon the houses where ye are: and when I see the blood, I will 'pass over you, and there shall no 'plague be upon you 'to destroy you, when I smite the 'land of Egypt.	a 185 ^a
a 18 40 ³ 17 Lev 23 ⁶ Num 9 ¹ 28 ¹⁶ 33 ³			b 183
b 9†			c 185 ^b
c 9 it shall be to you for a charge			d 45
d 22. 9†			e 18
e 8. Is 44 ^{26†}			f 105
f Num 9 ¹¹ Lam 3 ^{14†}			g 116
g Num 6 ^{19†} ct Deut 16 ⁷ 9			h 146
h 29 ¹⁷ Lev 1 ⁹			i 19 ^b
i Lev 22 ³⁰			j 123
j Deut 16 ⁸ Is 52 ^{12†}			k 119
k 22 27 9 Is 32 ^{5†}			l 39 ^a
l 20 L 99 ^h			m 24 ^b
l Lev 23 ³⁹ 41			n 100
l Num 29 ¹² ct			o 32
l Ex 5 ¹ 23 ¹⁴			
l Deut 16 ³⁵ 9 ^a			p 4 ^c
		¹⁴ ¹² And this day shall 'be unto you for a 'memorial, and ye shall 'keep it a feast to	q 99
			r 179 ^a
			s 27
			t 125 ^a
			u 113

11³ Probably a late editorial addition. The 'cattle' of Egypt (117c) had already been killed 9^a; the term here employed 'beast' as in 13¹² 16 suggests the presence of the harmonizer, anxious to find a basis for legal usage in the sacred tradition.

⁷ M. 9 whet.—Cp Josh 10²¹.
⁹ This seems to be the editorial close of the narrative of the plagues, prior to the destruction of the firstborn.

¹⁰ M. 9 made strong.
¹² The institution of the Passover according to P^a: ct Deut 16¹⁻⁸. The legislation of P is sometimes conceived as conveyed to the children of Israel through Moses and Aaron conjointly; more often through Moses alone; very rarely through Aaron alone, e.g. Num 18¹ 8. The sequel of the narrative relating the destruction of the firstborn cp 12. has been suppressed in favour of J 29. .

³ M Or, kid.

⁶ M. 9 between the two evenings.
¹² Driver, LOT⁶ 151, allots 12. to P^b (cp Introd XIII 87 i 143). No doubt the formula with which 12 closes is used repeatedly in P^b: but there seems no other strong indication in its favour. The rest of the language bears numerous traces of affinity with P^a ('judgements' 'be for a token' 'plague').

¹³ M Or, for a destroyer.—Ct 22.
¹⁴ In this passage the previous instructions for a particular crisis are converted into a perpetual institution. Other instances of the same kind are probably to be traced elsewhere. The permanent law may be viewed as secondary, compared with the original occasion. P's account of the smiting of the firstborn has apparently been omitted in favour of J's 29.; it may have been withdrawn at this point to make room for the legislative ordinances in the following sections 14-20 21-27.

J

P

m Lev 21² 26⁶
Josh 22²⁶ 5
cp Ex 5⁵ Deut
32²⁸

Yahweh: 'throughout your generations ye shall 'keep it a feast by an 'ordinance for ever.
15 Seven days shall ye eat unleavened bread; even the first day ye shall 'put away
leaven out of your houses: for whosoever eateth leavened bread from the first day until
the seventh day, that 'soul shall be 'cut off from Israel. 16 And in the first day there
shall be to you an 'holy convocation, and in the seventh day an holy convocation; no
manner of 'work shall be done in them, save that which every 'man must eat, that only
may be done of you. 17 And ye shall observe the [feast of] unleavened bread; for in this
'selfsame day have I brought your 'hosts out of the 'land of Egypt: therefore shall ye
observe this day 'throughout your generations by an 'ordinance for ever. 18 In the 'first
[month], on the 'fourteenth day of the month at even, ye shall eat unleavened bread,
until the one and twentieth day of the month at even. 19 Seven days shall there be
no leaven found in your houses: for whosoever eateth 'that which is leavened, that 'soul
shall be 'cut off from the 'congregation of Israel, 'whether he be a sojourner, 'or one that
is 'born in the land. 20 Ye shall eat nothing 'bleavened; 'in all your habitations shall ye
eat unleavened bread.

v 76^b
w 62^a
x 50
y 89
z 177^a
a' 12⁸
b' 92
c' 35
d' 34
e' 55

21-27 Lgda
n Cp 718
o Cp 6
p 5^a ct 2 Sam
225 al
q Lev 14⁴ Num
19⁶
r Gen 37³¹ Lev
4⁶
s 5^a : Kings
780
t Ct 7 425 Gen
2812 Lev 57^a
u 27 82 ct 12 5
r 2 Sam 24¹⁶ ct 13
w Cp 283^b
x Cp 701
y Gen 12⁷ cp
266^a
z Cp 291
a' 13⁵ ct 140
b' 5 = sons 13¹⁴

21 And Moses called for all the 'elders of Israel, and said unto them,
'Draw out, and take you 'lambs 'according to your families, and 'kill the passover. 22 And ye
shall take a 'bunch of 'hyssop, and 'dip it in the blood that is in the 'bason, and 'strike the 'lintel
and the two side posts with the blood that is in the bason; and none of you shall go out of the door
of his house until the morning. 23 For Yahweh will pass through to 'smite the Egyptians; and
when he seeth the blood upon the 'lintel, and on the two side posts, Yahweh will 'pass over the
door, and will not 'suffer the 'destroyer to come in unto your houses to 'smite you.

24 And ye shall observe this thing for an 'ordinance to thee and to thy sons 'for ever.

25 And 'it shall come to pass, 'when ye be come to the land which Yahweh will 'give you, 'according
as he hath promised, that ye shall keep this 'service. 26 And 'it shall come to pass, when your
'children shall say unto you, What mean ye by this 'service? 27a that ye shall say, It is the
sacrifice of Yahweh's passover, 'who 'passed over the houses of the children of Israel in Egypt,
when he 'smote the Egyptians, and delitered our houses.

27b And the people 'bowed the head and worshipped^b.

28 And the children of Israel went and did so; 'as Yahweh had commanded
Moses and Aaron, so did they^b . . .

29 And it came to pass at 'midnight, that Yahweh 'smote all the
firstborn in the land of Egypt, 'from the firstborn of Pharaoh that sat
on his throne unto the firstborn of the captive that was in the dungeon;
'and all the firstborn of cattle. 30 And Pharaoh rose up in the night, he,
and all his servants, and all the Egyptians; and there was a great 'cry
in Egypt; for there was not a house where there was not one dead.
31 And he called for 'Moses and Aaron by night, and said, 'Rise up, get
you forth from among my people, 'both ye and the children of Israel;
and go, 'serve Yahweh, as ye have said. 32 Take 'both your 'flocks
and your herds, as ye have said, and be gone; and 'bless me 'also.
33 And the Egyptians were urgent upon the people, to send them out of
the land in 'haste; for they said, We be all dead men. 34 And the
people took their dough 'before it 'was leavened, their 'kneadingtroughs
being bound up in their 'clothes upon their shoulders.

35 And the children of Israel did 'according to the word of Moses; and
they 'asked of the Egyptians jewels of silver, and jewels of gold, and
'raiment: 36 'and Yahweh gave the people favour in the sight of the

f' 151
g' 118
h' 12^b
i' 189
j' 23
k' 128
l' 11
m' 33
n' 126
o' 43
p' 6
q' 161
r' 2

1231a T Then. In 21-27 there are traces of different hands
blended into one editorial complex. The opening and closing
formulae seem to belong to J cp 316 420 51; and much of 21b-23
may also be due to him (ct 2² and 7), though it may be questioned
how far the implication that the Israelites were mixed up with
the Egyptians can be ascribed to the original J who places
them apart in Goshen. But several touches are best explained
by later editorial redaction, as 'according to your families' 21,
and some of the detail and repetition in 22; on the other
hand 'the destroyer' 23 seems here an agent as in 2 Sam 24¹⁶.
24 appears to belong to P as the close of 14-20. With the
forms of 25-27a cp 13⁵ 8 10 14 Deut 6⁵ &c; and for the entire
passage Deut 161-4. The absence of any reference to the
sprinkling of the blood in D has led some critics to ascribe

the whole ordinance as here enjoined to a later date. D, how-
ever, forbids the slaughter of the passover in the homestead,
and transfers it to the central sanctuary, where the threshold
ritual was no longer appropriate.

21b M Or, go forth.

27 M Or, for that he passed.

28 The sequel of the commands for immediate action 1-12.

31 This passage has been sometimes deemed inconsistent with
the declaration of Moses 10²⁹ that he would not see Pharaoh
again. But there is a difference between seeking an audience
to demand leave to depart or to threaten chastisement, and
response to the urgent summons of the stricken king.

35 These verses seem to be an editorial addition founded on
32² and 11². The last words of 36 may possibly be original.

J	E	JE	J	E	P
		<i>Egyptians, so that they let them have what they asked. And they spoiled the Egyptians.</i>			
1 ^o Cp 3 ²²		37 And the children of Israel journeyed from ^m Rameses to Succoth,			
m ^o 11		about ^{six} hundred thousand on foot that were ^m men, beside ^v children.	s'	52	
n ^o 1011		38 And a ^v mixed multitude went up ^{also} with them; and ^m flocks, and	t'	78	
o ^o Neh 13 ³ et		herds, even very ^m much ^v cattle. 39 And they baked unleavened ^v cakes	u'	18	
Lev 13 ⁴² -1		of the dough which they brought forth out of Egypt, for it was not			
2 ^o Gen 18 ⁶		leavened; because they were ^v thrust out of Egypt, and could not ^v tarry,	v'	172	
q ^o 61 §		^v neither had they prepared for themselves any ^v victual.			
2 ^o Gen 19 ¹⁶ §					
r ^o § dwelling ...		40 ^v Now the ^v sojourning of the children of Israel, which they sojourned in Egypt, was four hundred			
which they		and thirty years. 41 And it came to pass at the end of four hundred and thirty years, even the ^v selfsame			
dwelt at 145		day it came to pass, that all the ^v hosts of Yahweh went out from the land of Egypt. 42 It is ^v a ^v night	w'	188 ^c	
1 ^o §†		to be much observed ^v unto Yahweh for bringing them out from the land of Egypt: ^v " ^v this is that night of			
42-44 Lpd:		Yahweh, to be much observed of all the children of Israel ^v throughout their generations.	x'	188 ^b	
43 Lpd ⁿ		43 ^v And Yahweh said unto Moses and Aaron, ^v "This is the ordinance of the	y'	154	
		passover: there shall no ^v alien eat thereof: 44 but every man's servant that	x'	36	
		is ^v "bought for money, when thou hast ^v "circumcised him, then shall he eat	a"	40	
45 Lpd:		thereof. 45 ^v A ^v sojourner and an hired servant shall not eat thereof. 46 In	b"	144	
		one house shall it be eaten; thou shalt not carry forth aught of the flesh			
46 Lpd:		abroad out of the house; neither shall ye break a bone thereof. 47 All the			
47 Cp 145 ^b		^v congregation of Israel shall ^v keep it. 48 ^v And when a ^v stranger shall sojourn	c'	107 ^c	
		with thee, and will keep the passover to Yahweh, let ^v "all his males be	d"	166	
		circumcised, and then let him come near and keep it; and he shall be as one	e'	145 ^b	
		that is ^v "born in the land: but no ^v "uncircumcised person shall eat thereof.	f"	22	
		49 One law shall be to him that is ^v "homeborn, and unto the ^v stranger that			
		sojourneth ^v "among you. 50 ^v Thus did all the children of Israel; as Yahweh			
		commanded Moses and Aaron, ^v so did they. 51 And it came to pass the ^v selfsame day,	a	185 ^a	
		that Yahweh did bring the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt by their ^v hosts.	b	86 ^c	
		13 ¹ ^v And Yahweh ^v spake unto Moses, ^v saying, ^v "Sanctify unto me ^v all the	c	35	
		firstborn, whatsoever openeth the womb among the children of Israel ^a , ^v both			
		of man ^v and of beast: it is mine.			
1. 18 ^a id/		3 ^v And Moses said unto the people, ^v Remember this day, in which ye came			
a C. Num 31 ²		out from Egypt, out of the ^v house of ^v bondage; for by ^v strength of hand Yahweh			
1815 et 12 34 ¹⁹		^v brought you out from this place: there shall no leavened bread be eaten. 4 This			
8-10 Lpd:		day ye ^v go forth in the ^v month Abib ^v . 5 And it ^v shall be when Yahweh	d	3 ^b	
b 20 ⁶ Deut 24 ⁹		^v bring thee into the land of the ^v Canaanite, and the Hittite, and the			
25 ¹⁷ § op 297		^v Amorite, and the Hivite, and the Jebusite, ^v which he ^v swore unto thy fathers	e	217	
c Cp 20 ¹		to give thee, a ^v land ^v flowing with milk and honey, that thou shalt keep this	f	34	
d Cp 280 ^c		^v service in this month. 6 ^v Seven days thou shalt eat unleavened bread,			
e 14 ¹⁶ op 297 ^b		and in the seventh day shall be a ^v feast to Yahweh. 7 ^v Unleavened			
f 23 ¹⁵ 34 ¹⁸ Deut		bread shall be eaten throughout the seven days; and there shall no leavened			
161 ⁷					
g Deut 610					
h 3 ⁹					
i Cp 2107					
j Cp 269 ^a					
k 12 ²⁸					
l 34 ¹³					
m 10 ⁹ 34 ¹⁸ et 12 ¹⁶					
n 120 ⁸					

12²⁷ Cp Num 11²¹. It is however possible that the number is due to the harmonist, bringing the story into accord with the detailed scheme of P.

40 These verses seem to be a later insertion in P. The date in 40 cannot be harmonized with the genealogical representations in 61³, according to which the Exodus took place in the fourth generation from Jacob. The efforts made to overcome the difficulty in the Greek and Samaritan texts, as well as elsewhere, show what continuous attention was bestowed upon the passage.

42^a M Or, a night of watching unto Yahweh.—Budde, Bacon, Nowack (*Heb Archäol* ii 149) assign 42^a to J.

43^b M Or, this same night is a night of watching unto Yahweh for all etc. 47 M § do it.

13^a The analysis of 3-16 presents many difficulties as the passage seems to have passed under successive revisions, receiving addition after addition from fresh hands. The complexity of the linguistic phenomena is partly exhibited in the margins, where traces of JE, D, and P, will all be found. The basis of the whole passage may be confidently assigned to J, but it is not easy to determine his precise share in its present form. The parallels with D in 3 make it probable that the

original address of Moses began in 4, and the basis of 4-6 may be ascribed to J (in 8 'because' *בְּכַל* pleads strongly for J, as it is nowhere used by D). It is probable, however, that the passage has been amplified from a simpler original, the nucleus of which is found in 4⁶. The phraseology in 5 is of a secondary type: 7. shows rather the style of a hortatory expander, anxious to supply a historical basis for an ancient institution, originally ordained in J's covenant-words Ex 34¹⁸. But in 9 (cp 18) the phraseology of D is again prominent, yet with a difference; the phrases 'be for a sign and a memorial' point to P, and the remarkable expression concerning 'the law of Yahweh' which occurs nowhere else in the *Hex*, points to a very late type of phraseology, having its true analogue not in the only two passages where the words occur in the prophetic canon, but in still later books Exr 7¹⁰ Neh 9³ 10²⁹ 2 Chron 12¹ 17⁹ 34¹⁴ (signs of still further addition may be seen in 9⁸ 'Yahweh God,' 11 'Yahweh thy God'). In 11 the style of 5 is again prominent, introducing 12, the greater part of which is borrowed from 34¹⁹, the remarkable word 'cause to pass over' probably indicating the later adaptation. The work of the amplifier is manifest again in 14-16, perhaps on a basis of J cp 15.

5^b M § bondmen.

	J	JE	E	P	
i' Num 14 ¹⁴	... ²¹ And Yahweh 'went before them				
j' Gen 24 ⁴⁸ § ct 17	by day in a "pillar of cloud, to 'lead				
k' ⑥ omits	them the way; and by night in a				
	pillar of fire 'to give them light; that				
	they might go by day and by night:				
l' Cp 33 ¹¹ Hiph Num 14 ⁴⁴ Josh 18 Qal ¹⁰	²² "the pillar of cloud by day, and				
	the pillar of fire by night, "departed				
	not from before the people.				
m Ezek 46 ²⁴ cp 122					14 ¹ And Yahweh 'spake unto Moses, a 185 ^a
n Joel 1 ¹⁸ Keth 3 ¹⁶ †					saying, ² 'Speak unto the children of b 185 ^b
o 17. Lev 10 ³⁰ ct 27 ⁸					Israel, that they turn back and encamp
p 17 § = army ⁹					before Pi-hahiroth, between Migdol and
					the sea, before Baal-zephon: "over against
					it shall ye encamp by the sea. ³ And
					Pharaoh will say of the children of
					Israel, They are 'entangled in the land,
					the wilderness hath shut them in. ⁴ And
					I will "harden Pharaoh's heart, and he
					shall 'pursue after them; and I will 'get
					me honour upon Pharaoh, and upon all
					his 'host; and the Egyptians shall 'know c 179 ^b
					that I am Yahweh. And they did so.
					d 218 ^b
					e 158
					f 146 ^d
q Gen 46 ²⁰	⁵ And 'it was told the king of Egypt				
	that the people were 'fled: and the				
	heart of Pharaoh and of his servants				
	was changed towards the people, and				
	they said, 'What is this we have				
	done, that we have let Israel go				
	from serving us? ⁶ And he 'made				
	ready his "chariot, and took his				
	people with him:				
	... ⁷ "And he took six hundred chosen				
r 15 ⁴	chariots, and all the chariots of Egypt,				
	and 'scaptains over all of them.				
s Num 15 ³⁰ 33 ²⁴ †					⁸ And Yahweh "hardened the heart of
					Pharaoh king of Egypt, and he pursued
					after the children of Israel: for the
					children of Israel went out "with an
					high hand.
					^{9a} "And the Egyptians pursued after
					them,
					^{9b} all the horses [and] chariots of Pharaoh, and
					his horsemen, and his army, and overtook

13²¹ Three representations of the divine presence in the cloud are to be found in the Hexateuch. In P it covers the Dwelling at its consecration Ex 40³⁴. Num 9¹⁵., and remains over the Tent of Meeting until it is time for the camp to be moved, when it is taken up. A second set of passages also connects it with the Tent of Meeting, but places it at the entrance, where it comes down in the form of a pillar and remains in converse with Moses Ex 33⁷. Num 12⁵ cp Deut 31¹⁵: reasons will be given hereafter for ascribing these to E. But in the text ²¹ nothing has yet been said of any sanctuary; the pillar with its twofold aspect by day or night serves another function, that of guidance and protection. In 14¹⁹ two symbols, the angel of Elohim, and the pillar, have been combined by R. As the 'angel of Elohim' naturally belongs to E, the guardian pillar must be regarded as the equivalent in J. The words in 13²¹ 'to give them light...' are not found in ⑥, and are probably an explanatory gloss.

²² M Or, he took not away the pillar of cloud by day, nor the dc.

14^{1a} M ⑥ make strong.—Cp 8¹⁷ 9¹².

^{4b} So 8²² §. T follow. Ct 10^a.

⁶ M Or, chariots.

⁷ After Pharaoh has already collected his forces in ⁶, the statement that he took six hundred chosen chariots can hardly proceed from the same writer. The words *and all the chariots of Egypt* are again incongruous with ^{1a}. ⑥ reads 'and all the horse': if this reading be adopted, the two terms harmonize with Josh 24⁶: if the § text be retained, the words must be treated as a gloss, or allotted to J (interpreting 'chariot' in ⁶ as singular).

⁸ M ⑥ made strong.

⁹ The first words of this verse only repeat the statement of ⁸, and may belong to E cp Josh 24^{6b}. In the dislocated order which follows, 'and overtook them encamping by the sea all the horses chariots of Pharaoh and his horsemen and his army beside Pi-hahiroth' there is evidence of some confusion of the text probably due to imperfect amalgamation of materials: E probably had a reference to the 'horses, chariots, and army' cp Deut 11⁴.

	J	JE	E	P	
A Gen 12 ¹¹ et P ¹¹⁸	10 ^a And when Pharaoh ¹ drew nigh, the children of Israel ² lifted up their eyes, and, behold, the Egyptians ³ marched after them; and they were sore afraid.			them encamping by the sea, beside Pi- hahiroth, before Baal-zephon.	s 176 ^a
i Ct 9 cp Num 10 ²⁹ 5	... 10 ^b ⁴ and the children of Israel ⁵ cried out unto Yahweh.				h 141
	11 And they said unto Moses, Because there were no graves in Egypt, hast thou taken us away to die in the wilderness? ⁶ wherefore hast thou dealt thus with us, to bring us forth out of Egypt? 12 Is not this the word that we ⁷ spake unto thee in Egypt, saying, Let us alone, that we may serve the Egyptians? For it were better for us to serve the Egyptians, than that we should die in the wilderness. 13 And Moses said unto the people, ⁸ Fear ye not, ⁹ stand still, and see the salvation of Yahweh, which he will ¹⁰ work for you to-day: ¹¹ for the Egyptians whom ye have seen to-day, ye shall see them again no ¹² more for ever.				i Ct P ¹⁸⁵
j 28 cp P ⁴⁵ Gen 24 ²¹	14 Yahweh ¹³ shall ¹⁴ fight for you, and ye shall ¹⁵ hold your peace.				j 154 k 214 l 146 ^a
	... 15 ^a ¹⁶ And Yahweh said unto Moses, Wherefore ¹⁷ criest thou unto me?			15 ^b [¹⁸ And Yahweh spake unto Moses, saying] ¹⁹ speak unto the children of Israel, that they go forward,	m 193 n 156
i 21a 26 cp 7 ¹⁹ 8 ⁵ m Cp 21c 22	... 16 ^a And lift thou up thy rod, . . .			16 ^b and ²⁰ stretch out thine hand over the sea, and ²¹ divide it: and the children of Israel shall go into the midst of the sea on dry ground ^m . 17 And ²² I, behold, I will ²³ harden the hearts of the Egyptians, and they shall go in after them: and I will ²⁴ get me honour upon Pharaoh, and upon all his ²⁵ host, upon his chariots, and upon his horsemen. 18 And the Egyptians shall ²⁶ know that I am Yahweh, when I have ²⁷ gotten me honour upon Pharaoh, upon his chariots, and upon his horsemen.	o 24 ^b
	19 ^a ²⁸ And the ²⁹ angel of God, which				p 27

14^{10b} In J the Israelites expostulate with Moses; with 11 cp 17² Num 14³ Ex 5¹⁵. According to Josh 24⁷ they cried to Yahweh; this passage, therefore, is assigned to E.

15 M Or, for whereas ye have seen the Egyptians to-day.

15^a The existing narrative contains no appeal from Moses to Yahweh unless it is implied in 10^b. But a later passage 17⁴ contains a similar incident, assigned with much probability to E; and the indication that E has been employed immediately after 'and lift thou up thy rod' cp 4¹⁷ justifies the attribution of these words to the same source.

15^b E has perhaps removed the words usually preceding the

formula 'speak unto the children of Israel' 1. cp 25² 31¹³ Lev 4² 7²⁸ &c.

17 M & make strong.

19 Cp 13²¹. That this verse is composite can hardly be doubted; but the relation between the two clauses indicated by the word 'removed' (H = 'marched' 10, 'took their journey' 13²⁰) is curious. In 20 the division is doubtful, partly owing to difficulties in the text (cp Dillm). As the pillar has taken up its stand in 19^b, the description of the movement in 20^a seems best to follow 19^a making 'the angel' the subject of 'came'; Josh 24⁷ further implies that E recorded a 'darkness' (though & is not

	J	JE	E	P	
n Ct 13 ²¹		went "before the camp of Israel, removed and went behind them;			
o 13 ²¹ .		19 ^b And the "pillar of cloud removed from before them, and stood behind them:			
		20 ^a and "came between the camp of Egypt and the camp of Israel; and there was the cloud and the darkness, . . .			
		20 ^b yet gave it light by "night: and the one came not near the other all the night.			q 236
p Cp 10 ¹³ 13 ¹⁷		21 ^b And Yahweh caused the sea to go [back] by a strong "east wind all the "night, and made the sea "dry land, . . .			
q 25 Ct 16 ^b					
r 16 ^b op Gen 7 ¹¹					
s Cp 17 28					
t 5 = camp 20 ot 4 17 23		24 ^a And it came to pass in the "morning watch, that Yahweh "looked forth upon the "host of the Egyptians through the "pillar of fire and of cloud,		21 ^a and the waters were "divided. 22 And the children of Israel went into the midst of the sea upon the dry ground: and the waters were a wall unto them on their right hand, and on their left. 23 And the Egyptians pursued, and "went in after them into the midst of the sea, all Pharaoh's horses, his chariots, and his horsemen.	r 54
u 23 ²⁷ Deut 2 ¹⁵ op 7 ²³ Josh 10 ¹⁰		24 ^b "And he "discomfited the "host of the Egyptians.			
v Gen 41 ⁴³ 46 ²⁹		25 and he "took off their "chariot wheels, "that they drave them "heavily: so that the Egyptians said, Let us "flee from the face of Israel; for Yahweh "fighteth for them against the Egyptians.			
w 5 ¹ op 78				26 And Yahweh said unto Moses, "Stretch out thine hand over the sea, that the waters may come again upon the Egyptians, upon their chariots, and upon their horsemen. 27 ^a And Moses "stretched forth his hand over the sea,	
x Cp Gen 24 ⁶³		27 ^b And the sea returned to its "strength "when the morning "appeared; and the Egyptians "fled "against it; and Yahweh "overthrew the Egyptians in the midst of the sea;			s 183
y Cp 25					

the same). If the text in 20^b is correct, the mention of 'light' suggests J's pillar of fire: but 5 has 'and the night passed.'

14²⁰ T it came.

24^b The fragments of E are difficult to recover, and critical certainty here is impossible. But 24^b and 25^a are probably from different hands. One writer simply records the overthrow of the host of Egypt (5 = 'camp of Egypt' 20^a), the other describes the agency employed. 25^b seems in the manner of J who frequently draws attention to the means adopted by Yahweh, while

24^b is in the conciser style of E. The linguistic marks confirm this partition.

25^a M Some ancient versions read, *bound*.—5 224^b.

25^b M Or, *and made them to drive*.—5 as in 10¹³ ('brought an East wind') Gen 31²⁶ Deut 4²⁷ 28³⁷.

27^a M Or, *wanted flow*.—Cp Gen 49²⁴ Num 24²¹ Deut 21⁴.

27^b M 5 *shook off*.—5* op Ps 136¹⁵ Neh 5¹³ Pst.

J	JE	E	P
<p>z \oint = came again 26 or returned 27</p> <p>28^b there "remained not so much as one of them.</p> <p>a' 217</p> <p>b' Gen 22:17 Josh 11:4.</p> <p>a Cp Num 21:17 Judg 5:1</p> <p>b Is 12:2 Ps 118:14</p> <p>c \oint</p> <p>d Cp Ps 24:8</p> <p>\oint = battle.</p> <p>e 14:26</p> <p>f 14:17 28</p> <p>g 14:7</p> <p>h Is 63:12 Ps 77:16 106:9</p> <p>i Cp Mic 7:19</p> <p>Jon 2:3 Neh 9:11</p> <p>j 11 Is 42:21</p> <p>k Judg 10:8</p> <p>l 10:21 24 23:24</p> <p>m 32:25 Deut 33:11</p> <p>n Ezek 7:8</p> <p>o 32:13</p> <p>p Is 54 Nah 1:10</p> <p>q Ps 18:15</p> <p>r Jer 18:14 Is 44:3</p> <p>s Ps 78:16 44</p> <p>t Josh 3:12 16 Ps 33:7 78:18</p> <p>u Zeph 1:12 Zech 14:8 Kth Job 10:10</p> <p>v Ps 46:3 Ezek 27:4</p> <p>w 14:8</p> <p>x Gen 40:27</p> <p>y Lev 26:8 Ezek 5:2 al</p> <p>z Is 40:24</p> <p>a' Ps 93:4</p> <p>b' Ps 86:8 89:6 77:18</p> <p>b' Ps 77:14</p>	<p>30 Thus Yahweh "saved Israel "that day out of the hand of the Egyptians; and Israel saw the Egyptians dead upon the "sea shore.</p> <p>31 "And Israel saw the great "work which Yahweh did upon the Egyptians, and the people "feared Yahweh: and they "be- lieved in Yahweh, and in his "servant Moses.</p>	<p>28^a and the waters "returned, and covered the chariots, and the horsemen, "even all the "host of Pharaoh that went in after them into the sea.</p> <p>29 "But the children of Israel walked upon "the dry ground in the midst of the sea; and the waters were a wall unto them on their right hand, and on their left.</p>	<p>28^a and the waters "returned, and covered the chariots, and the horsemen, "even all the "host of Pharaoh that went in after them into the sea.</p> <p>29 "But the children of Israel walked upon "the dry ground in the midst of the sea; and the waters were a wall unto them on their right hand, and on their left.</p>
	<p>15¹ "Then sang Moses and the children of Israel this song unto Yahweh, and spake saying, I will sing unto Yahweh, for he "hath triumphed gloriously: The horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea.</p> <p>2 "Yahweh "his my strength and song, And he is become my salvation^b: This is my God, and I will "praise him; My father's God, and I will exalt him.</p> <p>3 Yahweh is a "man of war: Yahweh is his name.</p> <p>4 Pharaoh's "chariots and his "host hath he cast into the sea: And his chosen "captains are sunk in the Red Sea.</p> <p>5 The "deeps cover them: They went down into the "depths like a stone.</p> <p>6 Thy right hand, O Yahweh, is "glorious in power, Thy right hand, O Yahweh, "dasheth in pieces the enemy.</p> <p>7 And in the greatness of thine excellency thou "overthrowest them that "rise up against thee: Thou "sendest forth thy "wrath, it "consumeth them as "stubble.</p> <p>8 And with the "blast of thy nostrils the waters were "piled up, The "floods stood upright as an "heap; The "deeps were "congealed in the "heart of the sea.</p> <p>9 The enemy said, I will "pursue, I will overtake, I will "divide the spoil: My lust shall be satisfied upon them; I will "draw my sword, my hand shall destroy them.</p> <p>10 Thou didst "blow with thy wind, the sea covered them: They "sank as lead in the "mighty waters.</p> <p>11 Who is "like unto thee, O Yahweh, among the gods? Who is like thee, "glorious in holiness, Fearful in praises, "doing wonders?</p> <p>12 Thou stretchedst out thy right hand, The earth swallowed them.</p>		

14^{29a} This verse seems to be a simple repetition of 23 by some later hand.

29^b So \oint cp 22 and ct 21^b. T *dry land*.

31^a An editorial close to the original combined narrative of JE. Note especially the designation of Moses as 'Yahweh's servant.'

31^b M \oint hand.—Cp 28o.

15¹ M Or, *is highly exalted*.

2^a The poem in 2-15 seems to be a supplemental hymn attached to the triumph-song in 1^b cp 21^b. It bears no close relation to either of the narratives analysed in 14. Occasional points of phraseological contact occur, e.g. in 4^o, but the indications are too slight to establish any definite literary connexion upon either side. On the other hand there are various signs of distance from the event which it commemorates. (1) The delineation

tion in 4-10 seems lacking in the personal and local colour which imparts such vividness to the song describing the overthrow of Sisera in Judg 5. (2) The situation implied in 13-17 looks back to the settlement of the people in Canaan, 17^b pointing clearly to Jerusalem (though the clause might be a later enlargement). (3) The linguistic parallels show affinities with later prophetic and psalm which can hardly be completely explained by hypotheses of imitation, except in the case of some poems which obviously reproductive. They seem rather to spring from a common stock of lyric and religious expression. Under circumstances the poem was inserted into JE cannot be determined; but it is probable that it was incorporated before union of the combined document with P. See further, in XIV 3 i 160.

29^b So M \oint Jah. T *The Lord*.

	J	E	JE	J	E	P
c ¹ 12 ¹⁷			13 Thou in thy mercy hast ^o led the people which thou hast ^o redeemed :			
d ¹ 68 Gen 48 ¹⁶			Thou hast ^o guided them in thy strength to thy holy ^o habitation.			
e ¹ 1a 40 ¹¹ Ps 23 ³			14 The peoples have ^o heard, they ^o tremble :			
f ¹ Cp Jer 31 ²³			^o Pangs have taken hold on the inhabitants of Philistia.			
g ¹ Deut 2 ³¹			15 Then were the ^o dukes of Edom ^o amazed ;			
h ¹ Jer 68 ⁴ 50 ⁴⁸			The ^o mighty men of Moab, ^o trembling taketh hold upon them :			
i ¹ Gen 36 ¹⁵			All the inhabitants of Canaan are ^o melted away.			
j ¹ Gen 45 ³			16 ^o Terror and dread falleth upon them ;			
k ¹ Ps 55 ⁶			By the greatness of thine arm they are as ^o still as a stone ;			
l ¹ Josh 2 ⁹ 24 ¹			Till thy people pass over, O Yahweh,			
m ¹ Josh 2 ⁹ Gen 15 ¹			Till the people pass over which thou hast ^o purchased.			
n ¹ Josh 10 ¹²			17 Thou shalt bring them in, and plant them in the mountain of thine inheritance,			
o ¹ 1 Kings 8 ¹³			The ^o place, O Yahweh, which thou hast made for thee to dwell in,			
p ¹ Ps 48 ⁸ 87 ⁵			The sanctuary, O Lord, which thy hands have ^o established.			
q ¹ Mic 4 ⁷ Ps 146 ¹⁰			18 Yahweh shall ^o reign for ever and ever.			
r ¹ Gen 31 ²⁷			19 ^o For the horses of Pharaoh went in with his chariots and with his horsemen into the sea, and Yahweh brought again the waters of the sea upon them ; but the children of Israel walked on ^o dry ground in the midst of the sea.			
s ¹ 32 ¹³			20 ^o And Miriam the ^o prophetess, the sister of Aaron, took a ^o timbrel in her hand ; and all the women went out after her with timbrels and with ^o dances. 21 And Miriam answered them,	a	114	
t ¹ 6 ¹ Ps 78 ²³ ct 13 ¹⁷			Sing ye to Yahweh, for he ^o hath triumphed gloriously ;			
u ¹ Gen 16 ⁷			The horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea.			
v ¹ Cp 3 ¹⁶			22 And Moses ^o led Israel onward from the Red Sea, and they went out into the wilderness of ^o Shur ; and they went ^o three ^o days in the wilderness, and found no water. 23 And when they came to Marah, they could not drink of the waters of Marah, for they were bitter :	b	15 ^b	
w ¹ 6 ¹ Prov 9 ¹⁷			^o therefore the ^o name of it was called ^o Marah. 24 And the people murmured against Moses, saying, What shall we drink ? 25 ^a And he ^o cried unto Yahweh ; and Yahweh shewed him a tree, and he cast it into the waters, and the waters were ^o made sweet.	c	141	
x ¹ 164 Gen 22 ¹			25 ^b ^o There he made for them a statute and an ordinance, and there he ^o proved them.	d	44	
y ¹ Cp 19 ⁸			26 And he said, If thou wilt diligently ^o hearken to the ^o voice of ^o Yahweh thy God, and wilt ^o do that which is right in his eyes, and wilt give ear to his commandments, and ^o keep all his statutes, I will ^o put none of the ^o diseases upon thee, which I have put upon the Egyptians : for I am Yahweh that ^o healeth thee.	e	81	
z ¹ Cp 23 ⁶			27 And they ^o came to Elim, where were twelve ^o springs of water, and threescore and ten palm trees : and they encamped there by the waters.			
aa ¹ Deut 4 ⁴⁰ al						
ab ¹ Deut 7 ¹⁸						
ac ¹ 23 ²⁸						
ad ¹ Gen 20 ¹⁷						
ae ¹ Cp 23 ⁶						
af ¹ 161			16 ¹ ^o And they took their journey from Elim, and all the ^o congregation of the children of Israel came unto the wilderness of ^o Sin, which is between Elim and ^o Sinai, on the ^o fifteenth day of the ^o second month after their departing out of the land of Egypt. 2 ^o And the whole ^o congregation of the	a	45	
ag ¹ 161				b	8	
ah ¹ 161				c	7	
ai ¹ 161				d	183	

15¹⁵ M 6 rams.16 M 6 gotten.—Gen 4¹.19^a An addition of late date, presumably by R^o, founded on 14²² 36¹, explaining the significance of the preceding poem.19^b So 6 14²² 36¹ ct 21^b. T dry land.20 The description of Miriam's triumph-song 20. seems wholly independent of what precedes in 1, and is naturally therefore assigned to E. This is confirmed by her description as the 'prophetess,' and by her appearance in other E passages Num 12¹.. 20¹.

21 M Or, is highly exalted.

22 The compiler of Num 33⁸ apparently read 'three days' journey' cp 186.

23 M That is, Bitterness.

25^b The last person named in 26^a is Moses ; but it becomes plain that the subject of 25^b 26^a is Yahweh himself. A change of document, therefore, occurs at this point. Both substance and form support the ascription to E, who relates the successive acts by which first Abraham and then Israel are divinely tested. The phrase 'made for them [6 him, referring to the people in some omitted passage] a statute and ordinance' is repeated 6 inJosh 24²⁵ (E) ; 6 however reads here 'statutes and ordinances' (6 judgements) cp Deut 5¹ &c. In 26 the numerous parallels with D clearly betray later redaction, though the last words sound original. It is evident that 26 is not the true sequel of 25^b which must have related the trial to which the people were exposed ; this seems to be E's account of the origin of the name Massah, 'proving' or 'trial' cp Deut 33⁸ and Ex 17^{1b}. In 27 the itinerary of 22. is resumed.16¹ The opening clause 'and they took their journey from Elim' may be part of J's itinerary, cp the formulae in 17¹ Num 20¹ 22. In Num 33¹⁰, a camp at the Red Sea is interposed between Elim and the wilderness of Sin.

2 The description of the gift of the manna 2-36 offers many perplexities through the presence of conflicting phenomena. As the margins show, it is largely derived from P, but it is evident at once that great dislocations have taken place in the narrative. Thus (1) in 6. Moses and Aaron announce to the people what is subsequently 11. communicated to Moses by Yahweh ; in other words, he delivers the divine message to Israel before he has himself received it. But (2) the story implies the existence of the Levitical Dwelling with the ark containing the Sacred

J E

P

children of Israel 'murmured against Moses and against Aaron in the wilderness: ³ and the children of Israel said unto them, Would that we had died by the hand of Yahweh in the land of Egypt, when we sat by the flesh 'pots, when we did 'eat bread to the full^b; for ye have brought us forth into this wilderness, to kill 'this whole assembly with hunger.

...⁴ And Yahweh said unto Moses, Behold, I will 'rain bread from heaven for you; and the people shall go out and 'gather a day's 'portion every day, that I may 'prove them, 'whether they will 'walk in my law^a, or no.

⁵ And it shall come to pass on the sixth day, that they shall 'prepare that which they bring in, and it shall be twice as much as they gather daily. ⁶ And Moses and Aaron said unto all the children of Israel, At even, then ye shall 'know that Yahweh hath brought you out from the land of Egypt: ⁷ and in the morning, then ye shall see the 'glory of Yahweh; for that he heareth your 'murmurings against Yahweh: and what are we, that ye 'murmur against us? ⁸ And Moses said, [This shall be], when Yahweh shall give you in the evening flesh to eat, and in the morning bread to the 'full; for that Yahweh heareth your 'murmurings which ye murmur against him: and what are we? your murmurings are not against us, but against Yahweh. ⁹ And Moses said unto Aaron, Say unto all the 'congregation of the children of Israel, 'Come near before Yahweh: for he hath heard your 'murmurings. ¹⁰ And it came to pass, as Aaron spake unto the whole 'congregation of the children of Israel, that they 'looked toward the wilderness, and, behold, the 'glory of Yahweh appeared in the cloud. ¹¹ And Yahweh 'spake unto Moses, saying, ¹² I have 'heard the 'murmurings of the children of Israel: 'speak unto them, saying, 'At even ye shall eat flesh, and in the morning ye shall be filled with bread; and ye shall 'know that I am Yahweh your God. ¹³ And it came to pass at even, that the 'quails came up, and covered the camp: and in the morning the dew 'lay round about the camp. ¹⁴ And when the dew that 'lay was gone up, behold, upon the face of the wilderness a small 'round thing, small as the 'hoar frost on the ground. ¹⁵ And 'when the

a 27⁵ 28²
b 26¹ Lev 25¹⁰ 26⁴
cp Ezek 39¹⁰
Ps 78²⁵
c Cp Num 20¹²
d Gen 31⁴⁶
e 5¹²
f 15^{25b} Dent
8² 14
g Gen 27²¹
h Jer 26⁴ 44¹⁰
i Kings 10⁵¹
cp 18³⁰
j Gen 43¹⁶ 25 Ex
23³⁰ Num 23¹
Josh 11¹
j Cp 6⁸
k Cp 8
l Cp 14
m Num 16⁴²
n 6⁸
o Num 11⁸¹
p Cp Lev 15¹⁶ 5
of Num 11⁹
q 5¹ Job 38²⁹
Ps 147¹⁶

e 114

f 195

g 79

h 185

i 32

j 179^b

Testimony ²⁴. It is not till the Dwelling is completed that the 'Glory of Yahweh' ¹⁰ first appears in the cloud cp 40³⁴... In the Dwelling stands the ark into which Moses is directed to put the Testimony 25²¹ 40³⁰. It is there that the rods of the Twelve Tribes are laid up before Yahweh Num 17¹ ¹⁰; and this only can be the place where the pot of manna is deposited ²⁵. Nor can the narrative be relieved of this anachronism by viewing ²⁵ as a later addition. The phrase in ⁹ 'come near before Yahweh' similarly describes attendance at the sanctuary cp Lev 9¹ 16¹ Num 18²². The story, then, in its present form implies the existence of a centre of worship which is not yet constructed, and must have been transposed to its present place from a later stage. Is it possible to conjecture the cause of this displacement? Two reasons may be named. (1) The gift of the manna is not the only provision of food. Besides the morning 'bread,' it is also promised ¹² that there shall be evening 'flesh.' In ¹³ accordingly at even the camp is covered with 'the quails.' But no quails have previously been mentioned. The narrative has evidently been abbreviated at the same time that its situation has been changed. There is, however, a windfall of quails related by J Num 11³¹..., which is preceded by a description of the manna 10¹... It is conjectured that the narrative of J was the real source or antecedent of P's combination of quails and manna, and that the compiler, instead of blending them, shifted P's version of the incident to an earlier date. But what cause determined its incorporation here? Because (2) it would seem probable that E had attached his manna-story to this point. The gift of food is twice announced to Moses, but in very different terms; ⁴ and ¹¹ can hardly be from the same writer. In ⁴ it is stated that it is the divine purpose to 'prove' the people in connexion with the provision of the bread from heaven. It has been argued by Bacon that this is the antecedent of Deut 8² 16; the conception of the 'proof' of Israel apparently belongs to E, cp Gen 22¹ &c; the passage fits in with 15^{25b}, and belonged originally to E's explanation of the name Massah ('Trial-place' or 'Proving'). There is, therefore, an element of E in the chapter, a promise of food from heaven, which formed the

natural element with which R might group P's quails and manna. How far can this element (usually ascribed to J) be traced? The parallel of 15²⁵ with Deut 8¹⁶ suggests its presence there, incorporated into the later narrative. Bacon adds 15²⁵ 21 35². But the linguistic details hardly support his ascription; and it is not without difficulties also upon other grounds, for the opposition which he discovers between 15²⁵ and 15²⁵ seems to involve a strained interpretation of the legal phrase 'according to his eating.' The whole story, therefore, in its present form is assigned to P. In reaching that form it has no doubt received various additions designed to meet specific difficulties; the most notable being the arrangements for the sabbath. Some of the passages here assigned to R² show linguistic affinities with other Hexateuchal documents. But this is by no means the only case in which a section believed on independent grounds to be supplemental refuses to confine itself within the limits of P's formulae. It is possible that the sabbath regulations may have been inserted when the narratives of JE and P were combined, so as to fit the ordinances of P into closer concord with the original contents of E.

16⁴ So 5. T then said Yahweh.

⁵ Critics who assign ⁴ to J usually allot ⁵ to the same source. The instruction has evident reference to the sabbath observance on which such repeated stress is laid in P, see *Lev* 9b. Neither J nor E has any such provision elsewhere, and the verse is here treated as an editorial preparation for ²²...; whether it replaces any earlier regulation in E, must be left an open question.

⁶ In the dislocated state of the text the original order cannot be determined. The verses may have run 11-12 9-10 6-7.

⁸ An explanatory gloss of R' (Dillmann). The italic words in RV are an attempt to indicate that the words ascribed to Moses are simply an interpretation of ⁴.

¹² M 5 Between the two evenings.

¹⁴ M Or, flake.

^{15a} In this verse, as Bacon has urged, there is probably a trace of E cp 15²⁵. For the phrase 'one to another,' frequent in E (though also occasionally used by P) cp 15^{25a}: 'knew not what

J E

P

r 18 21 124
s 38²⁶ Num 12...
347^a

t Cp 1210

u 5†
v Lev 106 Num
1622 31:14 Josh
22:16 cp 2178
w 5*

22-30 Lgb
x Cp Num 118

y Cp 209

z Cp Num 1411
a Gen 265
b Cp 265
c Gen 22

d Num 117

e Num 174

f Ezek 12²⁰ 2617
3812†

children of Israel saw it, they said one to another, "What is it? for they wist not what it was". And Moses said unto them, It is the bread which Yahweh hath given you to eat. ¹⁶ ¹⁷ This is the thing which Yahweh hath commanded, Gather ye of it every man according to his eating; an omer a head, according to the number of your persons, shall ye take it, every man for them which are in his tent. ¹⁷ And the children of Israel did so, and gathered some more, some less. ¹⁸ And when they did mete it with an omer, he that gathered much had nothing over, and he that gathered little had no lack; they gathered every man according to his eating. ¹⁹ And Moses said unto them, Let no man leave of it till the morning. ²⁰ Notwithstanding they hearkened not unto Moses; but some of them left of it until the morning, and it bred worms, and stank: and Moses was wroth with them. ²¹ And they gathered it morning by morning, every man according to his eating: and when the sun waxed hot, it melted. ²² And it came to pass, that on the sixth day they gathered twice as much bread, two omers for each one: and all the rulers of the congregation came and told Moses. ²³ And he said unto them, This is that which Yahweh hath spoken, To-morrow is a solemn rest, a holy sabbath unto Yahweh: bake that which ye will bake, and seethe that which ye will seethe; and all that remaineth over lay up for you to be kept until the morning. ²⁴ And they laid it up till the morning, as Moses bade: and it did not stink, neither was there any worm therein. ²⁵ And Moses said, Eat that to-day; for to-day is a sabbath unto Yahweh: to-day ye shall not find it in the field. ²⁶ Six days ye shall gather it; but on the seventh day is the sabbath, in it there shall be none. ²⁷ And it came to pass on the seventh day, that there went out some of the people for to gather, and they found none. ²⁸ And Yahweh said unto Moses, How long refuse ye to keep my commandments and my laws? ²⁹ See, for that Yahweh hath given you the sabbath, therefore he giveth you on the sixth day the bread of two days; abide ye every man in his place, let no man go out of his place on the seventh day. ³⁰ So the people rested on the seventh day. ³¹ And the house of Israel called the name thereof "Manna": and it was like coriander seed, white; and the taste of it was like wafers [made] with honey. ³² And Moses said, This is the thing which Yahweh hath commanded, Let an omerful of it be kept for your generations; that they may see the bread wherewith I fed you in the wilderness, when I brought you forth from the land of Egypt. ³³ And Moses said unto Aaron, Take a pot, and put an omerful of manna therein, and lay it up before Yahweh, to be kept for your generations. ³⁴ As Yahweh commanded Moses, so Aaron laid it up before the Testimony, to be kept. ³⁵ And the children of Israel did eat the manna forty years, until they came to a land inhabited; they did eat the manna, until they came unto the borders of the land of Canaan. ³⁶ Now an omer is the tenth part of an ephah.

¹⁷ ¹⁸ And all the congregation of the children of Israel journeyed from the wilderness of Sin, by their journeys, according to the commandment of Yahweh, and pitched in Rephidim.

k 110
l 188^b
m 19^b
n 146

o 105

p 134

q 19^a

r 131

s 137^c

t 89

u 39

v 11^b

w 76

x 161

y 4

a 45
b 97^c
c 8
d 18
e 19^c

... ^{1b} And there was no water for the people to drink. ^{2a} Wherefore the

it was cp Dent 83, D's retrospects being largely founded on E cp *Introd* 171.

¹⁶ ^{15b} M Or, it is manna. 5 Man hu. — 'Wist' = 'knew' Dent 83. ¹⁶ A discrepancy has been found in this verse on the ground that the phrase 'every man according to his eating' does not imply a fixed amount, while 'an omer a head' does. But the previous use of the phrase in 12⁴ suggests that the writer has in view the varying amounts that would be needed by families varying in size, age, and sex. On an average an omer a head would suffice. But large families would still require more, and small families less in actual quantity. Measuring the manna as they collected it (the insertion of 'when' in RV¹⁶ to help out the grammar appears to indicate—probably erroneously—that the measurement was not made till afterwards), they found that adherence to the prescribed proportion exactly used up the available amount (cp Dillmann). The words 'had nothing over' and 'had no lack' rather denote 'did not exceed' and 'did not fall short' in relation to the omer per head. The miracle lay not in the adjustment of the rations to the individual appetites, but in the exactness with which the supply satisfied the total demand. Those who deferred collecting till too late, found that their shares had melted ²¹.

²² In 22-30 it is probable that another hand has dealt specially with the sabbath provision on the basis of P's legislation. ³¹ is not the proper sequel of ³⁰.

³¹ M 5 Man. ³² This verse has been divided by many critics between P and J, though each of the two members has been assigned in turn to each source. It may be doubted, however, whether ^{32b} is more than an emphatic repetition of ^{32a}; the unusual order, 'the manna did they eat,' would hardly stand by itself; and the very slight linguistic indications are more favourable to P.

¹⁷ M Or, stages.

^{1b} The narrative in 1b-7 shows no point of contact with the preceding story or with P generally, while careful examination discloses that it is itself composite. Thus ³ seems a duplicate of 1b ³, while in 7 two names are apparently bestowed on one place. But, as Bacon has pointed out, 'there is no trace elsewhere of a place Massah-Meribah' (*Exodus* p 87). D mentions only Massah 6¹⁶ 9²², while the Blessing of Moses clearly distinguishes them Dent 33. The question is complicated by the appearance of a second Meribah-story connected with Kadesh in Num 20¹⁻¹³. It will be made probable that J and P are there combined. If so, it seems unlikely that J should have described a similar event with a similar issue at an earlier

	J	E	JE	J	E	P
a 7b Gen 31 ²⁶ op Num 20 ⁸			people ^a strove with Moses, and said, Give us water that we may drink. And Moses said unto them, Why strive ye with me?			
b 15 ²⁴			... ³ And the people thirsted there for water; and the people ^b murmured against Moses, and said, 'Wherefore hast thou ^b brought us up out of Egypt, to ^c kill 'us and our children and our ^b cattle with thirst?—	f 89 ^b g 136 ^b h 18		
c Gen 18 ²⁵ op Num 20 ⁴			... ^{2b} wherefore do ye ^d tempt Yahweh?—			
d 1b ²⁴ cp 1 ²⁴ ct 15 ²⁵ § = prove			⁴ And Moses ^c cried unto Yahweh, saying, What shall I ^d do unto this people? they be almost ready to ^e stone me. ⁵ And Yahweh said unto Moses, ^f Pass on before the people, and take with thee of the ^g elders of Israel; and thy ^h rod, wherewith ⁱ thou smotest the river, take in thine hand, and go. ⁶ Behold, I will stand before thee there upon the rock in ^j Horeb; and thou shalt smite the rock, and there shall come water out of it, that the people may drink. And Moses did so in the sight of the ^k elders of Israel.	i 141 j 146 ^b k 151		
e 21 ²⁶ cp 21 ⁶			... ^{7a} And he called the name of the place "Massah,			
f Joah 3 ⁶			... ^{7b} and "Meribah, because of the ^h striving of the children of Israel.			
g 9 4 17 20 ^b h 70 ^b			^{7c} and because they ^d tempted Yahweh, saying, "Is Yahweh ^e among us, or not?	m 84 n 58		
i 24 ¹³ 33 ¹¹ Num 11 ²⁶			⁸ "Then came Amalek, and ^f ought with Israel in Rephidim. ⁹ And Moses said unto 'Joshua, Choose us out men, and go out, ^g fight with Amalek: to-morrow I will ^h stand on the top of the hill with the ⁱ rod of God in mine hand. ¹⁰ So Joshua did as Moses had said to him, and ^j ought with Amalek: and Moses, Aaron, and ^k Hur went up to the top of the hill. ¹¹ And ^l it came to pass, ^m when Moses held up his hand, that Israel prevailed: and when he let down his hand, Amalek prevailed. ¹² But Moses' hands were ⁿ heavy; and they took a stone, and put it under him, and he sat thereon; and Aaron and Hur ^o stayed up his hands, the one on the one side, and the other on the other side; and his hands were steady until the ^p going down of the sun. ¹³ And Joshua ^q discomfited Amalek and his people with the ^r edge of the sword. ¹⁴ And Yahweh said unto Moses, ^s Write this for a ^t memorial in a book, and rehearse it in the ears of Joshua: "that I will utterly ^u blot out the ^v remembrance of Amalek from under heaven. ¹⁵ And Moses ^w built an altar, and called the name of it "Yahweh-nissi: ¹⁶ and he said, "Yahweh hath sworn: Yahweh will have war with Amalek from ^x generation to generation.	o 156 p 215 ^b q 127 ^a r 78 s 236 t 150 u Cp 113 v 135 w 137		
j 24 ¹⁴						
k Gen 48 ¹⁷						
l Cp 24 ⁴						
m § = memorial 3 ¹⁵ Deut 25 ¹⁹ (32 ²⁰) ^a						
n Cp 31 ⁵ ;						
a 31 b 21 ⁶			18 ¹ Now ^a Jethro, ^b the priest of Midian, Moses' ^c father in law, heard of all ^d that God had done for Moses, and for Israel his people, ^e how that Yahweh had brought Israel out of Egypt.	a 146 ^c		

stage of the wanderings. Bacon has therefore suggested that the two names in ⁷ represent an editorial fusion of two sources. J's traditions attached parallel incidents to two names, Massah and Meribah. E appears also to have contained explanations of both designations cp Deut 33⁹ Ex 15^{25b}. The Massah-story of J and the Meribah-story of E were founded on a common motive, and have been editorially blended, just as the Meribah-story of J has been subsequently amalgamated with a counterpart in P. At the outset ¹³⁻²⁶ forms the introduction to E's explanation of Meribah ^{7b}. ⁸ will then fall to J, and with this attribution the linguistic marks are in complete harmony. The clause in ^{2b} 'wherefore do ye tempt Yahweh' cannot, however, be in its proper place; it is related to ^{7a}, but must have followed instead of preceding ⁸. ^{7c} shows that other matter contained in J has been suppressed in the unifying process. In ⁴⁻⁶ there are no indications of diversity of authorship. The mention of the rod of Moses ⁶ secures it to E, and this is confirmed by 'Horeb' ⁶. But this name shows that the story has been placed too soon cp 16, for Israel has not yet reached the sacred mountain cp 18⁵ and 19².

¹⁷ § 'me and my sons and my cattle' ct ².

^{7a} M That is, Tempting, or, Proving.

^{7b} M That is, Chiding, or, Strife.

⁸ The fight with Amalek ⁸⁻¹⁶ belongs to E, for Moses again wields the rod of God ⁹. But various circumstances concur to

show that this section also is placed too soon. Joshua enters in ⁹ without introduction as though he were well known: he is already the tried captain on whom devolves the choice of men for military enterprise. Yet in 33¹¹ he is formally described, apparently for the first time, and he is then still 'a young man.' Moses, on the other hand, is no longer able himself to sustain his hand outstretched with the rod. The relation between Moses and Joshua, therefore, seems to belong to a more advanced stage than the institution of the Tent of Meeting. This result is confirmed by the name of Israel's foe, Amalek, who is elsewhere located in the wild open country through which the highlands of Judah sink slowly towards the south Num 13²⁹ cp 14²⁵ 43⁴⁵, cp Gen 14⁷ (near Kadesh). It is probable, therefore, that this narrative has been inserted too soon (Bacon and Battersby propose to place it after Num 12¹⁵). If so, the identification of the incident with Rephidim ⁸ is no doubt editorial; the defining English 'then' is simply 'and' §.

¹³ M § prostrated.—Cp 32^{18a}.

¹⁴ M Or, for.

¹⁵ M That is, Yahweh is my banner.

¹⁶ M Or, Because there is a hand against the throne of Yahweh. § A hand is lifted up upon the throne of Yah.—See Ewald, *Hist of Israel* i 3 p 251.

¹⁸ An explanatory gloss by another hand as is implied in the change of the divine name.

	J	E	JE	J	E	P
c 221 420			2 * And Jethro, Moses' father in law, took 'Zipporah, Moses' wife, after he had sent her away, and her two sons ; 3 of which the name of the one was 'Gershom ; for he said, I have been "a sojourner in a strange land :			
d 223			4 and the name of the other was "Eliezer ; for [he said], The 'God of my father was my help, and delivered me from the sword of Pharaoh.			
e 36			5 And Jethro, Moses' father in law, came with his sons and his wife unto Moses into the wilderness where he was encamped, at the 'mount of God : 6 and he said unto Moses, I thy father in law Jethro am come unto thee, and thy wife, and her two sons with her.			b 105
f Cp Gen 33 ^b g = bowed him- self g Gen 43 ²⁷			...7 And Moses went out to meet his father in law, and 'did obeisance, and kissed him ; and they 'asked 'each other of their "welfare ; and they came into the tent.			c 112 ^b
h Num 20 ¹⁴ Lam 3 ^b Neh 5 ²³ i Num 20 ¹⁴ Deut 31 ¹⁷ Josh 2 ²⁰ j Ps 21 ⁶ Job 3 ⁶ k 3 ⁶			8 And Moses told his father in law all *that Yahweh had done unto Pharaoh and to the Egyptians 'for Israel's sake, all the 'travail that had 'come upon them by the way, and how Yahweh delivered them.			d 111
l Gen 22 ¹²			9 And Jethro 'rejoiced for all the goodness "which Yahweh had done to Israel, in that he had 'delivered them out of the hand of the Egyptians ^t .			e 10 ^c
m Cp 21 ¹⁴ Deut 1 ³ n 10 ²⁵ cp 24 ⁵ 32 ⁶ Gen 31 ⁵⁴ 46 ¹			10 And Jethro said, "Blessed be Yahweh, who hath 'delivered you out of the hand of the Egyptians ^t , and out of the hand of Pharaoh ; "who hath delivered the people from under the hand of the Egyptians. 11 Now 'I know that Yahweh is greater than all gods : yea, in the thing wherein they "dealt proudly against them.			f 151 5 149
o 118 cp 230			12 * And Jethro, Moses' father in law, took a "burnt offering and sacrifices for God : and Aaron cam ^e , and all the 'elders of Israel, to 'eat bread with Moses' father in law before God. 13 And it came to pass on the morrow, that Moses sat to judge the people : and the people stood about Moses from the morning unto the evening. 14 And when Moses' father in law saw all that he did to the people, he said, What is this thing that thou doest to the people ? 'why sittest thou thyself alone, and all the people 'stand about thee from morning unto even ? 15 And Moses said unto his father in law, Because the people come unto me to 'inquire of God : 16 when they have a "matter, they come unto 'me ; and I judge between a "man and his neighbour, and I make them know the 'statutes of God, and his 'laws. 17 And Moses' father in law said unto him, The thing that thou doest is not good. 18 Thou wilt surely 'wear away, 'both thou, 'and this people that is with thee : for the thing is too 'heavy for thee ; thou art not able to 'perform it thyself alone.			h 108
p 17 ⁹ cp 215 ^b			19 'Hearken now unto my voice, I will "give thee counsel, and God be "with thee : be thou for the people to Godward, and bring thou the 'causes unto God : 20 and thou shalt "teach them the statutes and the laws, and shalt shew them the "way wherein they must walk, and the work that they must do. 21 Moreover thou shalt "provide out of all the people 'able men, such as "fear God, men of truth, hating unjust 'gain ; and place such over them, to be "rulers of thousands, rulers of			i 11 j 78 k 119 ^a l 44 ^b m 130
q 1 Sam 9 ⁹ cp Gen 25 ²³ r Cp 23 ⁷ s Cp Gen 26 ⁵						n 102 o 191
t 5 ^a						
u Num 24 ¹⁴						
v 5 ^a cp Ezek 37 ⁷ . . 33 ⁷ . . (Lev 15 ³¹)						
w Cp 16 ⁴ Prig ^b						
x 5 = see 24 ¹¹ Num 24 ⁴ 10 ^a cp Gen 22 ⁶ y 26 Gen 47 ^{6b} z Gen 37 ²⁶						

18² The Meeting of Moses and his father in law 2-11 appears to have been related both by J and E. In 5 Jethro arrives and converses with Moses, yet in 7 Moses sets out to meet him. The hand of J seems recognizable in 7, while that of E is plainly to be discerned in 5. But the antecedents in the two sources must have been different. In J Moses had but one son, on his return to Egypt, when his wife accompanied him 4²⁰ 25. E, on the other hand, represented Moses as leaving his family under his father in law's care. The two views are harmonized by E in 2 ; 3 is plainly founded on 2²² ; but the origin of 4 is unknown (for 'sword' E reads 'hand'). Eliezer is mentioned nowhere else in the Hex, though in P Aaron has a son named Eleazar. The situation in 5 again implies displacement, for in 19¹ Israel is still on the march to the sacred mountain. On the original position of E's narrative see 128 : J's may have led up to Num 10²⁹.

3 M 5 Ger. See 222. 4 M 5 El, God, and ezer, help.

10 The phraseology of 9-11 shows most affinity with J. But the duplicate clauses of 10 may result from an amalgam of

J and E. The shorter forms of 10 in G where 10^b disappears altogether, are worthy of note : G^{AB} 'And Jethro said, Blessed be Yahweh, that he hath delivered them out of the hand of the Egyptians and out of the hand of Pharaoh' ; G^L 'And Jethro said, Blessed be Yahweh who hath delivered his people from the hand of the Egyptians and from the hand of Pharaoh.'

12 It has been already pointed out that in E's narrative Jethro finds Moses and the people already encamped beneath the mount of God. The sequel in 12-27 shows similar signs that it has been inserted here too soon. The elaborate judicial organization indicated in 25 is apparently not yet instituted in 24¹²⁻¹⁴. Moreover it presupposes a collection of statutes and laws divinely given 16 20 ; and its establishment is more appropriate to the scene of a lengthened stay than to a mere station on the way. Accordingly in Deut 1⁹⁻¹⁷ it is assigned to Horeb, shortly before the people started again upon the march, and this is supported in E by Jethro's reference 23 to their approaching departure. The whole section, therefore, originally fell among the last of the Horeb scenes.

J	E	JE	J	E	P
		hundreds, rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens: ²² and let them judge the people at all seasons: and it shall be, that every great ^b matter they shall bring unto thee, but every small ^b matter they shall judge themselves: so shall it be ^c easier for thyself, and they shall bear [the burden] with thee. ²³ If thou shalt do this thing, and God command thee so, then thou shalt be able to endure, and all this people also shall go to their ^b place in ^c peace. ²⁴ So Moses ^b hearkened to the voice of his father in law, and did all that he had said. ²⁵ And Moses chose ^b able men out of all Israel, and made them ^b heads over the people, rulers of thousands, rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens. ²⁶ And they judged the people at all seasons: the hard ^b causes they brought unto Moses, but every small matter they judged themselves. ²⁷ And Moses ^c let his father in law depart; and he went his way into his own land.			
a' Gen 26 ²⁹					p 68
U Ct 784					q 44 ^a
c' Ct Num 10 ²⁹					
a 17 ¹					
b 16 ¹ Num 11 9 ¹ 33 ³⁸					a 97 ^a b 7 c 183
		19 ²⁶ "And they ^b journeyed from ^c Rephidim, and came to the wilderness of ^b Sinai, and they ^b pitched in the wilderness.— ¹ In the ^c third month ^b after the children of Israel were gone forth out of the land of Egypt, the same day came they into the wilderness of ^b Sinai.—			
		... ^{2b} and there Israel ^b pitched before the mount. ^{3a} "And Moses went up unto ^b God.			

19²⁶ In 19¹⁻²⁶ P continues the itinerary interrupted at 17¹. But the order of the Hebrew text appears to have been changed, for it can hardly be supposed that the original writer brought the Israelites to Sinai before mentioning that they had left Rephidim. The *EV* somewhat obscures the customary language of P in parallel passages by rendering ² *And when they were departed* &c, though the phraseology is identical with that of 17¹. The compiler, it would seem, felt that the date in ¹ would make a more effective introduction to the narrative of the great events at Sinai, and perhaps also thought that he would secure a closer connexion with JE if the final words in ^{2a} 'and they pitched in the wilderness' immediately preceded E's phrase 'and there Israel pitched ⁵ before the mount.'

^{2b} *5* as in ^{2a}. T *camped*.

^{3a} With ³ begins the story of the great theophany which formed the core of the traditions concerning the giving of the Law. P's description of it is not introduced till 24^{16a} which is apparently continuous with 19²⁶ ¹. The intervening material is chiefly derived from E (see 20¹⁸) but the narrative of the manifestation on the sacred mount is plainly not from one source alone. The difficulty of explaining the repeated ascents of Moses (cp ³ 7 ⁹, 14 20 ²³) at once suggests diversity of document, and this inference is established by comparison of 14-17 with 20-22. In ¹⁰ directions are issued for the purification of the people which are fulfilled in ¹⁴. The people are then ready, the signal of Elohims advent is given on the mountain, and Israel is solemnly brought forth to meet its God ¹⁷. But the divine intercourse with Moses ¹⁹ is suddenly arrested by a new call to the top of the mount. There fresh instructions are supplied for the sanctification of the priests ²², for the prevention of too eager curiosity on the part of the people ²¹, and for the return of Moses to the summit with Aaron ²⁴. The narrative concludes abruptly with the statement ²⁵ that 'Moses went down to the people and *said* unto them . . .', leaving the reader to imagine the instructions which he communicated. In 20¹ the divine words for which preparation has been made in 19¹⁷⁻¹⁹ are solemnly uttered, with the result that the terrified people, already at the foot of the mount, entreat Moses that the speech of heaven may cease 20¹⁹, and be transmitted to them through him. Moses accordingly draws near alone ²¹, and the summons to Aaron 19²⁴ remains unfulfilled. The contrast of 19²⁰⁻²² with 19¹⁴⁻¹⁷ 20¹⁸⁻²¹ points to a J source and an E source. But this criterion is an insufficient basis of analysis. Since the revelation described in 3¹⁵ E has repeatedly employed the name Yahweh, and in the present passage 14-17 plainly depends on ⁹, where Yahweh is found. [It may be noted that ⁹ here points to considerable variations of redaction in this matter. Thus in 7 ^{9a} 18 21b 23 24b (9) ^{9a} read *Elohim for Yahweh*; so also 3b 21a (9) ^{9a} 22a (9) ^{9a}; further, 3b (9) ^{9a} 22a (9) ^{9a} *Yahweh Elohim for Yahweh*; and vice versa 20¹ (9) ^{9a} *Yahweh for Elohim*.] The material differences, however, suffice for partition. Starting

from the passages already noticed, the following contrasts are obtained:—

J	E
(1) Yahweh comes down on Sinai 11b 18 20,	Elohim (Yahweh) comes 19 ⁹ 20 ²⁰
(2) with smoke and fire 18,	in a thick cloud ⁹ 16 cp 20 ¹⁸ 21,
(3) in the sight of all the people 11b. The mountain trembles ¹⁵ .	that the people may hear when he speaks with Moses ⁹ 19 20 ¹⁹ . The people 'tremble' ¹⁶ .
(4) Bounds are to be set to the mountain, the border of which must not be touched 13. 22.	The people are brought forth to meet Elohim at the nether part of the mount ¹⁷ .
(5) The priests to be sanctified 22 24.	The whole people to be sanctified 10 14.
(6) The blast of a ram's horn ¹⁵ .	The sound of the trumpet 16 19.
(7) The people endangered by their eagerness to press forward and see ²¹ .	The people terrified, they stand far off 16 20 ¹⁸ .
(8) They shall come up to the mount ¹⁸ cp Moses and Aaron shall come up ²⁴ .	Moses drew near to the darkness alone 20 ²¹ .

There remains a difficult passage in 3b-8 unaffected by the foregoing distribution. The close juxtaposition of two divine names excites attention, and the peculiar phraseology of ⁵, unknown outside Deuteronomy points to expansion at the hands of R^d. It is less certain whether the whole of the divine address is an addition, and it is not without significance in this respect that ⁵⁻⁶ reappears in ⁹ after 23²¹. Bacon (whose analysis of this chapter the editors have largely followed) supposes that 3b-8 stood originally after 20²¹, the contribution of R^d being limited to 3b-4a. The words in ^{6b} then refer to 20¹⁻¹⁷. The phrase in ^{6b}, however, resembles the title to a collection of precepts, and sounds rather introductory than retrospective cp 21¹. The opening words have their parallels in 3¹⁵ 20^{22a}, while 'ye yourselves have seen' ⁴ ⁵ matches 20^{22b}: and as the people have already themselves heard the divine words in 20¹⁻¹⁷, it is not clear why Moses should need to recite them again to the elders. It is possible that in the confusion of the fragments ⁷ is an accidental variant of 24³. A similar casualty seems to have generated ^{1b} as a duplicate of ^{9b}. Yet even ⁷ and ⁸ do not seem quite homogeneous, for the divine message, communicated only to the elders in ⁷, is accepted by the united people in ⁸. Further difficulty arises from the emphatic pronoun 'they shall come up to the mount' ¹⁸. It cannot refer to 'all the people' ¹¹, for these are expressly prohibited from touching the border. It is conjectured, therefore, that the passage has found its way into a wrong context, and that 11b-13 should follow 20-24. There the priests are directed to sanctify

J	E	JE	J	E	P
3b-6a Lxx ^c		3b And Yahweh called unto him out of the mountain, saying, ^d Thus shalt thou say to the house of Jacob, and ^e tell the children of Israel; ^f 'Ye have seen what I did unto the Egyptians, and how I ^g bare you on ^h 'eagles' wings, and brought you unto myself. ⁱ Now therefore, if ye will ^j obey my voice indeed, and keep my ^k covenant, then ye shall be ^l a ^m 'peculiar treasure unto me ⁿ 'from among all peoples: for all the earth is mine: ^o and ye shall be unto me a ^p 'kingdom of priests' and an ^q 'holy nation. These are the words which thou shalt speak unto the children of Israel.			d 222 ^b e 218 f 140 ^c g 258 ^a
c 20 ²² Deut 26 ³ Josh 23 ³ § op Deut 18 ¹ d Cp Deut 32 ¹¹ e Cp 23 ¹ f Deut 7 ⁶ g §† h Cp 26 ⁶		7 And Moses came and called for the ^b elders of the people, and set before them all these words which Yahweh commanded him. ^c And all the people answered together, and said, All that Yahweh hath spoken we will do. And Moses reported the words of the people unto Yahweh. ^d And Yahweh said unto Moses, Lo, I ^e 'come unto thee in a ^f 'thick cloud, ^g 'that the people may hear when I ^h 'speak with thee, and may also ⁱ 'believe thee for ever. And Moses told the words of the people unto Yahweh. ^j And Yahweh said unto Moses, Go unto the people, and ^k 'sanctify them to-day and to-morrow, and let them ^l 'wash their ^m 'garments, ⁿ and be ready against the ^o 'third day. . . .			h 151
i 20 ³⁰ j §* op 16 20 ³¹ k Ct 41. 51 op 134		[24←] ^{11b} for ¹² 'the third day Yahweh will ¹³ 'come down in the sight of all the people upon mount ¹⁴ 'Sinai. ¹⁵ And thou shalt ¹⁶ 'set bounds unto the people round about, saying, ¹⁷ 'Take heed to yourselves, that ye go not up into the mount, or touch the border of it: ¹⁸ 'whosoever toucheth the mount shall be surely put to death: ¹⁹ no hand shall touch ²⁰ 'him, but he shall surely be stoned, or ²¹ 'shot through; whether it be beast or man, it shall not live: when the ²² 'ram's horn soundeth long, ²³ 'they shall come up to the mount. [→25]			i 221 j 116
l 14 ct 22. 78 ⁶ m 14 ct 173 n 18 op 119 ^d		¹⁴ And Moses went down from the mount unto the people, and ¹⁵ 'sanctified the people; and they ¹⁶ 'washed their ¹⁷ 'garments. ¹⁸ And he said unto the people, Be ready against the ¹⁹ 'third day: come not near a woman. ²⁰ And it came to pass on the ²¹ 'third day, when it was ²² 'morning, that there were ²³ 'thunders and lightnings, and a ²⁴ 'thick ²⁵ 'cloud upon the mount, and the ²⁶ 'voice of a trumpet exceeding loud; and all the people that were in the camp ²⁷ 'trembled. ²⁸ And Moses brought forth the people out of the camp to meet God; and they ²⁹ 'stood at the nether part of the mount.			k 161
o 23 § Hiph† p Cp Gen 24 ⁶ q Gen 26 ¹¹		... ¹⁸ And mount ¹⁹ 'Sinai was altogether on smoke, because Yahweh ²⁰ 'descended upon it in fire: and the smoke thereof ascended as the ²¹ 'smoke of a furnace", and the whole ²² 'mount ²³ 'quaked greatly. ²⁴ And when the ²⁵ 'voice of the trumpet waxed louder and louder, Moses ²⁶ 'spake, and God answered him by a voice".			l 19 m 76
r 20 ¹⁸ s 19 20 ¹⁸ ct 18 t Gen 42 ^{28b}		²⁰ And Yahweh ²¹ 'came down upon mount ²² 'Sinai, to the ²³ 'top of the mount: and Yahweh called ²⁴ 'Moses to the top of the mount; and Moses went up. ²⁵ And Yahweh said unto Moses, Go down, ²⁶ 'charge the people, lest they ²⁷ 'break through unto Yahweh to gaze, and many of them perish. ²⁸ And let the priests also, which ²⁹ 'come near to Yahweh, ³⁰ 'sanctify themselves, lest Yahweh ³¹ 'break forth upon them. ³² And Moses said unto Yahweh, ³³ 'The people cannot come up to mount ³⁴ 'Sinai: for thou didst charge us, saying, ³⁵ 'Set bounds about the mount, and sanctify it. ³⁶ And Yahweh said unto him, ³⁷ 'Go, get thee down", and thou shalt come up, thou, and Aaron with thee: but let not the priests and the people ³⁸ 'break through			n 286 o 78
u Cp Gen 15 ¹⁷ v § = trembled 16 Gen 27 ³⁸					p 214
w 34 ²					q 80
x 23 Gen 43 ⁸ y 24 15 ⁷ op Pi 23 ²⁴ z 24 ³ op 20 ²¹ a' Num 11 ¹⁶ Josh 3 ⁵ 7 ¹³ ct 10 b' Cp 2 ²¹					
c' 32 ⁷					

themselves, apparently as a qualification for an extraordinary interview with Yahweh. Kuenen surmised that in ²⁴ the text originally ran 'thou shalt come up, thou and Aaron with thee, and the priests: but let not the people break through' &c. If this passage preceded ^{11b-13}, the contrast between 'ye' (the people) ¹² and 'they' (the priests) ¹³ would be explained. But in that case ²³ (where Moses intimates to Yahweh that his previous command rendered further arrangements superfluous) can only have been inserted after the text had assumed its present order.

¹⁹ § the mount of God.

²⁶ The word כֶּלֶס (here rendered 'peculiar treasure') only occurs elsewhere in the formula 'a peculiar people' (עַם כֶּלֶס).

Deut 7¹⁴ 26¹⁸ where § always renders λαὸς περιούσιος. The occurrence of the same phrase in § in the present passage makes it probable that we should restore the corresponding § here.

^{5b} M Or, above.

^{11b} This date, which does not appear elsewhere in J may be due here to editorial connexion.

^{13a} M Or, it.

^{13b} So M. T trumpet.—Ct 16 19.

^{13c} The pronoun is here expressed with emphasis: cp ³⁸ ad fin 24².

¹⁸ M Some ancient authorities have, people.

¹⁹ The sequel of this passage will be found in 20¹⁸⁻²¹.

J E

JE

J E P

a Deut 5⁶ cp
Gen 15⁷
b 13³
c 15a⁴
d Cp 23¹³ 34¹⁴
e 15b⁵
f 15b⁶
g Deut 4¹⁶ 23²⁵
h 27¹⁵ Lev
i 26¹ cp 22³⁴ 17
j Deut 5⁸⁻¹⁰
k Num 12⁸ Deut
l 12¹² 58⁴
m 23²⁴ 14¹⁴ Deut
n 5⁹ Lev 26¹ cp
o 23²

to come up unto Yahweh, lest he ^abreak forth upon them. [11b-13] ²⁵ So
Moses went down unto the people, and ^atold them. . .

20¹ And God spake all these ^awords, saying,

"I am Yahweh thy God, which ^bbrought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of
the house of ^bbondage.

3 ²Thou shalt have none ^aother gods ^abefore me.

4 ¹Thou shalt not ^amake unto thee a ^agraven image, ^anor [the
likeness of] any ^aform that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath,
or that is in the water under the earth: ⁵ thou shalt not ^abow down thyself unto
them, nor ^aserve them: for I Yahweh thy God am a ^ajealous God, ^avisiting the
iniquity of the fathers upon the children, upon the third and upon the fourth

h 23²⁴ Deut 5⁹

i 34¹⁴ Deut 4²⁴ 5⁹ 61⁵ cp Josh 24¹⁹

j 34⁷ Num 14¹⁸ Deut 5⁹ cp 7¹⁰

19²⁵ ^a said unto them cp Gen 4⁵. The arrangement suggested above indicates that the omitted words spoken by Moses to the people contained the divine instructions for their safety.

20¹ The 'Ten Words' as they are designated in Deut 10⁴ cp Ex 34²⁸ are almost unanimously assigned in the present redaction to E, though critical opinion is divided as to their place in his original narrative. A comparison with Deut 5 shows that 1-21 was known to D substantially in one piece: 2-17 cp Deut 5²⁻²¹, 18 (19¹⁵) cp Deut 5²³, 19 cp Deut 5²³⁻²⁷, while the use of the divine name Elohim 20¹ 19-21 points to the same Elohist source already traced in 19. Two main questions arise concerning the literary history of the Words: (1) are they reproduced here in their original form, or have they received additions in the shape of explanations and commentaries? (2) If they can be reduced to a simpler type, what relation does the series bear to any similar laws which may be traced elsewhere? (i) The facts that there are variations in the reasons assigned for the observance of the fourth commandment cp Ex 20¹¹ Deut 5¹⁵, and that the Deuteronomist version shows slight divergences in the treatment of the fifth and tenth, have been long recognized as affording good grounds for the belief that some of the commandments have received hortatory expansion. The analogy of other laws points in the same direction (Intro d 73) and it is now generally believed that the Words were primarily 'moulded in uniform shape,' and expressed in 'terse and simple form' (Driver LOT⁶ p 34). Is it possible to recover this ancient type? Dr Briggs (*Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch*³ 181-7) has endeavoured to reconstruct it, finding the primitive form of 'Word' in the direct prohibition 'Thou shalt not . . .'. The additions are, in this view, later than the actual Words, and may be ascribed with some confidence to other hands. This is made practically certain by their striking literary affinities, for they seem at various points to touch the phraseology of J, of E, and of D respectively. Thus the introductory clause³ contains two expressions strongly characteristic of D, 'Yahweh thy God' and 'house of bondage,' pointing to an earlier form 'I am Yahweh which brought thee out of the land of Egypt,' cp Gen 15⁷ 'I am Yahweh which brought thee out of Ur of the Chaldees.' The additions to the second Word, as the margin shows, cp 'heaven above' &c 'bow down and serve' 'Yahweh thy God,' tend in the same direction. But, on the other hand, the language of⁵ shows striking parallels with J in 34⁷ 14 cp 'Yahweh is a jealous God' 'visiting the iniquity . . . keeping mercy for thousands.' The phrase in the text, 'showing (doing) mercy,' is peculiar to JE, and nowhere occurs in D (though cp Deut 7⁹): on the other hand the allusions to 'hate' and 'love' seem to belong to the religious atmosphere of D, who alone in the *Hex* makes the love of God a motive of human action, though the expression (in a somewhat different sense) is probably one of great antiquity, cp Judg 5³¹. The fourth commandment⁸⁻¹¹ has been revised by E² cp 11⁸; but the influence of D can also be traced with much probability in the phrase 'Yahweh thy God,' in the enumeration of the members of the household, and in the description of 'thy stranger that is within thy gates,' when compared with the simpler language of E 23¹², 'that thine ox and thine ass may have rest, and the son of thy handmaid (^a = maidservant 20¹⁰), and the stranger.' Similarly the phrases in¹² recur repeatedly in D and in D only. It may be affirmed, then, with considerable probability, that the hortatory additions have been themselves expanded in the spirit of the great Deuteronomist school (cp Intro XVI 2a i 175), and that they were founded on earlier material derived from J and E, perhaps by the editor designated E². But (ii) behind the commentaries lie the Words themselves. Had they a place in

the original narrative of E? In their present position they constitute a kind of introduction to the legislation which follows, but they have little in common with it: the arrangement in D by which they are presented as the sole legislation of Horeb cp 22²⁸ is much more impressive. Now the Words are reported by D as the basis of the covenant between Yahweh and Israel. It will be seen hereafter that both J and E record such a covenant, cp Ex 24 and 34: but neither document founds it on these Ten Words, though each associates it with 'Words' of Yahweh. Further it may be noted that each of these collections shows parallels with some of the Ten Words. Thus with 20³ cp J 34¹⁴ 'Thou shalt not bow down (^a as in 20⁴) to another god,' E 22²⁹ forbidding sacrifice to another god under pain of 'devotion,' and E² 23¹³ 'the name of other gods ye shall not cause to be remembered' cp 20⁴: with 20⁴ cp J 34¹⁷, 'thou shalt make thee no molten gods,' and E² 20²³ 'ye shall not make with me gods of silver, and gods of gold ye shall not make unto you': with 20⁷ cp 22²⁸; and with 20⁸ cp J 34²¹ 'Six days thou shalt labour, but on the seventh day thou shalt rest,' and E 23¹³ 'Six days thou shalt do thy works, but on the seventh day thou shalt rest,' where in both cases 'rest' in ^a means 'keep sabbath.' The question can hardly be discussed in all its bearings until the Covenant-Words of J and E have themselves been analysed. But the existence of these several groups (which will be found closely parallel to each other) suggests that the Ten Words, the latter of which run a highly independent course, were not part of the original narrative of E (for why should E himself arrange these duplicates side by side?) but were added from some other source. Some confirmation of this view is found in the consideration of the narrative 19¹⁹ 20¹⁸⁻²¹ compared with Deut 5²³. It is clear from the Deuteronomist account that the people were supposed to have heard the actual words uttered by Yahweh 'with a great voice.' But it may be doubted if that was the conception of E. The people witness a storm of thunder and lightning, they hear a trumpet blast which they interpret as the divine utterance, but it does not appear that they are conscious of articulate address from Elohim. As the outward signs of the theophany become more majestic and terrible, they dread lest Deity should speak¹⁹ and they should perish. The original account of E, therefore, probably contained no spoken 'Words' from Elohim to the assembled people, but only the tradition of the awful Voice. Concerning the antiquity of the Words themselves, doubted by Colenso, Wellhausen, Kuenen, Stade, Bacon, Addis, Meisner, Steuernagel, Staerk, Holzinger, Kraetzschmar, and others, cp Driver (LOT⁶ 33), Briggs (*Higher Criticism*³ 186), Dillmann-Ryssel (*Ex und Lev*³ 226), and Wicksteed (*Christian Reformer* 1886 i 307). It is perhaps sufficient to observe here that (as noted above) E does not base the covenant on the so-called 'Ten Words,' but on the Words now combined with the judgements in the Covenant-book cp 22²⁸. D is the first to treat the Ten Words as the sole foundation and contents of the Horeb-covenant. The prominence thus assigned to them (together with the linguistic affinities on which Colenso and Meisner have dwelt with especial emphasis) adds weight to the conjecture that they took shape between the first collection of laws and narratives in J and E, and the later reproduction of ancient *torah* in D. But if this be so, there is no clue to the circumstances under which they were incorporated into E. On difficulties connected with the place of the Ten Words in Israel's religious and social history cp Addis *Hex* i 139.

³ M ^a bondmen.

⁵ M Or, beside me.—^a my face (presence).

J	E	JE	J	E	P
		generation of them that hate me; ⁶ and ^a shewing mercy unto ^a thousands, of them that ^k love me and ^k keep my commandments.			a 57 ^b
k Cp 274 ^a		⁷ ^L Thou shalt not take the name of Yahweh thy God ^a in vain: for Yahweh will not ^m hold him guiltless that taketh his name ^a in vain.			
l Gen 26 ⁵ op		⁸ ^L Remember the sabbath day, to keep it holy. ⁹ Six days shalt thou labour, and do all thy work: ¹⁰ ^L but the seventh day is a sabbath unto Yahweh thy God: [in it] thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy manservant, nor thy ^b maidservant, nor thy cattle, nor ^a thy stranger that is ^c within thy gates: ¹¹ ^L for in six days Yahweh made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day: wherefore Yahweh blessed the sabbath day, and hallowed it.			b 99
m 54 Num 14 ¹⁰		¹² ^L Honour thy father and thy mother: that thy days may be ^a long upon the ^c land which Yahweh thy God giveth thee.			
n Deut 5 ¹¹ Pi ¹⁰		¹³ ^L Thou shalt do no murder.			
o Cp 25 ⁵		¹⁴ ^L Thou shalt not commit adultery.			
p 11 L 9b ⁵		¹⁵ ^L Thou shalt not steal.			
q Cp 27 ³		¹⁶ ^L Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.			
r 19 ¹⁸		¹⁷ ^L Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his manservant, nor his ^b maidservant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that is thy neighbour's.			
s 21 24		¹⁸ And all the people saw the ^a thunderings, and the lightnings, and the voice of the ^a trumpet, and the mountain smoking: and ^a when the people saw it, they ^a trembled, and stood ^a afar off. ¹⁹ And they said unto Moses, 'Speak thou with us, and we will ^a hear: but let not God speak with us, lest we ^a die. ²⁰ And Moses said unto the people, 'Fear not: for God is come ^a to ^a prove you, and ^a that his ^a fear may be before you, that ye sin ^a not. ²¹ And the people stood ^a afar off, and Moses drew near unto the thick ^a darkness where God was.			c 154
t Deut 5 ²⁷		²² ^a And Yahweh said unto Moses, ^a "Thus thou shalt say unto the			d 221
u Deut 5 ²⁶					e 103
v 15 ^{26b} 164 Gen 22 ¹					f 61
w Deut 5 ²² cp 19 ¹⁸					g 223 ^b

20⁵ M Or, a thousand generations. See Deut 7⁹.

7^{ab} M Or, for vanity or falsehood.

⁸ Briggs (*Higher Crit* 187) suggests as the original fourth Word 'Thou shalt not do any work on the seventh day.'

¹¹ In this verse it has been usual to recognize the hand of the harmonist. The parallel passage in Deut 5¹⁵ bases the observance of the sabbath on the deliverance from Egypt. But in this historical association there is no link of inner thought such as that implied in the parallel between the rest enjoined on Israel and that practised by Deity himself. Had D's copy of the Decalogue contained this verse, it is hardly likely that he would have replaced its lofty suggestiveness by a less potent motive. In spite, therefore, of Budde's plea (*Urgesch* 495) that this verse is here original to E, it is regarded as a secondary insertion. But from what source? It has been commonly viewed as founded on Gen 2¹⁻³. Many of the verbal details, it is true, are different: eg for 'the heavens and the earth and all their host,' we read 'the heavens and the earth, the sea and all that in them is': the words 'rest' and 'sabbath-day' are not those employed by P, who also does not connect the blessing on the day by 'therefore' (a word used specially by J cp 28⁵). These differences are hardly sufficient in themselves to establish an independent source for this verse in a lost creation-story by J², though they may properly be employed in supporting other arguments. They may, however, be sufficiently explained by the influence of the context; the triple division into sky, earth, and waters, is already recognized in ⁴; the verb 'to rest' (נָח) is found in the parallel in Deut 5¹⁴ and may well have prompted the writer's choice; 'sabbath day' is already provided by ⁸; and the word 'therefore' is used by P² in a similar connexion in 16¹⁹. That the secondary references to the creation-narrative of P were not limited to the original phraseology is clear from the curious addition in 31¹⁷ which states that Yahweh 'was refreshed,' following the language of an earlier Sabbath law 23¹²: while it may be said in general terms that some of the later portions of P show much greater variety of style (cp *Introd* XIII 118 i 155).

¹² Briggs (*Higher Crit* 187) comparing Ex 21¹⁷ Lev 20⁹ and Deut 27¹⁶ proposes to restore 'Thou shalt not set light by thy father and thy mother.'

^{18a} (f) and the people were afraid, pointing מִפְּנֵי for מִפְּנֵי: so Jülicher, Kuenen, Budde, Krätzschmar, and others. Dillmann adheres to MT.

18^b M Or, were moved.—Cp Is 64. In *Hex* only in a different connexion Gen 4¹³ 14 'wanderer'; Hiph Num 32^{18a}.

^{22a} The older criticism treated 20²²⁻²³ as substantially one whole (with some interpolations and additions), and connected it with the record of the Covenant in 24³⁻⁵, so that it became known as the Book of the Covenant. But it has been since perceived that it not only contains various hortatory amplifications, but is in reality compiled from two different collections which have been blended together. The proof of this is partly contained in the book itself, and partly in the narrative which follows. For (1) while the opening section 20²²⁻²⁶ is concerned exclusively with instructions for the proper worship of Yahweh, at 21¹ a series of 'judgements' is introduced, in which various matters affecting the person or property of the Israelite are regulated on the basis of judicial decisions formulated and generalized into law. Other commands in their turn follow, which in no way result from civil or criminal processes before a judge, such as the rules for the observance of a seventh fallow year and a seventh day of rest 23¹⁰⁻¹², or the festival cycle in 24¹⁰. The contents of these chapters, therefore, are not homogeneous. But (2) this diversity of character is recognized in 24³, where Moses is said to recite to the people 'all the words of Yahweh and all the judgements.' This description implies that the preceding collection is made up of two parts, (1) a series of divine 'Words,' and (2) a group of 'judgements.' Is there any clue to their separation? Wellhausen and Stade practically limit (2) to 21-22¹⁷, where the 'case law' is cast into a series of rules defining the proper course under the given circumstances introduced by 'if': Driver adds 22^{26a} 26 23¹. The remainder is then allotted to (1). But this remainder is itself found on investigation to consist of highly various materials. There is the humanitarian legislation for the protection of the stranger, the ethical insistence on the upright administration of justice, strangely mingled with regulations about first fruits and sabbath (whether of days or years) and a calendar of annual feasts. It is readily seen that these are alike neither in style nor in substance. The conditional form of the strict 'judgement' is reproduced in 23¹⁴; but by its side are the participial clauses in which Dr Briggs finds the proper type of the 'statute' 22¹⁹, and the commands and prohibitions 22¹⁸ 26, 20²⁰ 30 in which the same critic recognizes the characteristics of the 'Word' (*Higher Crit* 242 ff). It does not seem possible to base any distinction on these slender variations in expression. It is more apposite to notice that the moral and

z 19⁴
22a 15a/
y Cp 3 + 34¹⁷
22b 15bc
24a 11odi
z Ct 27¹.

J E

JE

J E

P

children of Israel, ²Ye yourselves have seen that I have talked with you from heaven. ²³²¹Ye shall not ²make [other gods] with me; ¹gods of silver, or gods of gold, ye shall not make unto you. ²⁴²¹An altar of ¹earth thou shalt

social legislation tends constantly to expand into the prophet's appeal rather than the lawgiver's command cp 22²³, 27 23⁷, and is thus strongly marked off from a specific group of regulations which do not embody the experience of life but are occupied with the requirements of worship. These laws are broken up in their present position, but they are readily seen to constitute a little collection by themselves. Different investigators, such as Rothstein (*Bundesbuch* 1888), Bantsch (*Bundesbuch* 1892), and Bacon, approaching the problem by different methods, have substantially agreed in the view that the 'Words' are to be found in the cultus laws 20²²⁻²⁴ 22²⁹⁻³¹ 23¹⁰⁻¹⁹, with the concluding exhortation in 23³⁰⁻³². The Book of Judgements would naturally contain the available rules for the protection of life and property. With them would be suitably associated other provisions for the welfare of the community, such as the infliction of the ban on those who were guilty of treason to the national God by worshipping an alien deity 21²⁰, or the prohibition of ribald speech whether against the earthly or the heavenly ruler 22²⁸. The varied contents of Deut 12-26 under the title 'Statutes and Judgements' show what diversified materials might thus be aggregated together. But the particular institutions of the cultus were not founded on custom and usage, whether formulated in judicial decisions, or as yet implied only in the higher standards of religion. They were regarded as derived directly from the divine will, and owed their origin to a positive utterance. Accepting this distinction provisionally, it may be noted further that the 'Words' 24⁴ were recorded by Moses in a book: with solemn sacrifice and ceremony the people pledged themselves to obedience: and on the basis of these 'Words' Yahweh entered into a covenant with Israel 24⁸. But as soon as these prescriptions are examined by themselves, it is observed that the bulk of them reappear in another connexion in 34, where they are again embodied in a covenant which Yahweh purposes to make with Israel 34¹⁰... Let the following parallels be considered —

- | | | |
|-------------------------|--|------------------|
| (1) 20 ²³ | Prohibition of image worship | 34 ¹⁷ |
| (2) 24-26 | Regulations for the construction of altars | |
| (3) 22 ²⁹ | Gift of firstborn sons to Yahweh | 30b |
| (4) 30 | Gift of firstborn animals to Yahweh | 19 20a |
| (5) 31 | No meat torn by wild beasts to be eaten | |
| (6) 23 ¹⁰⁻¹¹ | Observance of the seventh fallow year | |
| (7) 12 | Observance of the seventh day of rest | 21 |
| (8) 14 17 | Observance of three annual feasts | 23 |
| (9) 15 | Feast of Unleavened Bread | 18 |
| (10) 16 | Harvest and Ingathering | 22 |
| (11) 18a | No leavened bread to be used in sacrifice | 25a |
| (12) 18b | No fat to be left till the morning | 25b |
| (13) 19a | Firstfruits to be given to Yahweh | 26a |
| (14) 19b | No kid to be seethed in its mother's milk | 26b |

It is clear that the terms of the covenant proposed in 34¹⁰ are largely parallel with the 'Words' on which the previous covenant has already been formally established. Reasons will be given hereafter for believing that its context belongs to J; but as it cannot be supposed that J related the institution of the covenant twice over in slightly different terms, the previous 'Words' and their acceptance by the people must be assigned to E. This conclusion is reinforced by other considerations, partly linguistic, as the margins will show, and partly substantial cp 24³⁴. The harmonist of J and E, in fixing the present places of the two versions, has brought them into closer accord by modification and addition, so that the texts of the two documents have been moulded into complete correspondence. The probable signs of such changes will be noted when they occur. This is the only case in which J and E agree in ascribing the preparation of a documentary record to Moses; and this agreement may be taken in evidence that J and E were both acquainted with some older written source (but cp 34²⁷⁻²⁸). The distinction already emphasized between the 'Words' and the 'Judgements' (with the additional materials attached to them) makes it necessary to account for the incorporation of the latter collection at this point of the narrative. It will be found (1) that they are suitable rather for a settled and agricultural people than for the life of the desert, and (2) that many of them are included, sometimes with important amendments, in the Book of Deuteronomy, whose central body of legislation is described 12¹ under the double heading of 'Statutes

and Judgements.' Deut is emphatic in its statement that nothing was publicly enjoined at Horeb but the Ten Words 5²³ 31 6¹. It was pointed out by Kuenen that the author no doubt had some reason in the materials which he employed for placing his great reproduction of the Mosaic Teaching at the end of the wanderings under the slopes of Pisgah. Now his chief source of sacred law (so far as Pentateuch permits us to trace it) was the so-called Covenant-book. This, argued Kuenen, must once have stood in the position which Deut now occupies, at the close of Moses' life as the people prepared to quit the wilderness for the settled occupations of the land which was afterwards to bear their name. The partition of the Covenant-book of the older criticism into two unequal parts, does not affect Kuenen's suggestion. The 'Judgements' constituted the earliest summary of the Mosaic Torah, and may possibly have belonged to a hortatory address now superseded by Deut. That they, too, are due to an Elohistic source may be inferred from their use of the name Elohim 21⁶ 13 22⁶, 11 (y) 28, and other linguistic marks (such as the designation יָמָא for 'bondwoman' cp 29, and the repeated use of the words בָּרָא 21¹⁰⁷ and בָּרָא in the sense of 'matter' or 'cause' 21¹⁰⁸. Bantsch, indeed, argues that Ex 22¹²⁻¹³ is presupposed in Gen 31³⁰⁻⁴⁰ and must be attributed to J. But the plea is doubly precarious. The connexion between the two passages cannot be proved; and in the foregoing analysis of the Jacob-stories the verses in question are assigned to E. This suggestion affords no support, therefore, to the view (abandoned by Wellhausen and Driver) that the Judgement-book was derived from J. In the process of uniting JE with D, if the Judgement-book really did stand at the end, it became necessary to find another place for it, and it seemed most appropriately combined with the other brief collection of religious law in E, the Covenant-words at Horeb. Other suggestions perhaps deserve a passing mention. Thus Holzinger (*Hex* 179) proposes to connect it with Joshua's covenant at Shechem Josh 24²⁵. It might seem more natural to associate it with E's narrative of the institution of the Judges Ex 18, which represents Moses as already in possession of divine statutes and laws Ex 18¹, which could be taught to the people 10. This narrative (it has been shown) is placed too soon; in its original position among the later Horeb scenes it might well have been preceded by a collection of regulations for judicial procedure, and the special warnings in 23¹⁻³ 6-8 would have been particularly apposite. Is it unreasonable to find a trace of such an arrangement in the language of Deut 1¹⁰, which implies that the Mosaic teaching was not all postponed to the eve of the passage of the Jordan in the land of Moab? For a recent attempt to arrange the Words and Judgements in Decalogues, Pentades, and Triplets, cp Briggs, *Higher Criticism* 3 210-32. Some other scholars treat them as an expansion of the Decalogue Ex 20.

20²⁴ This verse (together with 23) is often regarded as redactional. This view finds some support in the fact that different forms of the introductory words seem to have been extant. Thus Sam reads 'And Yahweh spake unto Moses saying, Speak unto the children of Israel': and (y) 21 supply 'And Yahweh said unto Moses, Thus shalt thou say unto the house of Jacob, and tell the children of Israel' cp 19¹. In the y text Kuenen thought he detected the traces of R's hand cp Deut 4¹³ 36, but the signs of D's influence cannot be said to be strong. More significant is the appearance of the name 'Yahweh,' discontinuous with the usage of 19-21, and the contrast of the plurals in 22, with the singular in 24-26.

23 The verse is not free from difficulty. RV accepts the Hebrew punctuation according to which the first clause runs 'Ye shall not make with me': an object has then to be supplied, such as 'other gods' (Rothstein points to Lev 26¹). Briggs practically follows (y) 2 and other ancient authorities, and renders 'Ye shall not make with me gods of silver,' and gods of gold ye shall not make you,' which he regards as the first and second commands of the first pentade. But this kind of repetition seems strangely feeble.

24 It may be doubted whether 24-26 is in its right place; it is unrepresented in J's Covenant-words. Budde (*ZATW* xi 228) suggests that it was originally part of the narrative of the institution of the sanctuary, which must have once fol-

J	E	JE	J	E	P
24b L ^{7a} b ^c p ^a		make unto me, 'and shalt 'sacrifice thereon thy 'burnt offerings, and thy 'peace offerings, thy 'sheep, and thine 'oxen: 'in every place where I 'record my name I will come unto thee and I will bless thee. ²⁵ And if thou make me an altar of stone, thou shalt not build it of 'hewn stones: for if thou 'lift up thy tool upon it, thou hast polluted it. ²⁶ 'Neither shalt thou go up by steps unto mine altar, that thy 'nakedness be not discovered thereon.			h 202 i 33
a' 24 ⁵ 35 ⁶ Deut 27 ⁶ Josh 8 ³¹ cp 10 ²⁸ 18 ¹² Lev 17 ⁶ 24c L ^{7a} b ^c p ^a		21 ¹ Now 'these are the judgements which thou shalt set before them.			
b' 5 ¹ Am 5 ¹¹ cp Deut 27 ⁶ c' Deut 27 ⁶ ct 27 ⁶ 28 L ^{7a} b ^c p ^a		2 ¹ If thou buy an Hebrew 'servant, six years he shall serve: and in the seventh he shall go out 'free 'for nothing. ³ If he come in 'by himself, he shall go out 'by himself: if he be 'married, then his wife shall go out with him. ⁴ If his master give him a wife, and she bear him sons or daughters; the wife and her 'children shall be her master's, and he shall go out 'by himself. ⁵ But if the servant shall plainly say, I 'love my master, my wife, and my children; I will not go out free: ⁶ then his master shall bring him 'unto 'God, and shall bring him to the 'door, or unto the door post; and his master shall 'bore his ear through with an 'awl; and he shall serve him for ever.			a 107 b 234 c 180
e Cp 18 ¹⁰ 22 ⁸ f Deut 15 ¹⁷ g Deut 15 ¹⁷ 7-11 L ^{7a} b ^c p ^a		7 ¹ And if a man sell his daughter to be a 'maid-servant, she shall not go out as the menservants do. ⁸ If she please not her master, 'who hath 'espoused her to himself, then shall he let her be redeemed: to sell her unto a strange people he shall have no power, seeing he hath 'dealt deceitfully with her. ⁹ And if he 'espouse her unto his son, he shall deal with her after the manner of daughters. ¹⁰ If he take him another [wife]; her 'food, her 'raiment, and her 'duty of marriage, shall he not diminish. ¹¹ And if he do not these three unto her, then shall she go out 'for nothing, without money.			d 99
h 5 ¹ Qal ^a cp i Sam 20 ⁶ = appoint f 5 ¹ Hos 5 ⁷ 6 ⁷ Jer 30 ¹ al		12 ¹ He that smiteth a man, so that he die, shall surely be put to death.			
j 5 ¹ = covering 22 ²⁷ Gen 20 ¹⁸ Deut 22 ¹² ^a		13 ¹ And if a man 'lie not in wait, but God 'deliver [him] into his hand; then I will appoint thee a place whither he shall flee. ¹⁴ And if a man come 'presumptuously upon his 'neighbour, to 'slay him with 'guile; thou shalt take him from mine altar, that he may die.			e 112 ^b f 210
12-14 L ^{7a} b ^c p ^a		15 ¹ And he that smiteth his father, or his mother, shall be surely put to death.			
k 5 ¹ i Sam 24 ¹¹ l Cp 5 ¹ Ps 91 ¹⁰ Prov 12 ³¹ m Kings 5 ⁷ n Deut 16 ⁸ 17 ¹² 18 ²⁰ o Josh 9 ⁴ Prov 14 ⁸ 8 ¹² 15-17 L ^{7a} b ^c p ^a 18 L ^{7a} b ^c p ^a		16 ¹ And he that 'stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death.			g 117
o 22 ²⁸ 5 ¹ = revile Lev 20 ⁹		17 ¹ And he that 'curseth his father, or his mother, shall surely be put to death.			
18-27 L ^{7a} b ^c p ^a		18 ¹ And if men contend, and one smiteth the 'other with a stone, or with his 'fist, and he die not, but keep his bed: ¹⁹ if he rise again, and walk abroad upon his 'staff, then shall he that smote him be quit: 'only he shall pay for 'the loss of his time, and shall cause him to be thoroughly healed.			h 189
p Is 58 ⁴ q Num 21 ¹⁸ ^a		20 ¹ And if a man smite 'his servant, or his 'maid, with a rod, and he die under his hand; he shall surely be punished. ²¹ Notwithstanding,			
20 L ^{7a} b ^c p ^a					

33⁶ and preceded the description of Moses' usage 33⁷⁻¹¹. On the other hand D's version of the 'Statutes and Judgements' opens with a law defining the place where cultus is legitimate Deut 12¹; and a similar subject stands at the head of the Holiness-legislation Lev 17. These possibilities cannot be definitely decided: the transpositions and adjustments of the text which seem to have taken place on an extensive scale, make it impossible to recover the original openings either of the Covenant-words or of the Book of Judgements.

20²⁴ M Or, *cause my name to be remembered*.

21¹ Like other documents of the Hexateuch this early collection of laws has no doubt received editorial additions and amplifications. But it does not seem possible to distinguish the work of the first collector on his original materials from the amendments or expansions of later hands.

² M Or, *bondman*.

⁶ M Or, *the judges*.—Cp 22⁹ 28.

⁷ M Or, *bondwoman*.

⁸ M Another reading is, *so that he hath not espoused her*.

¹⁰ M 5¹ *flesh*.—Ct 95.

¹⁶ 5¹ 'he that stealeth a man of the children of Israel.' 5¹ places 16 after 17 so as to join the two offences against parents in immediate succession. This may be due to an effort after symmetry, but it may possibly represent an earlier order. The introduction of 17 may be due to a scribal recollection of Lev 20⁹.

¹⁷ M Or, *revileth*.

¹⁹ M 5¹ *his sitting or ceasing*.

²⁰ Budde suggests that the natural sequel of 18. is found in 22-25, while 20. should stand before 22. In 22 for בְּלִיַּח 'as the judges determine,' he would read בְּנִשְׁלִיַּח 'for the miscarriage.'

²⁰ M Or, *his bondman, or his bondwoman*.

	J E	J E	J E	P
r 5 Hoph Gen 415 24†				
s 35 3235 Josh 245 cp 82 t Gen 1611 u 25 Gen 424 v Deut 2219 w Deut 3231 Job 311† 25-25 L48a x Lev 2430 y Gen 423 36. L2d				
26-26 L3da z 31. Qult cp Deut 3317 a' 36 5†				
v 3012 Num 3581. c P 498†				
32 L2d/				
1-4 L3ab a Gen 4316 2. L2hc b Jer 234† c Gen 3231				
5. L3db d Gen 4517 e Gen 475a f Gen 318 g 5* Judg 158 h Deut 169 2325 i 5† 7-15 L3ea 8. L4b1 j 5=b: brought near Josh 714 Niph† k 28 Deut 2413 295 Josh 9113 228 l Lev 65. Deut 223†				

2131 The distinction between members of the family and slaves in 31. may be later (cp the peculiar formula of reference 31) than the general law in 29. The analogy of 32 suggests that 31 began with CM 'if,' instead of W, and G reads idv de as in 30 32.

222a A slight displacement has probably occurred here. The case of the housebreaker who is killed in resistance to his burglarious act 2-3a interrupts the enunciation of the principle of restitution by a cattle-lifter 1 3b 4. Obviously the thief who

perishes in 2 cannot be called upon for reparation in 3. rule in 2 3a seems to belong to an independent group, of w. however, no other member can now be traced.

2b M 5 blood.

5 G and Sam agree in dividing this case into two, addir the sequel to 1a and the introduction to 5b 'he shall pay (for it) from his field according to its produce; and if it eat whole field up,....' M Or, the judges.—Cp 2

J	E	JE	J E	P
4. 130 ¹ A Gen 20 ¹³		4 ¹² If thou meet thine enemy's ox or his ass ^h going astray, thou shalt surely bring it back to him again. 5 If thou see the ass of him that ^h hateth thee ^h lying under his burden, ^h and wouldest forbear to help him, thou shalt surely help with him.		c 167
i Gen 4 ⁷		6 ¹² Thou shalt not ^h wrest the judgement of thy ^h poor in his cause.		
6-8 L40 ⁵ j 11 Deut 15 ⁴⁻¹¹ 24 ^{14*}		7 Keep thee far from a false ^h matter; and the innocent and ^h righteous ^h slay thou not: ^h for I will not ^h justify the ^h wicked. 8 And thou shalt take no ^h gift: for a gift ^h blindeth them that have ^h sight, and ^h perverteth the ^h words of the ^h righteous. 9 ^a ¹² And a ^h stranger shalt thou not oppress: 9 ^b <i>for ye know the heart of a stranger, seeing ye were strangers in the land of Egypt.</i>	d 108 e 199 f 210	
k Deut 10 ¹⁷ 16 ¹⁸ 27 ^{25*} l Deut 16 ^{19*} m 4 ^{11†} n L4 ^{18a} n 22 ²¹		10 ¹² And six years thou shalt sow thy land, and shalt gather in the increase thereof: 11 but the seventh year thou shalt ^h let it rest and ^h lie fallow; that the ^h poor of thy people may eat: and what they leave the beast of the field shall eat. In like manner thou shalt deal with thy vineyard, [and] with thy oliveyard. 12 ¹² Six days thou shalt do thy ^h work, and on the seventh day thou shalt ^h rest: ^h that thine ox and thine ass may have rest, and the son of thy ^h handmaid, and the stranger, may be ^h refreshed.	g 174	
10-17 L9 ^{ab} 10. L9 ^{1a} o Gen 31 ²⁸ Num 11 ³¹ Deut 32 ¹⁸ p *		13 ¹² And in all things that I have said unto you ^h take ye heed: and ^h make no mention of the name of other gods, neither let it be heard out of thy mouth.	h 99	
12 L9 ^{bc} p Ct 20 ⁹ cp 16 labours p q Cp Deut 5 ¹⁴ r 31 ¹⁷ 2 Sam 16 ^{14†} 12 L5 ^{a-c} s 21 cp 1700 t Josh 23 ⁷		14 Three ^h times thou shalt ^h keep a feast unto me in the year. 15 ¹² The feast of unleavened ^h bread shalt thou keep: ^h seven days thou shalt eat unleavened bread, as I commanded thee, at the time appointed in the month Abib (for in it thou camest out from Egypt); ^h and none shall ^h appear before me empty: 16 ^h and the feast of ^h harvest, the firstfruits of thy labours, which thou sowest in the field: ^h and the feast of ^h ingathering, at the end of the year, when thou gatherest in thy labours out of the field. 17 ¹² Three times in the year all thy males shall ^h appear before the Lord.	i 203	
u Num 22 ²⁸ 32 [†] et 17 p v 5 ¹ 15a L9 ^{cc} 15b L7 ^{eb} 15c L9 ^{ff} w Gen 22 ² 15b L9 ^{1b} x 34 ^{2†}		18 ¹² Thou shalt not ^h offer the blood of my sacrifice with leavened bread; ^h neither shall the fat of my feast ^h remain all night until the morning. 19 ¹² The ^h first of the firstfruits of thy ground thou shalt bring into the house of Yahweh thy God. ¹² Thou shalt not ^h seethe a kid in its mother's milk.	j 178	
15 L7 ^{ai} 15a L7 ^{nb} y 34 ^{2b} cp Judg 2 ¹ 15b L7 ^{oc} 15c L9 ^{oi} z 34 ^{2b} 15b L6 ^{db} a' 34 ⁶		20 ¹² Behold, I ^h send an ^h angel before thee, to keep thee by the way,	k 97	

23^a The laws in 4. curiously interrupt the sequence of precepts on the impartial administration of justice; either they have been incorporated after this group had been formed, or 6-9 is a postscript from another source cp 6 with 2., 7 with 1., and 9 with 22²¹.

6 M Or, and wouldest forbear to release it for him, thou shalt surely release it with him.

7 (h) and thou shalt not justify the wicked for the sake of gifts.

8 M Or, cause.—Cp 15^{10b}.

11 M Or, release it and let it lie fallow. See Deut 15².

12 M Or, keep sabbath.—The passage which follows may be a later amplification cp Deut 5¹⁴.

13 This verse is generally recognized as a conclusion left stranded by successive manipulations of the text. In its present form it shows the influence of E; but 13^b seems originally to have been parallel to 34¹⁴; Sam reads 'make thou no mention' for p 'make ye.'

15 This passage, interrupting the grammatical sequence of 15a 16, seems to have been derived word for word from 34¹⁸ 20. The words 'as I commanded thee' apparently refer to 13⁶., and are in their proper place in J's covenant, but cannot be original in E.

17 Another incorporation by the harmonist from 34²³: the precept is not needed after 14.

18 Parallel to 34²³, but probably independent of it: J limits the rule to the Passover.

19a Identical with 34²⁰. The law seems already covered by 22²⁰.

19b Probably original to E as well as to J. Cp 22^{21a}.

20 The following exhortation seems in the main to belong to

E, though it has received considerable additions from the Deuteronomistic school 23-26a 27 31b-33. It may, however, be doubted whether it is in its right place here. Does it belong to the 'Judgements' or to the 'Words'? On the one hand the Covenant in 34¹⁰⁻²⁷ closes with the command in 19b; on the other hand the analogy of the discourses in Deut 28 and Lev 26 suggests that the Book of Judgements may have concluded with a similar utterance of warning and hope. But, again, it may be urged that if the Covenant-words be limited to the original text of 22²⁰⁻³¹ 23¹⁰⁻¹⁹, they form after all only a one-sided bond: they enumerate the obligations of Israel but contain no declaration of the promise of Yahweh. Such a promise would naturally follow the commands; and a prospective hortatory discourse, therefore, concludes the Mosaic Covenant-words of Horeb much as a similar retrospective discourse is connected with Joshua's covenant at Shechem Josh 24. In this view the unexpanded original of 20-33 is an integral part of the Covenant-record. In that case, however, it may be observed that it is at present placed too soon. The opening reference to the departure of Israel 20 seems premature, when Moses has not yet even received the tables bearing the Ten Words of 20¹⁻¹⁷. Bacon therefore argues that the whole of E's Covenant-story belongs to a later stage of the Horeb incidents, and originally immediately preceded Israel's start upon the march; see 34^{28a}. Another combination seems also possible. The language of 20-23 points to a permanent guide, which would be in continual legislative relations with the people (22a 'I speak' = 'I shall speak' p). It is natural to connect such a representative Presence with the sanctuary, which became the centre of judicial as well as religious functions cp 33⁷ 18¹⁹. If it may be

J	E	JE	J	E	P
U' Num 23 ¹ Josh 4 ¹ al		and to bring thee into the place which I have ^v prepared. ²¹ Take ye heed of him, and ^v hearken unto his voice; ^v provoke him not: for he will not ^c pardon your ^m transgression; for my name is in him. ²² But if thou shalt indeed ^v hearken unto ^v his voice, and do all that I speak; then I ^d will be an enemy unto thine enemies, and an ^c adversary unto thine adversaries.			1 44 ^b m 223
c' Gen 50 ¹⁷ Josh 24 ¹⁹		²³ For mine ^v angel shall go before thee, and ^v bring thee in unto the ^c Amorite, and the Hittite, and the Perizzite, and the Canaanite, the Hivite, and the Jebusite: and I will ^v cut them off. ²⁴ Thou shalt not ^v bow down to their gods, nor ^v serve them, nor do after their works: ^v but thou shalt utterly ^v overthrow them, and ^v break in pieces their ^v pillars. ²⁵ And ye shall ^v serve Yahweh ^m your God.			
d' 5 ¹ e' Deut 2 ⁹ 20 ¹² 19		²⁵ And ^h he shall bless thy bread, and thy water; and I will take ^v sickness away from the midst of thee. ²⁶ There shall none ^v cast her young, nor be ^c barren, in thy land: the number of thy days I will fulfil.			a 98
f' Cp 24		²⁷ I will send my ^v terror before thee, and will ^c discomfit all the people to whom thou shalt come, and I will make all thine enemies turn their ^v backs unto thee.			
g' 3 ⁸		²⁸ And I will send the ^v hornet before thee, which shall ^v drive out ^v the Hivite, the Canaanite, and the Hittite, from before thee. ²⁹ I will not ^v drive them out from before thee in one year; lest the land become ^v desolate, and the beast of the field multiply against thee. ³⁰ By ^v little and little I will ^v drive them out from before thee, until thou be ^v increased, and inherit the land. ³¹ And I will ^v set thy border ^v from the Red Sea even unto the sea of the Philistines, and from the wilderness unto ^v the River:			
h' Cp 9 ¹⁵ ct 20. 24a 15a ¹ i' 20 ¹ cp 23 ^a 24b 15b ⁶ j' 15 ⁷ k' 5 ¹ = dash 34 ¹³ Deut 7 ⁵ 12 ³		³¹ ^v for I will ^v deliver the inhabitants of the land into your hand; and thou shalt ^v drive them out before thee. ³² Thou shalt ^v make no covenant with them, nor with their gods. ³³ They shall not dwell in thy land, lest they ^v make thee sin against me: for if thou ^v serve their gods, it will surely be a ^v snare unto thee.			o 148
l' Cp 23 ⁵ m' Cp 27 ^a n' 15 ²⁸ o' Gen 11 ³⁰ Deut 7 ¹⁴ p' Gen 15 ¹³ q' 14 ²⁴ r' Josh 7 ⁸ 11		²⁴ And he said unto Moses, "Come up unto Yahweh, thou, and Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, and ^v seventy of the ^v elders of Israel; and ^v worship ye ^v afar off: ² and Moses ^v alone shall ^v come near unto ^v Yahweh; but they shall not come near; neither shall the people go up with him.			a 151 b 125
s' Deut 7 ²⁰ Josh 24 ¹² t' 6 ¹					
u' Lev 26 ²⁵ Josh 8 ²⁸ v' Deut 7 ²² w' 5 ¹ = fruitful Gen 26 ²³ x' Cp Gen 15 ¹³ Deut 11 ²⁴					
y' Cp 23 ⁵ z' Deut 24 ¹ 1 Kings 14 ¹⁶ 15 ²⁸ 20 ³⁴ & c aa' Cp 23 ⁵ ab' 34 ¹² Deut 7 ¹⁶ Joah 23 ¹³ ct Ex 10 ⁷ ac' 19 ²⁴ cp 9 ¹ ct 12 ¹⁵ b Ct Num 11 ¹⁴ 24. c Gen 22 ⁵ d Gen 22 ⁴ e 19 ²²					

conjectured from 20²⁴⁻²⁶ 33⁷. that E1 contained a small corpus of sanctuary records, legislative and narrative, this discourse may have belonged originally to the description of the original Tent of Meeting, and the arrangements for the intercourse of Yahweh with his people.

23²¹ M. Or, be not rebellious against him.—5 Hiph*.

22^a On G's addition of 19^b, here, see 19³⁸.

22^b G my voice.

23 This passage does not seem to belong to the context where it interrupts the enunciation of the divine promises to Israel 23 25b 26; the demand for the destruction of the consecrated pillars can hardly proceed from the writer who immediately after describes Moses as erecting twelve 24^a, and who narrated the origin of the pillars at Bethel and Gilead Gen 28¹³ 31¹⁶; while the affinities of language with D point clearly to editorial amplification.

21 M. Or, obelisks. See Lev 26¹ 2 Kings 3².

25 G I will bless. This reading seems to preserve the original continuity of 22 25b cp 23^a.

27 Apparently a duplicate of 28.

28 This summary of the hostile nations under these three names does not occur elsewhere. G reads first the Amorite. It has been conjectured that this was E's original designation cp 19²⁶, and that the names now in the text are due to the harmonist, cp 3³⁸. The pronoun 'them' in 29 is singular in G.

31 M. That is, the Euphrates.

24¹ The opening words in G 'and to Moses he said' suggest at once the presence of a new source, for the whole preceding section 20²¹⁻²³ has been addressed to Moses. The instructions

in 1 are carried out in 9-11, while the account of the intervening Covenant-ceremony 2-8 completes the narrative of 20¹⁶. It is usually supposed that Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu correspond to the 'priests' of 19²² J (Sam adds Eleazar and Ithamar), whereas E describes Moses as performing the Covenant-sacrifice with the aid of certain 'young men' 5, cp the designation of Joshua as sanctuary-servant 33¹¹. The amalgamation of the two narratives here is probably due to the harmonist's perception that 24¹. 9-11 formed the counterpart in J of the Covenant-feast in 2-8. As this could only have been celebrated once, it was necessary to combine the accounts of J and E if they were both to be retained. Dillmann believes that touches from J are to be discovered in 4^a (cp 34²⁷) 7²⁸: but this view has not found any general support. The hand of the editor who combined the 'Judgements' with the 'Words' may be seen in 5. Kuenen, however, followed by Cornill, assigns 1. 9-11 to E1 (cp Eloh¹¹), but recognizes that 3-8 belong to another narrative. On the place which he provides for it see 34²⁸. Other critics, like Budde, have ascribed 1. 9-11 fundamentally to E1, but have recognized foreign elements in them. Kittel even suggests the possible presence of P. The names of Nadab and Abihu are found elsewhere only in P; and in 10 the expressions 'God of Israel' and 'very (צר) heaven' show affinities with his vocabulary, while 'nobles' 11 occurs only once besides in an exilic passage. But the names of Aaron's sons may have belonged to the older tradition; and P nowhere relates any such vision of Deity.

2 G reads God cp 11.

J E	JE	J E P
3-8 2mle f 19 ^a g 17 ¹⁴ cp 34 ²⁷ 4a L10dJ 4b L5G/ 4 Gen 28 ¹⁸ ct 23 ²⁴ i Ct 118 ^r 5 L11a0ha j Ct 10 ²³ k 20 ²⁴ cp 18 ¹³ l Is 22 ²⁴ Cant 7 ²¹ m 8 cp 114 ⁸ n Ct 34 ²⁷ o 6 = ears 11 ² p Cp 2b	3 ^a And Moses came and told the people all the words of Yahweh, and all the judgements: and all the people answered with one voice, and said, All the words which Yahweh hath spoken will we do. 4 ^a And Moses wrote all the words of Yahweh, and rose up early in the morning, and builded an altar under the mount, and twelve pillars, according to the twelve tribes of Israel. 5 ^a And he sent young men of the children of Israel, which offered burnt offerings, and sacrificed peace offerings of oxen unto Yahweh. 6 ^a And Moses took half of the blood, and put it in basons; and half of the blood he sprinkled on the altar. 7 ^a And he took the book of the covenant, and read in the audience of the people: and they said, All that Yahweh hath spoken will we do, and be obedient. 8 ^a And Moses took the blood, and sprinkled it on the people, and said, Behold the blood of the covenant, which Yahweh hath made with you concerning all these words. 9 ^a Then went up Moses, and Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, and seventy of the elders of Israel: 10 ^a and they saw the God of Israel; and there was under his feet as it were a paved work of sapphire stone, and as it were the very heaven for clearness. 11 ^a And upon the nobles of the children of Israel he laid not his hand: and they beheld God, and did eat and drink. 12 ^a And Yahweh said unto Moses, Come up to me into the mount, and be there: and I will give thee the tables of stone, and the law and the commandments, which I have written, that thou mayest teach them. 13 ^a And Moses rose up, and Joshua his minister: and Moses went up into the mount of God. 14 ^a And he said unto the elders, Tarry ye here for us, until we come again unto you: and, behold, Aaron and Hur are with you: whosoever hath a cause, let him come near unto them. 15 ^a And Moses went up into the mount, 15 ^b And the cloud covered the mount. 16 ^a And the glory of Yahweh abode upon mount Sinai, and the cloud covered it six days: and the seventh day he called unto Moses out of the midst of the cloud. 17 ^a And the appearance of the glory of Yahweh was like devouring fire on the top of the mount in the eyes of the children of Israel. 18 ^a And Moses entered into the midst of the cloud, and went up into the mount: 18 ^b and Moses was in the mount forty days and forty nights. 25 ^a And Yahweh spake unto Moses, saying, 2 ^b Speak unto the children	 o 219 d 200 e 137 f 235 g 110 h 181 i 205 ^b j 128 k 109 l 105 m 168 n 107 o 108 p 79 q 54 r 7 a 185 ^a b 185 ^b

24^a This passage has occasionally been combined with 34²⁷ as the sequel of Yahweh's Covenant with Israel 34¹⁰⁻²⁷. The repetitions in the text are certainly noteworthy: in 3^a Moses recites the Words to the people and they unanimously promise obedience to them: in 7^a they are solemnly read out of the Covenant-book, and a similar promise follows. Are these parts of one narrative? The mention of the sacred pillars in 4^a has usually been regarded as decisive in favour of *JE*. But it will be noticed that they are introduced without a verb: the term 'built' is nowhere applied to pillars, which are said to be 'set up' Gen 28¹⁸ 31⁴⁵ 35¹⁴; nor are altars and pillars ever said to be erected together. Is it possible that there are here traces of combination to which we may also owe the doublets in 3^a and 7^a?

24^a M Or, upon all these conditions.

25^a Are these the 'Words' of 4^a, or (as some critics suppose) the Decalogue of 20¹⁻¹⁷?

10^a M Or, work of bright sapphire.—*6*+

12 This clause can hardly be original in its present form, as there is nowhere any mention of any law or commandment written by God except the Ten Words, which would hardly be described in these terms. *6* and Sam omit *and*. It is possible that the order may have become confused, and that the words 'which I have written' should immediately follow the 'tables of stone' cp 32¹⁵, but such a combination seems hardly natural. The phrase as it now stands may have been expanded from a shorter one on the basis of Deut 5²⁷. The word 'teach' is not the Deuteronomic *limmed* cp 27^{1b}, but *horah* cp Deut 17¹⁰, 24⁸

33¹⁰ Lev 10¹¹, from which the term *torah* 'law' (teaching) is derived.

13 This statement seems premature, as in 14^a Moses addresses the 'elders' (?) who are left below, with Aaron and Hur at their head, to carry on the judicial work which Moses had hitherto superintended (cp Ex 18¹²ⁿ). The repetition of Moses' ascent in 15^a shows that either 13^a is an accidental anticipation, or 14^a is an afterthought from another hand.

14 The 'elders' here named cannot be the seventy 3^a who are already on the mountain. If the word is original, the elders must be addressed as representatives of the people cp 31⁶ 4²⁰. It has been suggested, however, that it is due either to accidental reminiscence in copying or perhaps to intentional harmonizing, and replaces the 'people.'

15^a At this point the narrative of P interrupted in 19³ is resumed: in 15^{a-17} the great manifestation on the mount is described in his peculiar terms, and the way is prepared for the corpus of P's Sinaitic legislation, beginning with the Dwelling, its sacred furniture and vessels, and its priests. In the following analysis the linguistic affinities with the general matter of P (both in narrative and laws) are briefly indicated, but many technical terms in the description of the fabric and its contents remain unnoticed, as no critical questions in any way depend on them for solution. The repetitions of the different sections constituting 25-31 will be found tabulated under 35¹.

25¹ The conception of the Dwelling and its furniture, together with the appointment of the Aaronic priesthood to

JE

P

a 35²¹ 29 Qal†
 b Num 4⁶ 15³³
 Ezek 23⁶ 27⁷
 c Num 4¹³ Ezek
 27⁷
 d Lev 14⁴ Num
 4⁶ 19⁶
 e 27³⁰
 f 30³⁸ 35³⁸
 g 1 Kings 10² al
 h 20¹ 30³⁵ &c
 (23)† cp 23
 i 28¹⁷
 j 28³⁵ 39 Lev
 88†
 k 20¹ 30³⁵ &c
 (23)† cp 23
 l 28¹⁷
 m 28³⁵ 39 Lev
 88†
 n 20¹ 30³⁵ &c
 (23)† cp 23
 o 28¹⁷
 p 28³⁵ 39 Lev
 88†

of Israel, that they take for me an "offering: "of every man whose heart "maketh him willing ye shall take my "offering. ³ And "this is the "offering which ye shall take of them; gold, and silver, and brass; ⁴ and "blue, and "purple, and "scarlet, and "fine linen, and goats' [hair]; ⁵ and rams' skins dyed red, and "sealskins, and acacia wood; ⁶ "oil for the "light, "spices for the "anointing oil, and for the "sweet incense; ⁷ "onyx stones, and stones "to be set, for the "ephod, and for the "breastplate. ⁸ "And "let them make me a "sanctuary; that I may "dwell "among them. ⁹ According to "all that "I shew thee, the "pattern of the "Dwelling, and the pattern of all the furniture thereof, "even so shall ye make it.

¹⁰ "And "they shall make an "ark of acacia wood: two cubits and a half shall be the "length thereof, and a cubit and a half the "breadth thereof, and a cubit and a half the "height thereof. ¹¹ And thou shalt overlay it with "pure gold, "within and without" shalt thou overlay it, and shalt make upon it a "crown of gold round about. ¹² And thou shalt "cast four rings of gold for it, and put them in the four feet thereof; and two rings shall be on the one "side of it, and two rings on the other "side of it. ¹³ And thou shalt make staves of acacia wood, and overlay them with gold. ¹⁴ And thou shalt put the staves into the rings on the sides of the ark, to bear the ark withal.

c 118²
 d 188^b
 e 104
 f 95^b
 g 59
 h 91
 i 54
 j 23
 k 94

l 42^b
 m 128

minister in it, is universally recognized as the centre of P's representations of the Mosaic institutions. The whole section 25-31¹⁸ is bound together by numerous links of thought and language, which serve in like manner to establish connexions with the rest of P's narrative and legislation (see the margins). Yet this passage plainly falls apart into two uneven divisions at 29¹⁷: the character of the series of paragraphs in 30-31¹¹ is discussed in the notes *in loc*. But the constitution of 25-29 also demands attention. Here likewise there appear occasional signs of supplemental handiwork, see notes on 27³⁰ 28³¹ 41 29²¹ 38. But behind these lies the curious fact that in 25-27¹⁹ the sanctuary is always called the 'Dwelling' ²⁵ 54, while in 28-29 this name is replaced by the older term 'Tent of Meeting' cp 33⁷ (*Introd* VIII i 2, XII 2e). The title 'Dwelling' is of course freely used in the great repetition Ex 35-40, but the main portions of the Priestly Law in Lev ignore it. In Lev 8¹⁰ 17⁴ its appearance is due to the harmonist: in 15³¹ 26¹¹ it seems to denote not the visible fabric but the ideal presence of Yahweh with his people. Similarly the allusions to the court in Lev 6¹⁶ 30 may be regarded as glosses. In the regulations for the annual atonement ceremony Lev 16 the name is avoided, though the Tent of Meeting is curiously said ¹⁶ to 'dwell' with Israel in the midst of their uncleanness, and the references to the Testimony, the ark, and the 'covering' agree with the description in Ex 25. The Dwelling becomes again prominent in the arrangements for the Camp and its removal Num 1⁴⁸ 3-4 9-10 (cp 16-31³⁰ 47). The absence of the term from the Priestly Law proper, which is usually based on the older name 'Tent of Meeting', is highly significant (in Lev 17⁴ 6 9 19²¹ there is reason to suspect editorial redaction; in P^b prefers 'sanctuary' Lev 19³⁰ 20³ 21¹² 23 26³ 31, but it is doubtful whether in all these passages the word can be restricted to the meaning 'holy place' cp 91). This regular preference for different terms in different groups of passages, must have some cause, and suggests that the account of the Dwelling and its place in the centre of the camp has been substituted for an older delineation of the Tent of Meeting. Delicate indications of this may perhaps be found in the fact that Ex 20¹³ represents the entrance of the Tent as the meeting-place between Yahweh and Moses 'to speak there unto thee' cp 33⁷, whereas in 25²² the meeting place is before the ark containing the Testimony, and Yahweh speaks from between the two cherubim on the covering above. This is indeed recognized in Lev 16², yet the same passage neglects the fundamental distinction of Ex 26³³, and still calls the shrine of Yahweh's appearing the 'holy place.' It seems not impossible, therefore, that Ex 25-27¹⁹ with its connected sections elsewhere may have been elaborated on the basis of an older account of the Tent of Meeting which preceded the institution of the Aaronic priesthood. It can hardly have belonged to P^b which afterwards ignores it, though the close in Ex 29⁴³⁻⁴⁵ is not without affinities with that collection. [In the description of the Dwelling it may be noted that the Tables bearing the Ten Words are designated as the 'Testimony' ²⁵ 28, and the

ark which holds them is the 'ark of the Testimony' instead of the ark of Yahweh or of the covenant. The term 'covenant', however, appears in (G) Ex 27²¹ 31⁷ 38¹⁶ (H 39³⁵) cp Josh 4¹⁶. Allowance must be made for accident or carelessness on the part of copyist or translator, especially in passages which on other grounds cannot be regarded as original; but there remains some possibility of genuine variation which may be due to differences in the incorporation of materials of different dates.] But Ex 25-27¹⁹ still shows some further peculiarities. The form of 25^{2b-7} is that of an exhortation to the people by Moses, 'ye shall take' cp 35⁵ (in ³ for 'of them' read 'of you'). This breaks the connexion of ^{2a} and ⁸ according to our present H, though in ⁸ G reads 'thou shalt make.' In ⁹ the pattern has yet to be shown to Moses, while in ⁴⁰ 26³⁰ 27⁶ the vision is apparently over. On the signification of the parallel with Ezek 40⁴ cp *Introd* XIII 3 i 130: the perfects in the subsequent passages may be fairly interpreted as *futura exacta*, 'when Moses has descended from the mountain he is to conform to what "will have been revealed" to him' Kuenen, *Hex 74*, cp Driver, *Tenses in Hebrew* § 17, Ges-Kautzsch, *Hebr Gram* (Collins and Cowley 1898) pp 324 328 cp 408. It does not seem necessary, therefore, to resort to hypotheses either (1) of displacement (as though much of the instructions now given to Moses on the mount originally belonged to the period after his descent 34²⁸⁻³⁰), or (2) of duplicate records, one of the vision and another of commands founded on the vision, cp Klostermann, *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschr* (1897) 318. The general view indicated above finds unexpected support in Klostermann's elaborate essay, which contains many interesting textual suggestions. But his interpretation of Ex 33⁷ as the account of a single incident 245, and his ascription of the sections on the Dwelling to the age of Solomon 383, do not seem in any way tenable. Cp Nowack, *Archdol* ii 53, and Benzinger, *Archdol* 395...

25^{2a} M Or, *have offering*.

2b On the possibility that 2b-7 is not original cp 17.

4 M Or, *cotton*.—Cp Gen 41⁴² Ezek 16¹⁰ 27.

5 M Or, *porpoise-skins*.—Cp Num 4⁶ Ezek 16¹⁰.

6 G omits. The references to supplemental passages, anointing oil 30²⁴⁻²⁵, sweet incense 30²⁴⁻²⁵, show that the verse has been inserted for completeness by a later hand.

7 M Or, *beryl*.—Cp 28⁹ 30 35 39 Gen 2¹² Ezek 28¹³ Job 28¹⁶ 1 Chron 29².

8 (G) and thou shalt make . . . and I will appear among you. Cp 29⁴⁵ Ezek 37²⁵⁻²⁶.

9a So M G. T *tabernacle*. Cp 54^{2b}.

9b The grammatical difficulty involved in the 'even,' may possibly be overcome if this clause (notice the plural) could be regarded as a fragment from the address in 2b-7. (G) reads more simply, 'thus shalt thou make it'; Sam also makes the verb singular, but retains the difficult 1. Cp however Driver, *Tenses in Hebrew* § 124.

10 (G) Sam and thou shalt make as in 13 17. 23 31 &c cp 11.

11 M Or, *rim*. Or, *moulding*.—Cp 24. 30⁸. 37² 11. 26.†. 12 G *rib*.

JE

P

o 37⁹ 40³ 21⁴ cp
Ezek 28:14 16

p \S = speak 29²²
Num 7⁸⁹

22-30 L12da 7ha

q Cp 11a

r 27 37¹² 14⁴ cp
1 Kings 7²⁸
s 37¹² Ezek 40⁵
43 43¹²
t Lev 13⁴¹ Num
34⁵ Josh 15⁶
(32)

u 30⁹ 37¹⁶ Num
28⁷ cp Gen
35¹⁴

21-40 L12db
v Lev 24⁴ Num
38¹ 49⁸⁴
w Gen 44²
x Am 9¹
y Num 84¹⁷
z Gen 41⁶
a' Gen 61⁶
b' 84 37¹⁹+

c' Cp 21b

d' Gen 15 Num
82
e' 37²³ Num 49⁴
f' Num 49 cp 27²

1-14 L12ba
a 26 36 Num 42⁵
b 26-28 36 38-1
c 31 28⁶ 16 35⁴
38⁴

15 The staves shall be in the rings of the ark: they shall not be taken from it. 16 And thou shalt put into the ark the testimony which I shall give thee. 17 And thou shalt make a covering of pure gold: two cubits and a half [shall be] the length thereof, and a cubit and a half the breadth thereof. 18 And thou shalt make two cherubim of gold; of beaten work shalt thou make them, at the two ends of the covering. 19 And make one cherub at the one end, and one cherub at the other end: of one piece with the covering shall ye make the cherubim on the two ends thereof. 20 And the cherubim shall spread out their wings on high, covering the covering with their wings, with their faces one to another; toward the covering shall the faces of the cherubim be. 21 And thou shalt put the covering above upon the ark; and in the ark thou shalt put the testimony that I shall give thee. 22 And there I will meet with thee, and I will commune with thee from above the covering, from between the two cherubim which are upon the ark of the testimony, of all things which I will give thee in commandment unto the children of Israel.

23 And thou shalt make a table of acacia wood: two cubits [shall be] the length thereof, and a cubit the breadth thereof, and a cubit and a half the height thereof. 24 And thou shalt overlay it with pure gold, and make thereto a crown of gold round about. 25 And thou shalt make unto it a border of an handbreadth round about, and thou shalt make a golden crown to the border thereof round about. 26 And thou shalt make for it four rings of gold, and put the rings in the four corners that are on the four feet thereof. 27 Close by the border shall the rings be, for places for the staves to bear the table. 28 And thou shalt make the staves of acacia wood, and overlay them with gold, that the table may be borne with them. 29 And thou shalt make the dishes thereof, and the spoons thereof, and the flagons thereof, and the bowls thereof, to pour out withal: of pure gold shalt thou make them. 30 And thou shalt set upon the table shewbread before me always.

31 And thou shalt make a candlestick of pure gold: of beaten work shall the candlestick be made, even its base, and its shaft; its cups, its knops, and its flowers, shall be of one piece with it: 32 and there shall be six branches going out of the sides thereof; three branches of the candlestick out of the one side thereof, and three branches of the candlestick out of the other side thereof: 33 three cups made like almond-blossoms in one branch, a knop and a flower; and three cups made like almond-blossoms in the other branch, a knop and a flower: so for the six branches going out of the candlestick: 34 and in the candlestick four cups made like almond-blossoms, the knops thereof, and the flowers thereof: 35 and a knop under two branches of one piece with it, and a knop under two branches of one piece with it, for the six branches going out of the candlestick. 36 Their knops and their branches shall be of one piece with it: the whole of it one beaten work of pure gold. 37 And thou shalt make the lamps thereof, seven: and they shall light the lamps thereof, to give light over against it. 38 And the tongs thereof, and the snuffdishes thereof, shall be of pure gold. 39 Of a talent of pure gold shall it be made, with all these vessels. 40 And see that thou make them after their pattern, which hath been shewed thee in the mount.

26¹ Moreover thou shalt make the Dwelling with ten curtains; of fine twined linen, and blue, and purple, and scarlet, with cherubim the work of the cunning workman shalt thou make them. 2 The length of each curtain shall be eight and twenty cubits, and the breadth of each curtain four cubits:

n 161
o 47

p 169
q 184

r 111

s 43

t 124

a 54b

25¹⁷ So M. T mercy-seat.

18 M Or, turned.—Cp 31 36 37¹⁷ 22 Num 84 102 Jer 10⁵+

19a This verse may be supplemental: \S begins וַיִּשְׂרָא , a formula only used in 28⁴², while the plural 'ye' 19b is unexpected.

19b Sam begin 'they shall be made' and in b read 'thou.'

19b M \S out of the mercy-seat.

30 M Or, Presence-bread.

31a M \S thigh.

37a Sam \S thou shalt.

39 \S 'shalt thou make all these vessels'; Sam also reads 'shalt thou make.'

26¹ So M. T tabernacle.

31b M \S out of the same.

37b M Or, set up.

JE

P

d 287 39⁴ Ezek
19 11

e 26 36†

f 3612 Hiph†
g 11 33 3511
3612 3928†A Ct 2822g
i 2816 39⁹ Ezek
2119†

j 5†

k 3511 3610 al cp
Gen 812l 256
18-29 L12bb
m 26 36 3928 4012
Num 346 481
Ezek 274†n 25⁹

o Gen 1314

p 28 27⁹ 3628

389 Num 210

329 106 Deut

37⁹ Ezek

2046 al

q 26 35-40 Num

384 431 Cant

518 Job 384†

21. L10a/

r 23 27 3627. 32²

1 Kings 616

Ezek 4610 al

s 3628†

t 3629 cp Cant 4²

64†

u 3629⁹ Ezek

4621. Neh 324

v Deut 36

w 3633⁹ Judg 719

Ezek 417 al

20 L121a

x 25⁹

31. L12bc

all the curtains shall have one measure. ³ Five curtains shall be ^dcoupled together ^bone to another; and [the other] five curtains shall be coupled one to another. ⁴ And thou shalt make loops of blue upon the edge of the one curtain ^afrom the selvedge in the coupling; and likewise shalt thou make in the edge of the curtain that is outmost in the second ^acoupling. ⁵ Fifty loops shalt thou make in the one curtain, and fifty loops shalt thou make in the edge of the curtain that is in the second ^acoupling; the loops shall be ^fopposite ^bone to another. ⁶ And thou shalt make fifty ^cclasps of gold, and couple the curtains ^bone to another with the clasps: and the Dwelling shall be one. ⁷ And thou shalt make curtains of goats' [hair] for a tent over the Dwelling: ^eeleven curtains shalt thou make them. ⁸ The length of each curtain shall be thirty cubits, and the breadth of each curtain four cubits: the eleven curtains shall have one measure. ⁹ And thou shalt couple five curtains ^aby themselves, and six curtains by themselves, and shalt ^ddouble over the sixth curtain in the ^aforefront of the tent. ¹⁰ And thou shalt make fifty loops on the edge of the one curtain that is outmost in the ^acoupling, and fifty loops upon the edge of the curtain which is [outmost in] the second ^acoupling. ¹¹ And thou shalt make fifty clasps of brass, and put the clasps into the loops, and couple the tent together, that it may be one. ¹² And the ^foverhanging part that ^aremaineth of the curtains of the tent, the half curtain that remaineth, shall hang over the back of the Dwelling. ¹³ And the cubit on the one side, and the cubit on the other side, of that which ^aremaineth in the length of the curtains of the tent, shall hang over the sides of the Dwelling on this side and on that side, to cover it. ¹⁴ And thou shalt make a ^kcovering for the tent of ^arams' skins dyed red, and a covering of ^fsealskins ^aabove.

¹⁵ ^LAnd thou shalt make the ^mboards for the Dwelling of acacia wood, standing up. ¹⁶ Ten cubits shall be the length of a board, and a cubit and a half the breadth of each board. ¹⁷ Two tenons shall there be in each board, ^ajoined ^bone to another: ^athus shalt thou make for all the boards of the Dwelling. ¹⁸ And thou shalt make the boards for the Dwelling, twenty boards for the ^asouth side ^asouthward. ¹⁹ And thou shalt make forty ^asockets of silver under the twenty boards; two sockets under one board for its two tenons, and two sockets under another board for its two tenons: ²⁰ and for the second side of the Dwelling, on the north side, twenty boards: ²¹ ^Land their forty sockets of silver; two sockets under one board, and two sockets under another board. ²² And for the ^ahinder part of the Dwelling westward thou shalt make six boards. ²³ And two boards shalt thou make for the ^acorners of the Dwelling in the hinder part. ²⁴ And they shall be ^adouble ^abeneath, and in like manner they shall be entire unto the top thereof unto ^aone ring: thus shall it be for them both; they shall be for the two ^acorners. ²⁵ And there shall be eight boards, and their sockets of silver, sixteen sockets; two sockets under one board, and two sockets under another board. ²⁶ And thou shalt make ^abars of acacia wood; five for the boards of the one side of the Dwelling, ²⁷ and five bars for the boards of the other side of the Dwelling, and five bars for the boards of the side of the Dwelling, for the hinder part westward. ²⁸ And the ^amiddle bar in the midst of the boards shall pass through from end to end. ²⁹ And thou shalt overlay the boards with gold, and make their rings of gold for places for the bars: and thou shalt overlay the bars with gold. ³⁰ ^LAnd thou shalt ^arear up the Dwelling according to the fashion thereof which hath been ^ashewed thee in the mount.

³¹ ^LAnd thou shalt make a ^aveil of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen: with cherubim the work of the ^acunning workman ^ashall it be made: ³² and thou shalt hang it upon four pillars of acacia overlaid with

264^a M Or, that is outmost in the first set.

4b M Or, set.

10a M Or, first set.

5 M Or, set.

10b M Or, set.

17 M Or, morticed.

31 G shall thou make it: Sam shall they make it.

14 M Or, porpoise-skins.

24 M Or, the first.

JE

P

v 27 36 38†
28-30 421d

z 25²³
a' 25²¹

26 421bd
b' 26 35 39 Num
3 2 Sam 17¹⁹
1a 22⁸ Ps
105²⁹†
c' 26-28 35 38†
Ps 139¹⁶ Put

1-8 210dp 120a

a 27 30 37-39
1 Kings 7⁶
Ezek 41 41 43¹⁶
Qalt†

b 38²⁹
c 16³ 38²⁹
d Num 4¹³ Piel⁸
e 38³ Num 4¹⁴
f 38³ Num 4¹⁴
713²

g Lev 10¹ 16¹²
Num 4¹⁴ 16⁶
cp 25²⁰ 6

h 35 38†
i 6 38⁴
j 38⁴
k 25¹³

l 38⁷ Jer 52²¹
Job 11¹³
m 25⁹

n 19 420e

o 26¹⁸
p 35 38 Num 38⁶
44 1 Kings
684††

q 26¹
r 26¹⁹
s 26²²
t 10 36²⁸ 3810...†

u 26²⁶

v 35¹⁸ 38 Num
37 43² Judg
5²⁶ al
20 420ab 120c
v 30²⁴ Lev 24² 7
Prov Job†
w 29⁴⁰ Lev 24²
Num 28⁵
1 Kings 5¹¹†

gold, their 'hooks [shall be] of gold, upon four sockets of silver. ³³ And thou shalt hang up the veil under the clasps, and shalt bring in thither within the veil the 'ark of the testimony': and the veil shall 'divide unto you between the 'holy place and the "most holy. ³⁴ And thou shalt "put the "covering upon the ark of the testimony in the most holy place. ³⁵ And thou shalt set the "table without the veil, and the "candlestick 'over against the table on the side of the Dwelling toward the 'south: and thou shalt put the table on the north side. ³⁶ And thou shalt make a 'screen "for the door of the Tent, of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen, the work of the 'embroiderer. ³⁷ And thou shalt make for the screen five pillars of acacia, and overlay them with gold; their hooks shall be of gold: and thou shalt 'cast five sockets of brass for them.

²⁷ And thou shalt make the altar of acacia wood, five cubits long, and five cubits broad; the altar shall be 'foursquare: and the height thereof shall be three cubits. ² And thou shalt make the horns of it upon the four 'corners thereof: the horns thereof shall be of one piece with it: and thou shalt overlay it with brass. ³ And thou shalt make its 'pots to 'take away its ashes, and its 'shovels, and its 'basons, and its 'fleshhooks, and its 'firepans: 'all the vessels thereof thou shalt make of brass. ⁴ And thou shalt make for it a 'grating of 'network of brass; and upon the net shalt thou make four brasen rings in the four "corners thereof. ⁵ And thou shalt put it under the 'ledge round the altar 'beneath, that the net may reach halfway up the altar. ⁶ And thou shalt make 'staves for the altar, staves of acacia wood, and overlay them with brass. ⁷ And the staves thereof shall be put into the rings, and the staves shall be upon the two "sides of the altar, in bearing it. ⁸ 'Hollow with planks shalt thou make it: as it hath been 'shewed thee in the mount, "so 'shall they make it.

⁹ And thou shalt make the 'court of the 'Dwelling: for the south side "southward there shall be "hangings for the court of fine 'twined linen an hundred cubits long for one side: ¹⁰ and the pillars thereof shall be twenty, and their 'sockets twenty, of brass; the 'hooks of the pillars and their 'fillets [shall be] of silver. ¹¹ And likewise for the north side in length there shall be hangings an hundred cubits long, and the pillars thereof twenty, and their sockets twenty, of brass; the hooks of the pillars and their fillets of silver. ¹² And for the breadth of the court on the west side shall be hangings of fifty cubits: their pillars ten, and their sockets ten. ¹³ And the breadth of the court 'on the east side eastward shall be fifty cubits. ¹⁴ The hangings for the one side [of the gate] shall be fifteen cubits: their pillars three, and their sockets three. ¹⁵ And for the other side shall be hangings of fifteen cubits: their pillars three, and their sockets three. ¹⁶ And for the gate of the court shall be a 'screen of twenty cubits, of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen, the work of the embroiderer: their pillars four, and their sockets four. ¹⁷ All the pillars of the court round about shall be filleted with silver; their hooks of silver, and their sockets of brass. ¹⁸ The length of the court shall be an hundred cubits, and the breadth fifty every where, and the height five cubits, of fine twined linen, and their sockets of brass. ¹⁹ 'All the instruments of the Dwelling in all the 'service thereof, and all the "pins thereof, and all the pins of the court, shall be of brass.

²⁰ And thou shalt command the children of Israel, that they bring unto thee 'pure olive oil "beaten for the 'light, "to cause a lamp to burn "continually. ²¹ In the "tent of meeting, without the 'veil which is before the 'testimony, 'Aaron and his sons shall order it from evening to morning before Yahweh: it shall be a "statute 'for ever 'throughout their generations "on the behalf of the children of Israel.

26²⁴ (G) shalt put the veil upon the ark &c, reading וְהָרַחֵם דַּחְסָרָה. In 25²¹ instructions have been already given for putting the covering on the ark. Cp Klostermann, *Neue Kirchl Zeitschr* (1897) 57.

36 (G) omits for the door of the Tent.

27⁴ M. 5 ends.

7 M. 5 ribs.

8 (G) shalt thou.

20² This reference to the provision of oil for the ever-burning lamp breaks the otherwise orderly sequence of 25-29 cp 25⁶. It

implies that the Tent of Meeting is ready, and the Aaronic priesthood installed in their sacred charge. Compared with Lev 24¹⁻³ Num 8¹⁻⁴ it seems to have been inserted later here for completeness. It is not reproduced in 35-40.

20² M. Or, to set up a lamp continually.—Cp 30²⁰ Lev 24²

Num 8².

21² M. See 25²² 29¹² 30³⁶.

21² M. Or, due.

21² M. Or, from

JE

P

1-29 L110^b
1-3 L129^a

a 31^b 35¹⁰ 36¹. 8
Job 6⁴ 37²⁴
Prov 10⁴
b 31^b 35¹⁰ 36¹

c Cp 188
d 25⁷
e 28³ 39 Lev 8⁷
f 31^b
g 28³ 39 Lev 8⁷
h Ezek 21²⁸
i 28³ 39 Lev 8⁷ 13
j 16⁴ Is 22²¹
k L110^b
l 25⁴
m 13 L129^b
n 26¹

k 27¹ 29⁵ 39 Lev
8⁷
l 39⁵ et Is 30²²

m 11 26 : Kings
7²⁶ Zech 3⁹

n 39⁵ 13 cp Ezek
41²⁴ et Num
32²¹ 31^b
o 28 39 Ps 45¹²

19-29 L129^c
p 39¹⁵ : Kings
7¹⁷ 2 Chron
38 16⁴
q 28 39⁵

r 27¹
s 26⁹
t 39¹⁵
u 25⁷
v 28 39 : Kings
68⁶ 7²⁶ : Ezek
46²⁵ 2 Chron
48 13
w 39¹⁰ Ezek 28¹³
x Job 28¹²
y 24¹⁰
z 39¹²
aa 39¹³ Ezek 28¹³
ab Cp Gen 9⁵ 5
ac Cp 185

28¹ And bring thou near unto thee Aaron thy brother, and his sons with him, from among the children of Israel, that he may minister unto me in the priest's office, even Aaron, Nadab and Abihu, Eleazar and Ithamar, Aaron's sons. ² And thou shalt make holy garments for Aaron thy brother, for glory and for beauty. ³ And thou shalt speak unto all that are wise hearted, whom I have filled with the spirit of wisdom, that they make Aaron's garments to sanctify him, that he may minister unto me in the priest's office. ⁴ And these are the garments which they shall make; a breastplate, and an ephod, and a robe, and a coat of chequer work, a mitre, and a girdle: and they shall make holy garments for Aaron thy brother, and his sons, that he may minister unto me in the priest's office. ⁵ And they shall take the gold, and the blue, and the purple, and the scarlet, and the fine linen.

⁶ And they shall make the ephod of gold, of blue, and purple, scarlet, and fine twined linen, the work of the cunning workman. ⁷ It shall have two shoulderpieces joined to the two ends thereof; that it may be joined together. ⁸ And the cunningly woven band, which is upon it, to gird it on withal, shall be like the work thereof, [and] of the same piece; of gold, of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen. ⁹ And thou shalt take two onyx stones, and engrave on them the names of the children of Israel: ¹⁰ six of their names on the one stone, and the names of the six that remain on the other stone, according to their birth. ¹¹ With the work of an engraver in stone, like the engravings of a signet, shalt thou engrave the two stones, according to the names of the children of Israel: thou shalt make them to be inclosed in ouches of gold. ¹² And thou shalt put the two stones upon the shoulderpieces of the ephod, to be stones of memorial for the children of Israel: and Aaron shall bear their names before Yahweh upon his two shoulders for a memorial.

¹³ And thou shalt make ouches of gold: ¹⁴ and two chains of pure gold; like cords shalt thou make them, of wreathen work: and thou shalt put the wreathen chains on the ouches. ¹⁵ And thou shalt make a breastplate of judgement, the work of the cunning workman; like the work of the ephod thou shalt make it; of gold, of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen, shalt thou make it. ¹⁶ Foursquare it shall be [and] double; a span shall be the length thereof, and a span the breadth thereof. ¹⁷ And thou shalt set in it settings of stones, four rows of stones: a row of sardius, topaz, and carbuncle shall be the first row; ¹⁸ and the second row an emerald, a sapphire, and a diamond; ¹⁹ and the third row a jacinth, an agate, and an amethyst; ²⁰ and the fourth row a beryl, and an onyx, and a jasper: they shall be inclosed in gold in their settings. ²¹ And the stones shall be according to the names of the children of Israel, twelve, according to their names; like the engravings of a signet, every one according to his name, they shall be for the twelve tribes. ²² And thou shalt make upon the breastplate chains like cords, of wreathen work of pure gold. ²³ And thou shalt make upon the breastplate two rings of gold, and shalt put the two rings on the two ends of the breastplate. ²⁴ And thou shalt put the two wreathen chains of gold on the two rings at the ends of the breastplate. ²⁵ And the [other] two ends of the two wreathen chains thou shalt put on the two ouches, and put them on the shoulderpieces of the

a 118
b 12⁴
c 176
d 129^a
e 12⁴
f 12⁴
g 89

h 86^c

i 59

j 77

k 23

28¹ As the priesthood of Aaron alone is specified in 1⁴, the reference to his sons and the enumeration of their names may possibly be the additions of a later editor.

³ In 3-5 it is possible that the compiler has added a supplemental passage after the type of 31⁶ 35¹⁰. The enumeration in 4 does not follow the order of the subsequent sections, and the introduction of the plural 'they shall make' causes the same kind of confusion as has been already noticed in 25⁸ 10. The opening of 6 should probably run 'and thou shalt make' cp 13 13 81 86 90.

⁵ M See 25³.

⁴ M Or, turban.

⁹ M Or, beryl.—Cp 25⁷.

¹¹ G: omits according to the names... ¹² put the two stones. ¹³ omits thou shalt make them... of gold.

^{17a} M Or, ruby.—39¹⁰ Ezek 28¹³†.

^{17b} M Or, emerald.—39¹⁰ cp Ezek 28¹³†.

^{18a} M Or, carbuncle.—39¹⁴ Ezek 27¹⁶ 28¹³†.

^{18b} M Or, sardonyx.—39¹¹ Ezek 28¹³†.

¹⁹ M Or, amber.—39¹³†.

^{20a} M Or, chalcidony.—39¹³ Ezek 1¹⁶ 10⁹ 28¹³ Cant 5¹⁴ Dan 10⁶†.

^{20b} M Or, beryl.

²³ G omits 23-28 as it stands in G, but after 29 inserts an abridgement of 24.

JE

P

c' 37 26³ cp 71

d' Ct 28 5

e' 39²¹†

30 Lxxb 12gd

31-35 Lxxg

f' 39²² Num 4⁶cp Lev 6²²Deut 13¹⁶33¹⁰*g' 35³⁶ 39²² 27*h' 39²²†i' 34 39²⁴-26*

la 61

j' 34 39²⁵†k' 43 29²⁰ 30²⁰35¹⁹ 39¹ 28 41ct Deut 10⁶36-38 Lxxg^hl' 39²⁰ Lev 8⁹

m' 5*

39 Lxxgⁱ

n' Cp 30 inclosed

5†

40 42 Lxxg^b 12gg^oo' 29³ 39²⁸ Lev81³⁴41 Lxxf^h da42 Lxxf^op' 39²⁸ Lev 61⁰16⁴ 23 32*q' 39²⁸ Lev 61⁰16⁴ Ezek 44¹⁸†1-35 Lxxf^h 12fa (27) Cp Gen 18⁷2 Lxxm^hb (13) 2 Sam 61⁰†

c (38) ct Gen

11⁷ 9*

d (7) 1 Chron

23²⁰†e (42) Gen 18⁶*cp Ezek 16¹³ 1946¹⁴

ephod, in the forepart thereof. ²⁶ And thou shalt make two rings of gold, and thou shalt put them upon the two ends of the breastplate, upon the edge thereof, which is toward the side of the ephod inward. ²⁷ And thou shalt make two rings of gold, and shalt put them on the two shoulderpieces of the ephod underneath, in the forepart thereof, close by the coupling thereof, above the cunningly woven band of the ephod. ²⁸ And they shall bind the breastplate by the rings thereof unto the rings of the ephod with a lace of blue, that it may be upon the cunningly woven band of the ephod, and that the breastplate be not loosed from the ephod. ²⁹ And Aaron shall bear the names of the children of Israel in the breastplate of judgement upon his heart, when he goeth in unto the holy place, for a memorial before Yahweh continually. ³⁰ And thou shalt put in the breastplate of judgement the Urim and the Thummim; and they shall be upon Aaron's heart, when he goeth in before Yahweh: and Aaron shall bear the judgement of the children of Israel upon his heart before Yahweh continually.

³¹ And thou shalt make the robe of the ephod all of blue. ³² And it shall have a hole for the head in the midst thereof: it shall have a binding of woven work round about the hole of it, as it were the hole of a coat of mail, that it be not rent. ³³ And upon the skirts of it thou shalt make pomegranates of blue, and of purple, and of scarlet, round about the skirts thereof; and bells of gold between them round about: ³⁴ a golden bell and a pomegranate, a golden bell and a pomegranate, upon the skirts of the robe round about. ³⁵ And it shall be upon Aaron to minister: and the sound thereof shall be heard when he goeth in unto the holy place before Yahweh, and when he cometh out, that he die not.

³⁶ And thou shalt make a plate of pure gold, and grave upon it, like the engravings of a signet, HOLY TO YAHWEH. ³⁷ And thou shalt put it on a lace of blue, and it shall be upon the mitre; upon the forefront of the mitre it shall be. ³⁸ And it shall be upon Aaron's forehead, and Aaron shall bear the iniquity of the holy things, which the children of Israel shall hallow in all their holy gifts; and it shall be always upon his forehead, that they may be accepted before Yahweh. ³⁹ And thou shalt weave the coat in chequer work of fine linen, and thou shalt make a mitre of fine linen, and thou shalt make a girdle, the work of the embroiderer. ⁴⁰ And for Aaron's sons thou shalt make coats, and thou shalt make for them girdles, and headties shalt thou make for them, for glory and for beauty.

⁴¹ And thou shalt put them upon Aaron thy brother, and upon his sons with him; and shalt anoint them, and consecrate them, and sanctify them, that they may minister unto me in the priest's office. ⁴² And thou shalt make them linen breeches to cover the flesh of their nakedness; from the loins even unto the thighs they shall reach: ⁴³ and they shall be upon Aaron, and upon his sons, when they go in unto the tent of meeting, or when they come near unto the altar to minister in the holy place; that they bear not iniquity, and die: it shall be a statute for ever unto him and unto his seed after him.

²⁹ And this is the thing that thou shalt do unto them to hallow them, to minister unto me in the priest's office: take one young bullock and two rams without blemish, and unleavened bread, and cakes unleavened mingled with oil, and wafers unleavened anointed with oil: of fine wheaten flour shalt thou make them. ³ And thou shalt put them into one

28²⁶ This passage 28-28 seems to contain another account of the two rings 23 and their fastening on to the shoulderpieces. (3) omits.

30 M That is, the Lights and the Perfections.

32 M Or, there shall be a hole in the top of it.

37 M Or, turban.

39ac M Or, silk.

39b M Or, turban.

41a This verse breaks the immediate connexion, anticipates instructions in the next chapter, and (in particular) gives directions for the anointing of Aaron's sons who are not included in the unction 29³ 29 cp Lev 8¹². The reservation of the ceremony to Aaron is implied elsewhere in the title 'the Anointed Priest' cp 23^b. On the other hand Aaron's sons are anointed in 30³⁰ 40¹⁸ Lev 7³⁶ 10⁷ Num 3³, all of them passages in P^a. In the present

passage and its parallels 29³¹ Lev 8³⁰ the ritual seems to have been editorially conformed to the advanced standard.

41b M 5 fill their hand.—Cp 6g.

42 Dillmann suggests that 42 may be an addition founded on Lev 61⁰; the linen breeches are not named in 29³ Lev 8¹². A slight linguistic confirmation is found in the opening formula 11⁷, elsewhere only in 25¹⁹, itself perhaps doubtful.

29 The description of the ceremonies of priestly consecration introduces at once a number of the ritual terms peculiar to P whether in the limits of the Hexateuch, or in the wider range of the Old Testament. It has not been thought necessary to tabulate the details: the marginal figures in brackets denote the number of occurrences of each significant phrase, while occasional points of linguistic contact are further noted for general purposes of illustration.

JE

P

f Lev 8²

g Ritually (39)

op 174

s 110c

h 284

i Lev 87†

j 39³⁰ Lev 8⁹ 21¹²k 25⁶

l 284

m 284

n 284

o 284

p 284

q 284

r 284

s 284

t 284

u 284

v 284

w 284

x 284

y 284

z 284

aa 284

ab 284

ac 284

ad 284

ae 284

af 284

ag 284

ah 284

ai 284

aj 284

ak 284

al 284

am 284

an 284

ao 284

ap 284

aq 284

ar 284

as 284

at 284

au 284

av 284

aw 284

ax 284

ay 284

az 284

ba 284

bb 284

bc 284

bd 284

be 284

bf 284

bg 284

bh 284

bi 284

bj 284

bk 284

bl 284

bm 284

bn 284

bo 284

bp 284

bq 284

br 284

bs 284

bt 284

bu 284

bv 284

bw 284

bx 284

by 284

bz 284

ca 284

cb 284

cc 284

f basket, and 'bring them in the basket, with the bullock and the two rams.
 4 And 'Aaron and his sons thou shalt 'bring unto the 'door of the tent of
 meeting, and shalt 'wash them with water. 5 'And thou shalt take the
 'garments, and put upon Aaron the coat, and the robe of the ephod, and the
 'ephod, and the breastplate, and 'gird him with the cunningly woven band of
 the ephod: 6 and thou shalt set the 'mitre upon his head, and put the 'holy
 'crown upon the 'mitre. 7 'Then shalt thou take the 'anointing oil, and
 'pour it upon his head, and 'anoint him. 8 'And thou shalt 'bring his sons,
 and put coats upon them. 9 And thou shalt gird them with 'girdles, 'Aaron
 and his sons, and bind 'headties on them: 'and they shall have the 'priesthood
 by a 'perpetual statute: and thou shalt 'consecrate Aaron and his sons.
 10 And thou shalt 'bring the bullock before the tent of meeting: and Aaron
 and his sons shall 'lay their hands upon the head of the bullock. 11 'And
 thou shalt 'kill the bullock before Yahweh, at the 'door of the tent of meeting.
 12 And thou shalt take of the blood of the bullock, and put it upon the 'horns
 of the altar with thy finger; and thou shalt pour out all the blood at the
 'base of the altar. 13 And thou shalt take all the 'fat that covereth the
 inwards, and the 'caul upon the liver, and the two 'kidneys, and the fat that
 is upon them, and 'burn them upon the altar. 14 But the flesh of the
 bullock, and its 'skin, and its 'dung, shalt thou 'burn with fire 'without the
 camp: it is a 'sin offering. 15 'Thou shalt also take the one ram; and
 Aaron and his sons shall lay their hands upon the head of the ram. 16 And
 thou shalt slay the ram, and thou shalt take its blood, and 'sprinkle it round
 about upon the altar. 17 And thou shalt 'cut the ram into its 'pieces, and
 wash its inwards, and its 'legs, and put them 'with its 'pieces, and 'with its
 head. 18 And thou shalt 'burn the whole ram upon the altar: it is a 'burnt
 offering unto Yahweh: it is a 'sweet savour, an 'offering made by fire unto
 Yahweh. 19 'And thou shalt take the other ram; and Aaron and his sons
 shall lay their hands upon the head of the ram. 20 Then shalt thou kill the
 ram, and take of its blood, and put it upon the 'tip of the 'right ear of Aaron,
 and upon the tip of the right ear of his sons, and upon the 'thumb of their
 right hand, and upon the 'great toe of their right foot, and sprinkle the blood
 upon the altar round about. 21 'And thou shalt take of the blood that is upon the altar, and
 of the 'anointing oil, and 'sprinkle it upon Aaron, and upon his garments, and upon his sons, and
 upon the garments of his sons 'with him: and he shall 'be hallowed, and his garments, and his sons,
 and his sons' garments 'with him. 22 Also thou shalt take of the ram the fat, 'and
 the 'fat tail, and the 'fat that covereth the inwards, and the 'caul of the
 liver, and the two 'kidneys, and the fat that is upon them, and the right
 'thigh; for it is a ram of 'consecration: 23 'and one loaf of bread, and one
 cake of oiled bread, and one wafer, out of the basket of unleavened bread
 that is before Yahweh: 24 and thou shalt put the whole upon the hands of
 Aaron, and upon the hands of his sons; and shalt 'wave them for a 'wave
 offering before Yahweh. 25 And thou shalt take them from their hands,
 and burn them on the altar upon the burnt offering, for a sweet savour before
 Yahweh: it is an offering made by fire unto Yahweh. 26 And thou shalt
 take the 'breast of Aaron's ram of consecration, and wave it for a wave
 offering before Yahweh: and it shall be thy 'portion. 27 'And thou shalt
 sanctify the breast of the 'wave offering, and the 'thigh of the 'heave offering,
 which is waved, and which is 'heaved up, of the ram of consecration, even of
 that which is for Aaron, and of that which is for his sons: 28 and it shall be
 for Aaron and his sons as a 'due for ever from the children of Israel: for it
 is an heave offering: and it shall be an heave offering from the children of
 Israel of the 'sacrifices of their peace offerings, even their heave offering

29⁶ M Or, turban.9 (9) omits 'Aaron and his sons'; the words seem to have been added to secure for Aaron the girdle (28⁶) ignored in 5.

14 M Or, sin.

17 M Or, upon.

21 Cp 28¹¹ M. The place of this verse in (9) before the last clause of 20 'and sprinkle' &c is a further indication of its supple-mental character. The variation in the word 'sprinkle' 5 should also be noticed, cp Lev 8²⁴ 30, where it will be observed that 30 has not been inserted in a precisely corresponding situation.22a The conjunction is omitted in Sam as well as in 5 Lev 3⁹ 7³; (9) adds it in each case, cp Addis, Hex ii 266.

22b 27 M Or, shoulder.

JE	P ^a	P ^b	P ^c
29 <i>Inc</i>	unto Yahweh. 29 ^L And the holy garments of Aaron shall be for his sons after him, to be anointed in them, and to be consecrated in them. 30 Seven days shall the son that is priest in his stead put them on, when he cometh into the tent of meeting to 'minister in the 'holy place. 31 And thou shalt take the ram of consecration, and seethe its flesh 'in a holy place. 32 And Aaron and his sons shall eat the flesh of the ram, and the bread that is in the basket, at the door of the tent of meeting. 33 And they shall eat those things wherewith 'atonement was made, to 'consecrate [and] to sanctify them: but a 'stranger shall not eat thereof, because 'they are holy. 34 And if aught of the flesh of the consecration, or of the bread, remain unto the morning, then thou shalt burn the remainder with fire: it shall not be eaten, because 'it is holy. 35 And 'thus shalt thou do unto Aaron, and to his sons, according to all that I have commanded thee: seven days shalt thou consecrate them. 36 ^L And every day shalt thou 'offer the bullock of sin offering for atonement: and thou shalt 'cleanse the altar, when thou makest atonement for it; and thou shalt anoint it, to sanctify it. 37 Seven days thou shalt make atonement for the altar, and sanctify it: and the altar shall be 'most holy; 'whatsoever toucheth the altar shall 'be holy.		
28 ²⁵			1' 88 ^b J' 57 ^b
<i>Num 8²⁶ 15:11-13 cp Deut 25¹</i>			K' 25 ^a 1' 153 m' 90 ^a
36 <i>Inc</i>			n' 117
38-43 <i>Inc</i>			o' 88 ^d p' 119 ^b q' 134 r' 32 s' 160 ^a t' 118 ^d u' 118 ^b
39 (16) <i>Ezek 4¹¹</i> 45 ²⁴ 46 ⁶ .† 47 ²⁰ 48 <i>Inc</i> 49 <i>Inc</i>			v' 76 ^b w' 111
41 <i>Ct 25²²</i>			x' 86 ^b y' 79
45 <i>Inc</i>			z' 54 ^a a" 26 ¹ b" 179 ^c
47 <i>Cp 6^a</i>			c' 179 ^a
1-10 <i>Inc</i> a †			d' 95 ^a
	30 ¹ ^L And thou shalt make an altar 'to burn 'incense upon: of acacia wood shalt thou make it. 2 A cubit shall be the length thereof, and		

29²⁸ *§* *fill their hand*: the words which follow seem to be an explanatory gloss.

30^a Addis, *Hex ii* 268, treats 30^a as an afterthought based on Lev 8. It may, however, be pointed out that Lev 8²⁴ regards the sevenfold atonement as already prescribed, and this involved purging the altar 19 cp Ex 29¹³, so that some instructions of this kind might be expected in Ex 29.

36^b M. Or, *purge the altar, by thy making atonement*.—Cp 137^a.
37^c M. Or, *whosoever*.—Cp 30²⁸ Lev 11²⁴.. 15¹⁰.. 22⁴ Num 19¹¹.. cp Ex 19¹².

38 The directions concerning the continual burnt offering 38-41 are hardly in keeping with the commands for the construction of the sanctuary and the consecration of the priesthood. They would seem more appropriate at the head of a ritual calendar, such as Num 28. There they are actually to be found 28²⁻⁶ cp Lev 6⁸⁻¹³, but opinions differ as to which is the more original, and there are no decisive indications. The comparison, however, indicates that 'thou' in Ex 29³⁸⁻⁴¹ is not addressed to Moses as in 37 and 42. (On the relation of the passage to the covenant in Neh 10³³ cp *Introd XIII* 118 i 156.) The passage is treated here, therefore, as an editorial extension, to which a closing verse has been added in 42; note the transition from 'thou' to 'your,' and 'you' and 'thee' in the last clause (where *§* and Sam have sing alone), and the attempt to harmonize different views of the Tent of Meeting. Yahweh promises both to meet his people and to speak with Moses (cp 33⁹.) at the door of the Tent of Meeting; but in 25²² the meeting with Moses takes place in the innermost sanctuary, where the divine voice is to be heard from between the Cherubim above the ark. If 42 and 43 were originally discontinuous, 43 might be naturally regarded

as the sequel of 37, the altar being the place where Yahweh met his people in the act of sacrifice.

39⁴¹ M. *§* *between the two evenings*.

41^a Sam 'and they shall be sanctified,' *§* 'and I will be sanctified.' Klostermann (*Neue Kirchliche Zeitschr* 1897 310) proposes to correct by Lev 10³ וְיִקְדָּשׁוּ 'and I will be sanctified in them that come nigh me.'

45 The language of 45. shows affinities with P^b (cp *Introd XIII* 87 i 145), and the passage may have wound up the account of the institution of the Tent of Meeting now replaced by the Dwelling of P^a cp 25¹⁸: but such a description cannot be safely assigned to P^a proper which avoids the term and only speaks of a 'sanctuary,' Lev 10³⁰ 20⁸ 21¹² (23) 26².

30¹ After the full close in 29³⁸⁻⁴¹ the instructions for an additional altar in front of the veil 1-10 have a supplemental look. The sections which follow appear to share the same character cp 11¹⁷ 22³⁴. Various considerations confirm this view, eg (1) the phrase 'the altar' 27¹ implies that there was no other. This designation occurs not less than 100 times in P: but in the latest strata the distinction is marked in various ways cp 30²⁸ 31⁶. 33³⁰ Lev 4⁷ &c. (2) There is no mention of the incense altar in the ceremony of atonement described in Lev 16, and the reference in 10 depends on the ritual there enjoined. (3) 'According to Lev 10 Num 16, the priests offered incense, not on an altar, but on pans or censers' (Addis). (4) Sam places 30¹⁻¹⁰ between 26²⁸ and 26³⁰; but *§* follows the order of *§*. (5) The reference to the spices for the incense 25⁴ which seems to presuppose 30⁷ is an editorial insertion 25^{4a}. Cp *Introd XIII* 10a. On the allied questions connected with the altars in the Temples of Solomon and Ezekiel see Stade, *ZATW* iii 168, and Nowack, *Archdol* ii 40.

JE	P ^h	P ^r	P ^r
		a cubit the breadth thereof; foursquare shall it be: and two cubits shall be the height thereof: the horns thereof shall be of one piece with it.	
		³ And thou shalt overlay it with ^b pure gold, the ^r top thereof, and the ^b sides thereof round about, and the horns thereof; and thou shalt make unto it a ^r crown of gold round about.	b 42
		⁴ And two golden rings shalt thou make for it under the crown thereof, upon the two ribs thereof, upon the two sides of it shalt thou make them; and they shall be for places for staves to bear it withal.	
		⁵ And thou shalt make the staves of acacia wood, and overlay them with gold.	
		⁶ And thou shalt put it before the ^c veil that is by the ark of the ^c testimony, ^c before the ^c covering that is over the testimony, where I will ^c meet with thee.	c 171
7.. 17 ^h l		⁷ And Aaron shall ^b burn thereon ^b incense of ^b sweet spices: every morning, when he dresseth the ^c lamps, he shall burn it.	d 161
b Cp 24		⁸ And when Aaron ^b lighteth the lamps ^a at ^b even, he shall ^b burn it, a ^b perpetual incense before Yahweh throughout your ^b generations.	e 47
c 25 ⁸⁷		⁹ Ye shall offer no ^b strange ^b incense thereon, nor ^b burnt offering, nor ^b meal offering; and ye shall ^b pour no ^b drink offering thereon.	f 111
		¹⁰ And Aaron shall make ^b atonement ^b upon the horns of it ^b once in the year: with the blood of the ^b sin offering of atonement once in the year shall he make atonement ^b for it throughout your ^b generations: it is ^b most holy unto Yahweh.	g 37
			h 95 ^b
			i 124
			j 32
			k 75 ^b
d 25 ⁸⁹			l 153
10 17 ^g 116 ^b			m 118 ^c
9 ^h 25 ^a			n 118 ^b
			o 118 ^d
			p 25
			q 118 ⁱ
			r 90 ^b
11-16 140 ^b 122 ^m		¹¹ And Yahweh ^r spake unto Moses, saying, ¹² When thou takest the sum of the children of Israel, ^r according to those that are numbered of them, then shall they give every man a ^r ransom for his ^r soul unto Yahweh, ^r when thou numberest them; that there be no plague among them, when thou numberest them.	s 185
c Cp 21 ⁸⁰		¹³ This they shall give, every one that passeth over unto them that are numbered, ^r half a shekel after the shekel of the ^r sanctuary: (the shekel is twenty gerahs:) half a shekel for an offering to Yahweh.	t 18 ^a
f 10 omits		¹⁴ Every one that passeth over unto them that are numbered, from ^r twenty years old and upward, shall give the ^r offering of Yahweh.	u 146
		¹⁵ The rich shall not give more, and the poor shall not ^r give less, than the half shekel, when they give the offering of Yahweh, to make atonement for your souls.	v 82
		¹⁶ And thou shalt take the atonement money from the children of Israel, and shalt appoint it for the ^r service of the tent of meeting; that it may ^r be a ^r memorial for the children of Israel before Yahweh, to make atonement for your souls.	w 88 ^c
			x 169 ^b
			y 118 ^c
			z 105
			a' 140
			b' 27
			c' 113
17 1120 ^b		¹⁷ And Yahweh ^r spake unto Moses, saying, ¹⁸ Thou shalt also make a ^r laver of brass, and the ^r base thereof of brass, to ^r wash withal: and thou shalt put it between the tent of meeting and the altar, and thou	
g 28 31 ⁸ 35 38 ⁸			
Lev 81 ⁸			
1 Kings 7 ⁸⁰			
1 Chron 24 ³⁰			
24 ³¹ et Gen 24 ³² 5			

30^{3a} M 5 roof.—37²⁶.30^b M 5 walls.—37²⁶.30^c M Or, rim. Or, moulding.—25¹¹.30^d This clause is omitted by Sam (5) and some 5 MSS, and has rather the appearance of an explanatory gloss.30^e M Or, setteth up. 5 causeth to ascend.—Cp 27³⁰.30^f M 5 between the two evenings.30^g M Or, for.30^h This verse implies the rite described in Lev 16, where no mention, however, is made of the incense altar, cp 12-14 where it is expressly ignored. This section, therefore, must be regarded as posterior to that institution. On the place of Lev 16 in P cp 16¹⁸.30ⁱ M Or, upon.30^j The poll-tax of half a shekel 12 practically rests upon the completed sanctuary and the census (Num 1) of which nothing has yet been said: and this anticipatory reference itself indicates its supplemental character. The tax is devoted to the service of the sanctuary, but it is not prescribed how often it is to be paid. In 2 Chron 24⁵ the tax is plainly understood as an annual contribution. But in the covenant under Nehemiah Neh 10³² only one-third of a shekel is demanded. Different explanations have been offered of this discrepancy. Kuenenand Cornill (with whom Addis agrees) suppose that the text represents a later stage of codification than the agreement under Nehemiah (a similar discrepancy may be noticed in the age at which the Levites were to begin to serve Num 8²⁴ and 1³ 23³⁰, cp 1 Chron 23³⁴), and that this section is a post-Ezra addition. For other suggestions cp Ryle, *Ezra-Neh*, in loc. The objection that a later scribe in incorporating this rule would have emphasized its annual character, seems partly met by the consideration that the 'service of the tent of meeting' for which the money was 'appointed' 16 was a permanent institution, obviously needing continuous support, and partly by the fact that the Jews themselves in accepting the Levitical arrangements as types for their regular guidance, actually did regard this as a yearly due.30^k The natural place for the instructions about the laver would have been in 27, after the directions concerning the altar 1-8; cp its position in the repetition 38⁸. Its association here with other later items throws it into the group of secondary passages, but the opening words of 18 'And thou shalt make' cp 1³ 5 23³⁵ suggest that it was once continuous with some other passage. It may be noted further that there is no description of the size or design of the laver, while in other cases there is an abundance of precise detail.

	JE	P ^a	P ^a	P ^a	
19. <i>Inf</i> 12h ^c					d' 12'
					e' 52 ^a
					f' 28 ^a
					g' 62
22-23 <i>L</i> 19d ^f					
i <i>Q</i> = and					
j Gen 621 <i>Q</i>					
k 25 ^a					
l Lev 25 ¹⁰ <i>Q</i> ^a					
m Prov 7 ¹⁷ Cant					
n 35 ²⁸ Is 32 ⁴ al					b' 89
o 35 <i>Q</i> [†]					
p 1 Chron 9 ³⁰					f' 23
q 2 Chron 16 ¹⁴ †					
r 23 35 37 ²⁹					
s 1 Chron 9 ³⁰					j' 90
t Eccl 10 ¹					k' 129 ^a
u 25 ²³					
v 25 ³¹					
w Cp 1-7					
x Ct 27 ¹					f' 50
y 2 Indif ^a					
v Cp Deut 28 ⁴⁰					
w Ct 5 ^a					
34-35 <i>L</i> 17c 12d ^g					m' 72
x <i>Q</i> [†]					
y 2 Sam 22 ⁴² Ps					
18 ⁴² Job 14 ¹⁹ †					
z Cp 6					
1-11 <i>L</i> 22a ⁱ					a 185
a 7 ¹					b 13
					c 165
b 28 ³					d 177 ^b
c 35 ²¹ Gen 1 ¹					
d 41 ³⁶ Num					
e 24 ^a					
f 35 ²¹ 36 ¹ Deut					
g 32 ²⁸					
h 35 ²² - Ct Gen					e 15
i 65 <i>Q</i> ^a					
j Cp 25 ⁷					
k Gen 61 ⁷					f 161
l 28 ³					g 47

30³² The use of the holy oil assumes the existence of the two altars ²³ and the laver; and this section, therefore, cannot be earlier than 1-10: moreover in ³⁰ the unction is enjoined on Aaron's sons (i.e. ordinary priests) whereas in 29⁷ Lev 8¹² Aaron alone is to be anointed.

²⁴ M Or, *costus*.—Ezek 27¹⁹†. ²⁵ M Or, *whoever*.—25³⁷.
²⁶ The prescriptions concerning the incense are the natural sequel to the ordinance of the incense-altar 1-10. That they were not included in the original scheme is confirmed by the

fact that the references to the incense and the oil for the chrism ²⁵ have been added. On the history of incense-offerings cp Benzinger, *Archdol* 444, and Nowack, *Archdol* i 247.

^{24b} M Or, *opobalsamum*.—*Q* = *drop* Job 36²¹†.

²⁵ M Or, *tempered together*.—Cp Lev 23¹³ Ezek 16⁴†.

31¹ The recapitulation in 1-11 is based on the series of instructions in 25- including 31; the passage belongs therefore to the secondary strata of P and prepares the way for the great repetition 35-40.

J E P ^h	P ⁱ	P ⁱ
i 25 ²⁸	the furniture of the Tent; ⁸ and the 'table and its vessels, and the pure	
j 25 ³¹	'candlestick with all its vessels, and the 'altar of incense; ⁹ and the	
k 30 ¹	'altar of burnt offering with all its vessels, and the 'laver and its base;	
l 30 ²⁸ et 27 ¹	¹⁰ and the 'finely wrought 'garments, and the 'holy garments for 'Aaron	h 88 ^c
m 30 ¹⁸	the priest, and the garments of his sons, to 'minister in the priest's	i 12 ^a
n 28 ²	office; ¹¹ and the 'anointing oil, and the incense of 'sweet spices for	j 129 ^a
o 31 ²⁸	the 'holy place: 'according to all that I have commanded thee shall	k 88 ^a
p 31 ²⁴	they do.	
q Cp 189 ^b	¹² * ¹² And Yahweh 'spake unto Moses, saying, ¹³ 'Speak thou also unto the children	l 188 ^b
12. 29 ^{ba}	of Israel, saying, Verily ye shall keep my 'sabbaths: for it is a 'sign between	m 137
r 17 5=tokm	me and you throughout your 'generations; that ye may 'know that I am	n 76 ^b
s 9 ¹² 17 ¹¹	Yahweh which 'sanctify you. ^{14a} 'Ye shall keep the 'sabbath there-	o 179 ^b
14-17 29 ^{bo}	fore; for 'it is holy unto you: every one that 'profaneth it shall 'surely	p 88 ^c
1 Ezek 20 ¹⁶ 21 24	be put to death.	q 90 ^a
22 ^a al	^{14b} For whosoever 'doeth any work therein, 'that soul shall be cut off	r 52 ^b
	from among his people. ¹⁵ Six days shall 'work be done; but on the	s 177 ^a
	seventh day is a sabbath of 'solemn rest, 'holy to Yahweh: whosoever	t 50 ^a
	doeth any work in the sabbath day, he shall 'surely be put to death.	u 137 ^c
	¹⁶ Wherefore the children of Israel shall keep the sabbath, to observe	v 90 ^b
	the sabbath throughout their 'generations, for a 'perpetual covenant.	w 6a
	¹⁷ It is a 'sign between me and the children of Israel for ever: for	
	in six days Yahweh made heaven and earth, and on the seventh day	
	he 'rested, and was 'refreshed.	
	^{18a} And he gave unto Moses, when he had 'made an end of com-	
	muning with him upon mount 'Sinai, the two 'tables of the testimony....	x 7
		y 161 ^a
i Gen 2 ³	^{18b} [*And Yahweh gave him the two] tables of stone, written with the	
u 23 ¹²	finger of God.	
v Gen 17 ²² 5	^{32¹} * ¹² And when the people saw that Moses 'delayed to come down	
	from the mount, the people 'gathered themselves together unto Aaron,	
	and said unto him, Up, make us 'gods, which shall go before us; for	
	as for this Moses, the man that 'brought us up out of the land of Egypt,	a 136
	we know not what is become of him. ² And Aaron said unto them,	
	'Break off the golden 'rings, which are in the ears of your wives, of	
	your sons, and of your daughters, and bring them unto me. ³ And all	
	the people 'brake off the golden rings which were in their ears, and	
	brought them unto Aaron. ⁴ And he received it at their hand, and	
	fashioned it with a 'graving tool, and made it a 'molten calf: and 'they	
	said, 'These be thy gods, O Israel, which 'brought thee up out of the	
	land of Egypt. ⁵ And when Aaron saw [this], he 'built an altar before	b 137
	it; and Aaron made proclamation, and said, To-morrow shall be a 'feast	
	to Yahweh. ⁶ And they 'rose up early on the 'morrow, and 'offered	
	'burnt offerings, and brought 'peace offerings; and the people sat down	c 110
	to 'eat and to drink, and rose up to 'play.	
	⁷ * ¹² And Yahweh spake unto Moses, Go, 'get thee down; for thy people,	

31¹⁰ M Some ancient versions render, *garments of service*.

¹³ The language of the Sabbath-law here enforced with such emphasis has several affinities with P^h; ¹³ 'keep my sabbaths' cp Lev 19³⁰ 26²; 'I am Yahweh which sanctify you' Lev 20⁸ 21⁸ 15 23 22⁹ 16 32; ¹⁴ 'profane' (of the sabbath only here in Hex), frequent in P^h in other applications Lev 18²¹ 10⁸ 12 29 20³ 21⁶ 12 15 23 22⁹ 15 32; 'every one that profaneth it' 5 pl followed by sing vb cp Lev 17¹⁴ 19⁸. It may be inferred that the language of an older law is here incorporated and enriched with a fuller setting. In what stage of P this took place is less clear. It is not certain how far P^h made similar appropriations, though there are phenomena in G² 29¹²... which point in that direction. One or two words, however, are not in the manner of P^h; ¹⁶ 'to observe (lit do) the sabbath' only in Deut 5¹⁵, ¹⁷ 'made heaven and earth' instead of 'created,' and 'was refreshed.' On the argument founded by Budde on these peculiarities cp 20¹¹ Gen 1¹; they are, however, not out of character with the more varied usage of other secondary passages. Note further the transition

to 'children of Israel' ¹⁶; ^{17b} reads like an explanatory addition.

^{18b} At this point the compiler resumes the narrative of E, suspended in 24^{18b}. The description of the tables of stone as 'written with the finger of God' reappears in Deut 9¹⁰ and was certainly in D's source. As the narrative that follows 32¹⁻⁴ seems due to E, it is most natural to ascribe ^{18b} to the same document. The words in brackets are supplied from Deut 9¹⁰ (5 delivered = gave).

^{32^{1a}} The narrative of the apostasy of the golden calf seems to contain various elements, but its main story is almost unanimously ascribed to E. In 15 17 Moses descends with Joshua from the mount with the two tables in his hands, the description in 16 cohering with 31^{18b} and 24¹². The passage in 18-24 appears to be homogeneous (only Dillm breaks it at 19) and carries with it 1-4. For details of the analysis cp 7 25 30, and on the place of the whole story cp 34²⁸.

^{1b} M Or, a god.

^{4a} (5) he.

^{6b} M Or, This is thy god.

⁷ In the sequel of the story 17-19 Moses seems wholly unpre-

J	E	JE	J	E	P
^a Cp Hos 9 ⁹		which thou 'broughtest up out of the land of Egypt, have 'corrupted themselves: ⁸ they have 'turned aside 'quickly out of the way which I commanded them: they have made them a 'molten calf, and have worshipped it, and have sacrificed unto it, and said, These be thy gods, O Israel, which 'brought thee up out of the land of Egypt. ⁹ And Yahweh said unto Moses, 'I have seen this people, and, behold, it is a 'stiffnecked people: ¹⁰ 'now therefore 'let me alone, that my wrath may 'wax hot against them, and that I may 'consume them: and I will 'make of thee a great nation. ¹¹ And Moses 'besought Yahweh his God, and said, Yahweh, why doth thy wrath 'wax hot against thy people, which thou hast brought forth out of the land of Egypt with 'great power and with a 'mighty hand? ¹² Wherefore should the Egyptians 'speak, saying, 'For evil did he bring them forth, to 'slay them in the mountains, and to 'consume them from the 'face of the 'ground? 'Turn from thy 'fierce wrath, and 'repent of this evil against thy people. ¹³ 'Remember Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, 'thy servants, to whom thou 'swarest by thine own 'self, and saidst unto them, I will multiply your 'seed as the stars of heaven, and all this land that I have spoken of will I 'give unto your seed, and they shall inherit it for ever. ¹⁴ And Yahweh 'repented of the evil which he said he would do unto his people.	d 43		
^b Cp 214					e 187 ^b f 233
^p Deut 9 ¹³ cp Gen 7 ¹ 31 ¹² Ex 37 9					
^q 33 ⁸ 5 34 ⁹ Deut 9 ⁸ 15 ⁴					
^r Ct Deut 9 ¹⁴ 5 cp 2 Sam 16 ¹¹					
^s 12 33 ⁸ 5 cp Num 25 ¹¹					
^t Gen 12 ² Num 14 ¹³					
^u 5 ⁶ 1 Sam 13 ¹⁸ v Num 14 ¹⁷					g 210 h 40
^w Ex 31 ⁹ x Num 14 ¹⁶					i 20 ^b
^y Gen 44 ²⁹ 5 z Deut 13 ¹⁷ Josh 7 ²⁶					j 207 k 217 l 204
^{a'} Num 25 ⁴ 32 ¹⁴ b' Deut 9 ²⁷ c' Gen 22 ¹⁶ d' Gen 12 ⁷					
^{e'} 7 ²⁸ Deut 9 ¹⁸ f' Cp 25 ²⁷ 28 ²⁶ 5					
^{g'} 31 ^{18b} h' 5 ¹ † i' Mic 4 ⁹ Job 36 ²⁴ †					
^{j'} Cp 15 ²¹ Num 21 ¹⁷ 5 Qal ⁶ k' Deut 32 ²⁴ cp Ex 17 ¹¹ 5					
^{l'} 17 ¹⁸ m' = 7 ¹ 5 Piel Is 27 ⁸ Ps 88 title ²⁴ † n' 15 ²⁰ o' Cp 19 ¹⁷ p' Num 11 ⁹ Deut 9 ²¹					
^{q'} Deut 9 ²¹ r' Cp Lev 26 ²⁸ Pl Num 16 ²⁷ † s' 30. Gen 20 ⁹ t' Ct 51 ¹⁹ u' Cp 1					m 56 ^a n 174
25-29 LXXa 1' Cp 5 ⁴					
25	22	And when Moses saw that the people were broken 'loose; for			

pared for the discovery of the apostasy. It is certainly conceivable that the actual spectacle of it should have aroused a wrath before unrealized; but, as Bacon has observed, 'the fact remains that 15-24 would be a great deal simpler and more intelligible if 7-14 had not preceded.' The intercession in 9-14 is marked by special J phrases, e.g. 'face of the ground' 'repent' (of Yahweh) 12, but as it refers in 12 to a supplemental passage in Gen 22¹⁶ it must be assigned to the harmonist (unless with Bacon 15 be ascribed to a subsequent hand, in which case the rest might be derived from J). But the whole interview is parallel in style and thought to another in Num 14¹¹., where again there seem traces of later adaptation. On the whole, therefore, 9-14 is here treated as continuous. The introduction to it is found in 7., which has apparently replaced the account of the conclusion of Moses' stay in the mount preceding his descent 15. The verses were probably known to D in their present position cp Deut 9¹².. It may be noticed that 9 which seems to make a fresh start is omitted by G. Steuernagel (Deut 33) ingeniously supposes that it has been introduced here from Deut 9¹⁸. 32¹² So 5. T earth.

15 The reference to the 'testimony' shows here the hand of RP cp 7161: in Deut 9¹¹ 15 the sacred stones are called 'tables of the covenant'; they are carried in Moses' hand cp 34²⁹; D represents them as borne in his hands Deut 9¹⁵ cp Ex 32¹⁹ Q'r1 (K'tib hand). The detail in 15^b is after the manner of P; for the rare use of 15 in the sense of 'side' cp 25²⁷ 28²⁶ 5.

25a The account of the massacre in which the Levites take Yahweh's side is difficult to harmonize with the rest of the narrative, for after so severe a punishment why should the people need further chastisement 30? It is not clear what is the precise meaning of 25, nor whether Moses pauses at the gate 26 on first entering the camp on the descent from the mount, or whether (after expostulating with Aaron 21..) he then takes up his position there to prevent the escape of the guilty people. Further obscurity shrouds the close of the incident 29, where the tribe of Levi is apparently consecrated as the sacred tribe in consequence of its vigorous championship of Yahweh's cause. This is altogether different from the programme of P in 28: and it seems wholly unconnected with the arrangements of the

	J	E	JE	J	E	P
w ¹⁵⁷	Aaron had let them loose for a "derision among their "enemies: ²⁶ then Moses stood in the gate of the camp, and said, Whoso is on Yahweh's side, [let him come] unto me. And all the sons of Levi "gathered themselves together unto him. ²⁷ And he said unto them, "Thus saith Yahweh, the God of Israel, Put ye every man his sword upon his thigh, and go to and fro from gate to gate throughout the camp, and "slay "every man his "brother, and every man his "companion, and every man his neighbour. ²⁸ And the sons of Levi did "according to the word of Moses: and there fell of the people that day about three thousand men. ²⁹ And Moses said, "Consecrate yourselves to-day to Yahweh, "yea, every man "against his son, and "against his brother; that he may bestow upon you a blessing this day....					
x ¹ Gen 29 ⁸ et 1						
y ¹ Ct 2 ⁸⁵						
z ¹ Gen 50 ¹⁷						
a ¹ Mal 3 ¹⁸ Ps 65 ²⁸ Dan 12 ¹						
b ¹ 13 ¹⁷						
c ¹ 23 ²⁸ 33 ³						
d ¹ Cp Gen 50 ²⁵						
e ¹ Am 3 ¹⁴						
f ¹ Cp 12 ²⁸ Josh 24 ⁶						
g ¹ Gen 13 ¹						
h ¹ Gen 12 ⁷						
i ¹ Cp 23 ³⁰ 32 ²⁴						
j ¹ Cp 23 ²⁸ 14 ⁸						
k ¹ Cp 23 ²⁸ 17 ⁰						
l ¹ 32 ²⁸						
m ¹ Gen 37 ³⁴ Num 14 ³⁰						
n ¹ 5. 5 ¹ cp 32 ²						
	<p>And it came to pass on the "morrow, that Moses said unto the people, Ye have sinned a "great sin: and "now I will go up unto Yahweh; "peradventure I shall make "atonement for your sin. ³¹ And Moses returned unto Yahweh, and said, "Oh, this people have sinned a "great sin, and have made them gods of gold. ³² Yet "now, if thou wilt "forgive their sin—; and if not, "blot me, "I pray thee, out of thy "book which thou hast written. ³³ And Yahweh said unto Moses, Whosoever hath sinned against me, him will I blot out of my book. ³⁴ And "now go, b¹lead the people unto [the place] of which I have spoken unto thee: behold, "mine "angel shall go before thee: nevertheless in the day when I d¹visit, I will visit their sin upon them.</p> <p>³⁵ And Yahweh "smote the people, because they made the calf, which Aaron made.</p> <p>³³ And Yahweh spake unto Moses, Depart, "go up hence, thou and the people which thou hast "brought up out of the land of Egypt, unto the land of which I "swore unto Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, saying, Unto thy seed will I b¹give it: ² and I will "send an "angel before thee; and I will d¹drive out the "Canaanite, the Amorite, and the Hittite, and the Perizzite, the Hivite, and the Jebusite: ³ unto a land "flowing with milk and honey: for I will not go up in the "midst of thee; for thou art a "stiffnecked people: lest I c¹consume thee in the way. ⁴ And when the people heard these evil tidings, they "mourned: and no man did put on him his ornaments.</p>					

Tent of Meeting described in E 33⁷⁻¹¹ where the care of the sanctuary is entrusted to the Ephraimite Joshna. These considerations suggest the derivation of 25-29 from J, who has already recognised the sacerdotal function, though the relation between the new Levites and the priests mentioned in 10²³ is nowhere explained. The ascription is not free from objection on grounds both of matter and form. Linguistically, the phrases "broken loose" 'let them loose,' ²⁷ 'thus saith Yahweh God of Israel' 'every man his brother,' point to E; though in 28 'according to the word of Moses' the style of J is approached: no sharp lines, however, can be drawn around the possibilities of interchange in such expressions. More perplexing is the question, if 25-29 be drawn from J, what was its antecedent in that document? Did J also relate the calf-apostasy? There is no reason to think so, unless it be this passage itself, which would hardly have been introduced here by the harmonist unless its connexion in J had some affinities with its new setting in E. It seems to replace in the combined narrative the manifestation of the divine anger against Aaron, which must have been a feature in the original story cp Deut 9²⁰. This circumstance confirms its assignment to J, but throws no light on its place in that document. Bacon conjectures that the offence thus punished was rather rebellion than idolatry; but there is no adequate evidence for any confident decision.

32^{28b} M 5¹ whispering.—5¹+

32^{28a} M 5¹ Fill your hand.

32²⁸ M Or, for every man hath been against his son and against his brother.

32²⁸ M Or, upon.

30 In 30-35 it is usual to see the sequel of E's narrative, and the margins show abundant points of contact with E's usage. There is still, however, some incongruity between 31. and 35. The implication of 34^b is that the punishment is indefinitely postponed (the passage has been thought to refer to the fall of the kingdom of Israel Am 3¹⁴), and the immediate infliction of the plague in 35 is wholly unexpected. In allotting it to

J Bacon can only overcome a similar incongruity in relation to 25-29 by suggesting that R¹ has inserted 'people' for the original authors of the movement whom he identifies with Nadab and Abihu. It is further probable that 30-34 is a later expansion of the narrative. The metaphor of the 'book' only appears elsewhere in post-exilic literature: the developed consciousness of sin, atonement, and personal responsibility (cp Ezek 18) may belong to a more advanced order of theological reflection. In 35 the awkward juxtaposition of the two final clauses seems to result from some editorial manipulation.

33¹ In 32³⁴ Moses has already received instructions to commence the march. The fresh command 'depart, go up hence' is accordingly ascribed to J. The sequence of 3 on 1 is interrupted by the renewed promise of the guidance of the Angel, introduced probably from 32³⁴ cp 23³⁰ 25. But this promise is practically inconsistent with the refusal of Yahweh 3 to accompany the people, for the Angel was his manifested presence. Both grammatical connexion and harmonizing purpose mark this verse, therefore, as an addition. In 4 the mourning of the people on hearing that they must undertake the journey without the divine aid, has been apparently amplified by the clause 'and no man did put on him his ornaments,' which is wanting in 5. 4^b is really inconsistent with 6 which is most naturally assigned to E (its absence from 5, however, may be also due to the perception of its incongruity with 6, so that it was dropped to avoid confusion). On the hypothesis that 7-11 was preceded by an account of the institution of the sacred tent cp 7¹, Bacon (with whom Battersby agrees) suggests that the ornaments which the people now strip from themselves as they had once stripped them from the Egyptians (5 = 'spoiled') were offered in penitential self-devotion for the decoration of the Meeting-place of Yahweh and Israel. E has then combined the representations of 1-4 and 6 by means of the connexion in 5. But in respect of J's version of the Covenant now placed in 34, the command in 1 to depart is evidently placed too soon.

	J	E	JE	J	E	P
i §†			⁵ And Yahweh said unto Moses, Say unto the children of Israel, Ye are a 'stiffnecked people: if I go up into the 'midst of thee for one moment, I shall 'consume thee: therefore now 'put off thy ornaments' from thee, that I may know what to do unto thee.			
j § Hithpa [†] op 3 ²²			⁶ And the children of Israel 'stripped themselves of their ornaments from mount 'Horeb onward.			f 105
7-11 L ²⁰ ba			... ⁷ Now Moses used to take the tent and to pitch it without the camp, 'afar off from the camp; and he called it, The tent of meeting. And it came to pass, that every one which 'sought Yahweh went out unto the tent of meeting, which was without the camp. ⁸ And it came to pass, when Moses went out unto the Tent, that all the people rose up, and stood, every man at his tent door, and looked after Moses, until he was gone into the Tent. ⁹ And it came to pass, when Moses entered into the Tent, the "pillar of cloud" descended, and stood at the door of the Tent: and [Yahweh] spake with Moses. ¹⁰ And all the people saw the pillar of cloud stand at the door of the Tent: and all the people rose up and 'worshipped, every man at his tent door. ¹¹ And Yahweh spake unto Moses 'face to face, as a 'man speaketh unto his friend. And he turned again into the camp: 'but his 'minister Joshua, the son of Nun, a young man, 'departed not out of the Tent.			
k Gen 21 ¹⁶						
l Cp Hos 5 ⁶						
m Cp 13 ²¹ x						
n Num 12 ⁵ op Deut 31 ¹⁵						
o Gen 22 ⁵						
p Cp Num 12 ⁵ Gen 32 ²⁰ Deut 5 ⁴						g 112 ^b
115 L ¹¹ ba						h 109
q 13 ²² cp Num 11 ²⁰						
r 15 § = face 11 op 20 ⁵			¹² And Moses said unto Yahweh, See, thou sayest unto me, 'Bring up this people: and thou hast not let me know 'whom thou wilt send with me. Yet thou hast said, I know thee by name, and thou hast also 'found grace in my sight. ¹³ Now therefore, I pray thee, if I have 'found grace in thy sight, shew me now thy 'ways, that I may know thee, to the end that I may find grace in thy sight: and consider that this nation is thy people. ¹⁴ And he said, My 'presence shall go [with thee] and I will give thee 'rest. ¹⁵ And he said unto him, If thy presence go not [with me] 'carry us not up hence. ¹⁶ For wherein 'now shall it be known that I have 'found grace in thy sight, I and thy people? is it not in that thou goest with us, so that we be 'separated, I and thy people, from all the people that are upon the 'face of the 'ground?			i 31 ^a
s 20 ⁵						
t Gen 27 ²⁸						j 40
u 8 ²²						
v Num 14 ²¹ et 7 ⁹			¹⁷ And Yahweh said unto Moses, I will do this thing also that thou hast spoken: for thou hast 'found grace in my sight, and I know thee by name. ¹⁸ And he said, Shew me, I pray thee, thy 'glory. ¹⁹ And he said, I will make all my goodness pass before thee, and will 'proclaim the name of Yahweh before thee; and I will be 'gracious to whom I will be gracious, and will 'shew mercy on whom I will shew mercy. ²⁰ And he said, Thou canst not 'see my face: for man shall not see me and 'live. ²¹ And Yahweh said, Behold, there is a place by me, and thou shalt stand			k 203
w 34 ⁸						
x Cp Gen 33 ⁵ Num 6 ²⁸						
y Deut 13 ¹⁷ § = have compassion						
z Cp Deut 5 ²⁴						

33⁷ The sudden introduction of this description of the Sanctuary is in the highest degree surprising. 'The tent' is evidently well known, but nothing has yet been said about it. For it is clear that this cannot be the Levitical Dwelling 25-29, though in 29⁴² it is called the Tent of Meeting, (1) because the Dwelling has not yet been constructed cp 35-40, and (2) because the place of the Dwelling is in the centre of the camp, with the twelve tribes grouped round it Num 2. The Tent of Meeting, on the other hand, is outside, at a distance cp Num 11¹⁶ 24-30 12⁴. Further, it is not served by the Levitical priesthood, but by the Ephraimite Joshua 14 Num 11²⁸, whose presence in the Dwelling would have been forbidden under pain of death. The passage in the text, therefore, conceives the sanctuary in a manner absolutely incompatible with P, and must be drawn from a wholly independent source (cp *Intro* VIII i 2 i 51). The only available sources are J and E, and the decision in favour of E is unanimous among the critics. No doubt is possible that 7-11 Num 11¹⁶ 24-30 and 12⁴.. all belong to the same group of narratives: while the association of Moses with Joshua cp 21¹³ 17⁹, and the stress laid on prophecy, identify them with E. But if E described the usage of the sacred Tent, he must also have narrated its institution, and with it the construction of the ark. In the final compilation this section was no doubt set aside for the more elaborate representations of P. But it is a probable conjecture that such an account once followed 6. The Levitical Dwelling is wrought out of the gifts of the people. The story of their voluntary offerings no doubt had its counterpart in the earlier source: and the statement that the children of Israel parted with their ornaments seems best explained by the application of them to the preparation of the Tent. A curious point of verbal contact is found in the employment of the same

term 'spoiled themselves' which served earlier for the 'spoiling' of the Egyptians.

12^a The expostulation of Moses in this passage seems directly connected with the command in 1-3. But it may be doubted whether the materials of 12-23 are now arranged in their proper order. The words quoted in 12 'Yet thou hast said' &c are not uttered till 17: either, therefore, 17 once stood before 12, or, if 17 is in its place, some other divine utterance must have preceded 12. The latter is the view of Bacon who unites 3 with 12 by means of Num 11^{10b-15} and a conjectural passage containing the required phrase (it must be remembered that before the union of JE with P Ex 33-34²⁸ was followed immediately by Num 10²⁰⁻¹²). Another suggestion is that of Kautzsch who proposes to translate 14 as a question, 'Shall (or must) my presence go with thee, and must I give thee rest?' while Dillmann regards 14-16 as the sequel of 34⁶⁻², a suggestion which has the support of Driver. The difficulty may be partially met by a simple rearrangement of the verses; if 17 be transferred as the antecedent of 12, the prayer of Moses 13 'Make me to know thy way' is answered by the promise 'My presence shall go with thee.' Of this 16 Moses desires immediate assurance, which Yahweh grants with the announcement 19 that he will make his goodness pass before him. But Moses, still urgent, prays that Yahweh will enable him to see his glory, his very self 15. The prayer cannot be satisfied 20, 'Thou canst not see my face' (the 'presence' of 15): but in the cleft of the rock he shall behold his back as Yahweh passes by 21-23. The more natural order would seem to be 17 12-15 19 18 20-23, leading directly to 34⁶⁻².

12^b M Or, him whom.

13 § (K^{at}b) § § Given way: § 13 § thyself (thy face) cp 20, and Dillm in loc. 16 So §. T earth.

	J	E	JE	J	E	P
a ¹ Is 23 ¹⁴			upon the rock: ²³ and it shall come to pass, while my ⁷ glory passeth by, that I will put thee in a ^a cleft of the rock, and will ⁴ cover thee with my hand until I have passed by: ²³ and I will take away mine hand, and thou shalt see my back: but my ¹ face shall not be seen.			
a ⁴ 5 stones ct 24 ¹² 31 ¹⁸ b Cp 28 ¹¹ c 19 ¹¹ Josh 8 ⁴			34 ¹ ^a And Yahweh said unto Moses, Hew thee two tables of ^a stone like unto the first: and ^b I will write upon the tables the words that were on the first tables, which thou brakest. ² And be ^c ready by the morning, and come up in the morning unto mount ^d Sinai, and present thyself there to me on the ^d top of the mount. ³ And no man shall come up with thee, ^b neither let any man be seen throughout all the mount; ^b neither let the ^c flocks nor herds feed before that mount. ⁴ And he hewed two tables of ^a stone like unto the first; and Moses rose up early in the morning, and went up unto mount ^d Sinai, as Yahweh had commanded him, and took in his hand two tables of ^a stone. ⁵ And Yahweh ^d descended in the ^c cloud, ^a and he stood with him there, and ^c called upon ^a the name of Yahweh.			a 76 b 11 c 33
d 19 ²⁰			⁶ ^a And Yahweh passed by before him, and ^a proclaimed, Yahweh, Yahweh, a God ^b full of compassion and ^b gracious, ^c slow to anger, and plenteous in ^c mercy and truth; ⁷ ^a keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin: and that will by no means ^c clear [the guilty]; visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, and upon the children's children, upon the third and upon the fourth generation. ⁸ And Moses ^a made haste, and ^b bowed his head toward the earth, and worshipped. ⁹ And he said, If now I have ^d found grace in thy sight, O Lord, let the ^d Lord, I pray thee, go in the ^b midst of us; for it is a ^b stiffnecked people; and ^b pardon our iniquity and our sin, and ^a take us for thine inheritance.			d 19 e 15 ^a
e Ct 33 ⁹			¹⁰ ^a And he said, Behold, I ^a make a covenant: before all thy people I will do ^a marvels, such as have not been ^a wrought in all the earth, nor in any nation: and all the people among which thou art shall see the work of Yahweh, for it is a terrible thing that I do with thee. ¹¹ ^a Observe thou that which I ^a command thee this day: behold, I ^a drive out before thee the ^a Amorite, and the Canaanite, and the			f 57 ^a
f 33 ¹⁹ g Deut 4 ²¹ op 33 ¹⁹ h 27 ²⁷ op 33 ¹⁹ i Num 14 ¹⁶ j 20 ⁷ 5 = hold [him] guiltless						g 42 h 12 ^b i 31 ^a j 56 k 58 l 18 ¹
k 33 ⁹ l Num 14 ¹⁶						
m 30 ¹¹ n Cp 29 ⁹ o Cp 33 ⁹ p 3 ⁸ Deut 7 ¹						

34¹ At this point J's narrative of the Covenant 10-27 is introduced (cp 20²²), but in the present text it is combined with other matter which can hardly have belonged to it originally. It is evident that there is a close connexion between 6-9 and 33¹⁹, the solemn proclamation of 6. being the answer to the entreaties of Moses and the fulfilment of the divine promise. The scene in the cleft of the rock where Yahweh passes by 33²² 34⁹ declaring his own august titles, is in a different locality from the top of the mountain where he descends for Moses to stand with him and invoke his aid. But when these verses are removed, it would still seem that the preparation for the great theophany 1-9 is not in its original place. The resemblance to the passages assigned to J in 19 cp 2. with 19^{11b-13} 30... makes it probable that the incident here depicted stood originally in close connexion with them, and constituted the core of J's account of the Sinai-revelation. The Covenant itself is obviously new; the opening words of 10 have no other covenant behind them. But the transpositions consequent on the union of J and E rendered it necessary to find another place for J's version of the 'Words of Yahweh' cp 18¹; and it is here brought into connexion with a renewal of the Tables which had been broken in sight of the apostate Israel. The phrases which seem to have been inserted to effect this adaptation are printed in small type. From Deut 10¹⁻³ it may be plausibly inferred that the narrative also provided for the construction of the ark, this reference having been afterwards removed as inconsistent with 25 and 37 cp 33¹⁷. It is, however, possible, so some critics have thought, that the directions concerning the stones may have been derived from E which must have contained an account of their replacement; to this suggestion of Kuenen's Wellh replies that if E did relate the restoration of the tables, the natural place would have been before the account of the sanctuary which contained the ark 33⁷. Others have suggested that as in 27 Moses is instructed to write the divine words, the original command ran 'thou shalt write,' which was afterwards altered to the promise 'I will write' in conformity with E's representation that the inscription on the stones was divine cp 31^{18b} 32¹⁶. The sudden introduction of the name Moses after 4^a lends a slight additional probability to the view that 1^a 4^a are foreign elements wrought into J's text 2³ 4^b 5.

5^a So M. T and stood with him there, and proclaimed the name of Yahweh.

5^b M Or, Yahweh by name.

6 For the place of this section cp 1^a and 33¹⁹. Bacon ascribes 7b to E⁴, and Battersby regards the proclamation of the divine titles as the expression of a later school of religious thought. Such aggregates of predicates are supposed to belong to a more advanced devotional vocabulary than can be traced with certainty in the writers of the eighth century (cp the difficulty suggested by Am 4¹³ 5⁸ &c). If this view be adopted, it carries with it a similar amplification in 33¹⁹. On the other hand cp Dr A B Davidson (Hastings' DB ii 202a), 'the very surprising ancient passage Ex 34⁶... left little to be added later.'

7 M See 20⁶.

9 Dillm is inclined to adopt Ewald's emendation 'and lead us' (^ahithduu for ^ahithduu), with reference to the refusal of Yahweh to 'go up in the midst' of Israel 33⁹ cp 33¹². Dillm then finds the answer to the prayer of Moses in 33¹⁴⁻¹⁷, a connexion also favoured by Driver; cp 33¹².

10^a The covenant in 10-27 is obviously parallel (cp 20²²) to the 'Words of Yahweh' in 23 which are solemnly adopted as the base of the Covenant in 24³⁻⁶. As it appeared, however, that the 'Words' had undergone considerable editorial manipulation and expansion, so it may be affirmed that the 'Covenant' of 34 has received various additions to the simplicity of its primitive form. This may be stated on general grounds of analogy, for example, with the Ten Words of 20¹⁻¹⁷, an analogy recognized by the author (or implied by the editor) of 27-28: and it is confirmed by the observation of the occasional close parallels both in phraseology and thought with Deut cp 11-13 15. 21. The language of 10 is also not without features of apparently later date; the announcement to Moses of wonders transcending all human experience resembles similar vindications of the divine greatness by Moses to Pharaoh, in which there was reason to see a later hand, e.g. 9¹⁶: the phrase 'such as have not been created' finds, indeed, support in Num 16³⁰, but has natural affinities with the language of later prophecy, e.g. Jer 31²² Is 45⁷ 48⁷ &c (cp Cheyne, *Intro to the Book of Isaiah* 21¹ and 248); and 'work of Yahweh' is found elsewhere only in Deut 11⁷ (cp 3) Josh 24³¹ || Judg 2⁷ Jer 51¹⁰. On the whole, though with hesitation, the chief part of 10 is assigned to the expander. Much other growth must probably be recognized if the description in 28 be applied to the original form of 10-27.

10^b M 5 created.

	J	E	JE	J	E	P		
9 Cp Gen 24 ⁶ 108 r Deut 7 ² s Deut 7 ¹⁶ 18 Lgea t Deut 7 ⁶ 14 Lgea u 20 ⁶ v 20 ⁶ w Num 14 ²⁸ x Deut 31 ¹⁶ z Deut 7 ³			Hittite, and the Perizzite, and the Hivite, and the Jebusite. ¹² Take heed to thyself, lest thou 'make a 'covenant with the inhabitants of the land whither thou goest, lest it be for a 'snare in the midst of thee: ¹³ but ye shall 'break down their altars, and 'dash in pieces their 'pillars, and ye shall 'cut down their 'Asherim: ¹⁴ for thou shalt worship no 'other god: for Yahweh, whose name is 'jealous, is a 'jealous God: ¹⁵ lest thou 'make a 'covenant with the inhabitants of the land, and they 'go a whoring after their gods, and do sacrifice unto their gods, and one call thee and thou eat of his sacrifice; ¹⁶ and thou 'take of their daughters unto thy sons, and their daughters go a whoring after their gods, and make thy sons go a whoring after their gods. ¹⁷ Thou shalt 'make thee no 'molten gods". ¹⁸ The 'feast of unleavened bread shalt thou keep. Seven days thou shalt eat unleavened bread, ¹⁹ as I commanded thee, at the time appointed in the month Abib: for in the month 'Abib thou camest out from Egypt. ¹⁹ All that openeth the womb is mine; and all thy 'cattle that is male, the firstlings of ox and sheep. ²⁰ And the 'firstling of an ass thou shalt redeem with a 'lamb: and if thou wilt not redeem it, then thou shalt break its neck. All the firstborn of thy sons thou shalt redeem. ²¹ And 'none shall 'appear before me empty. ²¹ Six days thou shalt work, but on the seventh day thou shalt rest: in 'plowing time and in 'harvest thou shalt rest. ²² And thou shalt observe the feast of 'weeks, [even] of the firstfruits of wheat 'harvest, 'and the feast of 'ingathering at the year's 'end. ²³ Three times in the year shall all thy males 'appear before the Lord Yahweh, the God of Israel. ²⁴ For I will 'cast out nations before thee, and 'enlarge thy borders': neither shall any man 'desire thy land, when thou goest up to 'appear before Yahweh thy God three times in the year. ²⁵ Thou shalt not 'offer the blood of my sacrifice with leavened bread; 'neither shall the sacrifice of the 'feast of the passover 'remain all night unto the morning. ²⁶ The 'first of the firstfruits of thy ground thou shalt bring unto the house of Yahweh thy God. ²⁷ Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's milk. ²⁷ And Yahweh said unto Moses, Write thou these words: for after the 'tenor of these words I have 'made a covenant with thee and with Israel. ²⁸ And he was there with Yahweh 'forty days and forty nights; he did 'neither eat bread, nor drink water. And 'he wrote upon the tables the words of the covenant, the ten 'commandments'.					
17 Lgba y 20 ⁴ 23 z Lev 19 ⁴¹ 18-24 Lgea 18a Lgea a' 23 ¹⁶ b' 13 ⁶ c' 13 ⁴ 18-20 Lgea d' 13 ¹² et 22 ²⁸ e' 13 ¹³						m 18		
20a Lgea f' 23 ¹⁶ g' 23 ¹⁶ cp 20 ³ 21 Lgea h' 23 ¹² i' Gen 45 ⁶ j' 23 ¹⁶ 22a Lgea k' Deut 16 ¹⁶ et 23 ¹⁶ 22b Lgea l' Cp 23 ¹⁶ et 23 ¹⁶ m' Deut 12 ³⁰ 19 ⁶ n' 20 ¹⁷ Deut 21 ⁷ 25 Josh 21						n 190		
25 Lgea o' Ct 23 ¹⁸ 25b Lgea 25a Lgea p' 23 ¹⁶ 25b Lgea q' Gen 43 ⁷ r' Cp 24 ¹⁸ s' Deut 9 ⁹ 18 t' Cp 1 Deut 10 ⁴						o 178		

34^{13a} M Or, obelisks.—Cp 23²⁴.

13b M Probably the wooden symbols of a goddess Asherah.

14 The particle 'for' may be the connecting link between the previous exhortation and the first 'Word.'

20 M Or, kid.

21 This verse is obviously out of place cp 23¹², as it interrupts the sequence of the feasts, and the law of firstlings connected with the early spring festival of Unleavened Bread. It probably stood between 17 and 18.

22 M $\dot{\text{H}}$ revolution.— $\dot{\text{H}}$ 1 Sam 1³⁰.

23 The indications of Deuteronomistic phraseology in this verse, 'cast out,' 'enlarge thy borders,' 'Yahweh thy God,' receive a curious confirmation from the fact that the worshipper who desires to 'see Yahweh's face' must go up. Does this mean to the central sanctuary at Jerusalem cp Deut 17⁸? Apparently, for it is provided that during his absence at the distant temple his land shall be undisturbed.

25a In 23¹⁸ 'my feast'; here limited apparently to the passover, which is not otherwise named, and may be specified in later harmony with Deut 16⁴.

25b $\dot{\text{H}}$ as in 23¹⁸ Deut 16⁴. T be *le*ft.

25c This verse seems the natural sequel of 10-27 and is so here printed. But it is not free from embarrassment. If the text of 27. is continuous, then the words of the Covenant were inscribed on the tables by Moses. On the other hand in 1 Yahweh promises to write the words himself. Can 28 and 1 be assigned to the same source? The suggestion already quoted in 1⁸ for overcoming this difficulty seems certainly rather forced. It must, therefore, be regarded as conceivable that 28 is wholly or partially derived from another document, which

can only be E. This view receives some support from two circumstances. (1) The words of the Covenant are called the Ten Words, a title which is elsewhere given to 20²⁻¹⁷ cp Deut 10⁴: for reasons stated in 28²⁸ it does not seem likely that this designation was also applied to J's Covenant (it may, however, be supposed that the appositional phrase is a later gloss). (2) A very early use of the words *he wrote* &c applies them unhesitatingly to Yahweh Deut 10⁴. D, therefore, could hardly have found them in a connexion in which Moses was the subject: in reading Deut 10⁴⁻⁴ it does not seem possible to thrust in Ex 34¹⁰⁻²⁷ between 3 and 4. As E reported the first tables to have been written by God 32¹⁶, it would be natural for the second pair to be in like manner divinely graven: and those critics who find traces of E in 1 and 4, see similar indications in 28.

28b M $\dot{\text{H}}$ words.—Different reconstructions of the 'Ten Words' out of 14-28 have been offered by F W Newman, *Hist of the Hebrew Monarchy*² (1847) 123; Stade, *Geach* i 510; Wellh, *Comp* 331-; Holzinger, *Eint* 217; Bacon, *Exodus* 297; Briggs, *Higher Crit* 189-210.

28c At the close of the difficult sections containing the Sinai-Horeb revelation according to JE 10-24 32-34²⁸, it may be desirable to sum up the general results of the analysis, bearing in mind the cautious remark of Driver that 'more than one hypothesis may be framed which will account, at least apparently, for the facts demanding explanation.' The present form of the narrative is the result of a long process the steps of which can be very imperfectly traced. The elements of the problem can perhaps best be approached through a consideration of the parallel narrative in Deut: the following table exhibits the corresponding passages in J E and D.*

* The passages are cited in their present form irrespective of the activity of B.

J (Ex)	E (Ex)	D (Deut)
Theophany at Sinai 19.	Theophany at the Mount (Horeb) 19. The Ten Words 24-17. Approach of Moses alone 20-21. The Words of Yahweh 22-23. The Book of Judgements 21-23. The Words of Yahweh (continued) 23-10-23.	The Covenant on Horeb 5 ⁸⁻⁹ . The Ten Words 5 ⁸⁻⁹ . Approach of Moses alone 3 ²²⁻²³ .
Summons to Moses, Aaron, &c 24 ¹⁻² .	The Covenant of the Words of Yahweh 24 ²⁻³ .	
Ascent of Moses, Aaron, &c. to a sacred Feast 24 ⁸⁻¹¹ .	Ascent of Moses and Joshua 24 ¹²⁻¹⁵ . Moses in the Mount for forty days 24 ¹⁵ . Gift of the tables 31 ^{15b} . The Golden Calf 31 ^{15c} .	Moses in the Mount for forty days 9 ⁹ . Gift of the Tables 9 ¹⁰ .
(J&E) Warning of Yahweh and intercession of Moses 32 ⁷⁻¹⁴ .	Warning of Yahweh 32 ⁷⁻¹⁴ . Descent of Moses and Joshua; fracture of the Stones; destruction of the calf and expostulation with Aaron 32 ¹⁵⁻²⁴ . Intercession of Moses; instructions to depart; plague 32 ³⁰⁻³⁵ . The people strip themselves of their ornaments. Usage of the Tent of Meeting 33 ⁶⁻¹¹ .	Warning of Yahweh 9 ¹²⁻¹⁴ . Descent of Moses; fracture of the Stones; intercession of Moses, anger of Yahweh with Aaron, and destruction of the calf 9 ¹⁵⁻²¹ 23-29.
Massacre by the Levites and their appointment as the sacred tribe 32 ²⁵⁻²⁹ . Instructions to depart and refusal of Yahweh to go with Israel 33 ¹⁻⁴ .		
Colloquy with Yahweh 33 ¹³⁻²³ . Preparation of the Stones and ascent of Mount Sinai 34 ¹⁻⁵ . Yahweh passes by before Moses 34 ⁶⁻⁹ . Yahweh's Covenant 34 ¹⁰⁻²⁷ . Moses writes: the Words of the Covenant, the Ten Words 34 ²⁸ .	[? Yahweh writes the Words of the Covenant, the Ten Words 34 ²⁸ .]	Preparation of the Stones and Ark, and ascent of Mount Sinai 10 ¹⁻³ . Yahweh writes the Ten Words, and the stones are placed in the ark 10 ⁴⁻⁵ . Separation of the tribe of Levi to carry the ark 10 ⁶ .

The questions suggested by this table are manifold; but (1) it may be well to start from the element common to J & E and D, viz the solemn institution of a Covenant at Sinai (Horeb) between Yahweh and Israel. Yet the terms of this Covenant are not identical. In all three documents they are described as 'Words,' but the contents of the 'Words' do not agree. There is a close approximation between the Covenant-words of J and E, but the Ten Words of D are obviously independent. (2) The representation of D is definite and emphatic that the published legislation at Horeb was limited to the Ten Words. In Deut 5³⁰ the people are dismissed to their tents, while Moses remains on the mount: 'but as for thee stand thou here by me, and I will speak unto thee all the commandment, and the statutes, and the judgements which thou shalt teach them, that they may do them in the land which I give them to possess it.' The new legislation which forms the substance of the Deuteronomic code, is thus conceived to have been communicated to Moses at Horeb, but first promulgated to Israel on the eve of their passage over the Jordan to take possession of the land of Canaan. But (3) while the greater part of the Covenant-words of J and E reappear later on in D among the laws delivered in the land of Moab, E contains in addition the Ten Words which D selects as the basis of the Horeb-covenant, and a book of Judgements besides, which is also largely reproduced at the end of the wanderings in D. It was long ago noticed by Goethe that according to the present arrangement of 34¹⁰⁻²⁸ the second tables contained another

version of the Ten Words, and recent criticism has widely adopted this view. But that was seen to carry with it the implication that it was derived from a different source; and as soon as the Ten Words of 20 were definitely assigned to E, the Ten Words of 34 naturally fell to J. Accordingly (to go no further back than 1880) Dillm proposed to transfer 34¹¹⁻²⁸ to the scene between Yahweh and Moses, Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, and the seventy representative elders 24¹⁻²; the feast upon the mount 9-11 then solemnized the ratification of the covenant. It is impossible here to review all the suggestions of reconstruction which have since been made, but two schemes require a brief exposition. (1) In his treatise on the *Hexateuch* Kuen dwelt with much force on the evidences of a Deuteronomic redaction of the Sinai-Horeb sections of JE; and he pointed out that while D had used the Covenant-book of E ('Words' + 'Judgements'), he made no reference to its delivery to Moses or its acceptance by the people, and further that there was also no room in D for the Covenant-words of J at Sinai. From this he inferred that neither E's Covenant-book nor J's Covenant-words formed part of JE's account of the events at Sinai. Seeking a more suitable place for them originally, and observing that the contents of both codes were designed for the settled life of Canaan, he suggested that they had originally occupied in JE the place now assumed by D itself, viz the 'field of Moab.' The promulgation of the Deuteronomic 'Statutes and Judgements' is itself regarded as a second Covenant; it superseded both the Covenant-book and the Covenant-words; and if these were to be preserved at all, it was needful to find for them some other occasion. It was the work of E² to transfer them to the Sinai-Horeb period; and adapt them to the new setting. These were not, however, the only additions which the original narratives received. The Ten Words in 20¹⁻¹⁷, and the fabrication of the Golden Calf, were incorporated into E, when it passed from Ephraim and was expanded in Judea. The nucleus of the Horeb Covenant-story was found in 24¹. 9-11 which Kuen ascribed to E¹; the Covenant-book and the Covenant-sacrifice beneath the mount on which Moses died in Moab being fused together with the sacred Covenant-meal upon the Mount of God. Thus E's Horeb-scenes underwent successive enlargements in different stages of its history, the latest of all being the great transposition of the Covenant-book from the end to the beginning of the wanderings. The redistribution of Kuen has been enthusiastically adopted by Cornill and Krätzschmar. (2)

A very different reconstruction has been presented by Bacon. Distinguishing the Covenant-book of the older criticism into a collection of 'Judgements' and a book of the 'Words of Yahweh,' he accepts Kuen's theory of the displacement caused by union with D so far as concerns the 'Judgements': but this leaves the Covenant-words and ceremony still at Horeb. The main problem then before him is to determine the original places of the two Covenants in J and E. While, with Kuen, he sends the 'Judgements' of 21-23³ forward to Moab, with Dillm he draws the Covenant-words of J back to 24¹. 9-11 and regards them as J's version of the Ten Words. The Ten Words of 20¹⁻²¹ are left in their place: but if they constituted the sole contents of the Horeb-covenant of E (cp Deut 5), what occasion can be found for further Words and their deliberate ratification? These are viewed as a renewal of the Covenant-relation which has been broken by the great apostasy. The brilliant combinations of Bacon assume many dislocations in the existing narrative, but do not involve such wholesale transpositions as the proposals of Kuen; they save much more for the original material of the Sinai-Horeb revelation both in J and E. The two documents, according to Bacon, must have run here, as elsewhere, a closely parallel course: and the general harmony of their contents may be exhibited as under:—

J	E
Yahweh appears on Sinai 19 ²⁰⁻²² 24 11b-15 25.	Yahweh (Elohim) appears on Horeb 19 ²⁰ 27-11a 34-17 19.
Ascent of Moses &c: Covenant-meal 24 ¹ . 9-11.	The Ten Words 20 ¹⁻²¹ 19 ^{20b} . J 20 ¹⁻⁸ .
Preparation of the Stones, the Covenant-words 34 ^{1-5r} 10-28 ^r .	Ascent of Moses to receive the Tables 24 ¹²⁻¹⁴ 18b.
[Rebellion of Israel.]	The Golden Calf 31 ¹⁻⁴ .
Intercession with Yahweh 32 ⁷⁻¹⁴ .	Moses descends with the tables 31 ^{15b} 32 ¹⁵ and destroys the Calf 32 ¹⁷⁻²⁴ .
Massacre by the Levites 33 ²⁵⁻²⁷ .	
Chastisement by Yahweh who commands Moses to depart 32 ³⁷ 33 ¹ 8.	Intercession of Moses who is instructed to lead the people away 32 ³⁰⁻³⁴ .

JE P ^a	P ^a	P ^a
<p> ¹⁹ Lev 16²⁰ Josh ¹⁹ 5¹ cp Gen 17²² ¹⁹ 26-28 5¹ ¹⁹ Cp 25³² Num 78¹ ¹⁹ 5 Lev 23⁸ 10¹⁸ Num 3¹⁶ 36³ cp Gen 45¹⁸ Ezek (3)¹⁷ 1-3 Lgbt </p>	<p> ²³ "And it came to pass, when Moses came down from mount "Sinai with the two tables of the 'testimony in "Moses' hand, when he came down from the mount, that Moses wist not that the skin of his face "shone "by reason of his speaking 'with him. ³⁰ And when Aaron and all the children of Israel saw Moses, behold, the skin of his face shone; and they were afraid to come nigh him. ³¹ And Moses called unto them; and Aaron and all the 'rulers of the 'congregation returned unto him: and Moses spake to them. ³² And afterward all the children of Israel came nigh: and he gave them in commandment all that Yahweh had spoken 'with him in mount Sinai. ³³ And when Moses had "done speaking 'with them, he put a "veil on his face. ³ But when Moses went in before Yahweh to "speak with him, he took the "veil off, until he came out; and he came out, and spake unto the children of Israel that which he "was commanded; ³⁶ and the children of Israel saw the face of Moses, that the skin of Moses' face shone: and Moses put the "veil upon his face again, until he "went in to speak with him. </p> <p> ³⁵ ¹ "And Moses "assembled all the 'congregation of the children of Israel, and said unto them, "These are the words which Yahweh hath commanded, that ye should do them. ² "Six days shall 'work be done, but on the seventh day there shall be to you an 'holy day, a 'sabbath </p>	<p> P 7 q 16¹ r 185⁶ s 13¹ t 45 a 45^b b 188 c 177 d 90^a e 137^c </p>

J
Renewed intercession of
Moses (Num 11^{10c} 11. 14.) 33¹²⁻²³.

Second great manifestation
of Yahweh, with pardoning
mercy 34⁵⁻⁹.

[Construction of the Ark and
Tent, and appointment of the
Levites to carry the Ark.]

Visit of Hobab 18⁷ 10.

Departure from Sinai Num
10²⁹⁻³⁶.

Every reader of Bacon's elaborate expositions of this scheme must admire its boldness and skill. It does not altogether overcome the difficulty on which Kuen has laid so much stress, viz the Deuteronomic affirmation that the Horeb-legislation was limited to the Ten Words. Too much weight, however, must not be attached to this assertion in view of the free adaptation which can constantly be traced in D's use of older materials. But not only does it emphasize (in the case of E) a Covenant-renewal which D ignores, it also ascribes to the Ten Words of E a Covenant-character of which the narrative says nothing, yet it altogether neglects them when the Covenant is remade. Further, in identifying the Covenant-words of J with the Ten Words, it suggests by implication that those of E were of later date; for if they were known to J, why should he have substituted others for them? This is not a difficulty to the critics who, like the numerous writers already cited 20¹, regard the Ten Words of E as the product of the great prophetic movement of the eighth century, but it is an embarrassment to the view of their earlier origin. If the Ten Words in their simplest form are really of ancient use, it seems inconceivable that J should have produced a totally different code and called it by the same name. Apart from that designation (which may, after all, be a later and mistaken gloss) there is close concurrence between the terms of the two Covenants in J and E, rendering it probable that in the original documents they occupied similar places. Substantial agreement, with variations in terminology and order, is the natural mark of a common antiquity. It is in the last resort conceivable, therefore, that J and E both contained the Ten Words and the Covenant-story: in the union of JE one delivery of the Ten Words was found sufficient; and while E's version was retained, J's was set aside. The two Covenants,

E
Mourning of the people and
surrender of their ornaments
33⁴.

[Construction of the Ark and
the Tent.]

The Covenant renewed: the
second Ten Words 26¹²⁻²⁸
23¹⁰⁻¹⁸ 22²⁹⁻³¹ 23¹⁸ 19b 13 20-31
24³⁻⁶

Visit of Jethro 18¹ 27¹.

Usage of the Tent of Meeting
33⁷⁻¹¹.

Scenes at the Tent (1) the
Seventy Elders Num 11¹⁶. 24-30
(2) murmurs at Moses' wife Num
12¹⁻¹⁵.

[Departure from Horeb.]

however, did not resemble each other so closely as to be incompatible at a little distance, and both therefore were incorporated at different stages of the united narrative, undergoing further revision afterwards by R⁴. The Covenant-idea rose into prominence in reflexion on the past, and D, in embodying the materials of JE's 'Covenant-words' in the legislation of Moab may have transferred the conception with the title to the utterance in the hearing of the people at the Mount of God. (This view, however, seems less probable than that suggested in 20¹⁸.) In the analysis in the text nothing further is attempted than the distribution of the narrative into its constituent elements. The reader must form his own judgement as to the processes through which they have passed on the way to their present combination. Cp (for a different criticism) Battersby, 'Exodus' in Hastings' DB i 810a.

34^{29a} This section is closely allied to P, and seems the natural continuation of 31¹⁸. But it has not been assigned to P^a without challenge, for Kuen observes that it 'presupposes the existence of the sanctuary that, according to P, has still to be built, and seems to place it outside the camp 34. in common with 33⁷⁻¹¹.' He regards it, therefore (Hex 76 332) as an addition from a much later hand. It is clear that 34. implies the sanctuary, but there is no reference to its situation and it is difficult to know why it should be supposed to be outside. The narrative of P must have contained some mention of Moses' descent, and his communication of the divine instructions to the people. It is probable, therefore, that 29-33 belongs to it, while the expander may have added the particulars concerning the removal of the veil on occasion of Moses' attendance on Yahweh in the sanctuary, thus converting into a continuous phenomenon what was the exceptional result of his solemn communion on the mount. In this view 33, which obviously anticipates 35¹ in the present text, served as the earlier conclusion of the Sinai scene in P before the insertion of the great Repetition (cp 35¹⁸ and 4¹⁸) and 34. is an addition of a later editor.

29^b The awkward occurrence of the name Moses here (which Sam corrects into 'his') and the repetition of the clause 'when he came down from the mount' point to some kind of amalgamation, possibly from the narrative of J.

29^c M Or, sent forth beams (5 horns).

29^d M Or, while he talked with him.

35¹ The Sabbath-law in 1-3 is often regarded as a part of the great Repetition of the instructions for the preparation of the Dwelling cp 31¹²⁻¹⁷. But the title 'these are the words' &c suggests a longer series of injunctions than the commands in 2; and of these 2 only is actually contained in 31¹⁸, 3 being entirely independent. It is probable, therefore, that this was the beginning of a more extensive collection, and does not stand in its original place. At the close of 3 (5) adds the phrase 'I am Yahweh.' If the words are genuine, it becomes almost certain that the passage has been editorially transposed cp Lev 23³.
³ M See 31¹⁸.

JE P ^a	P ^a	P ^a
a 30 ¹ adds I am Yahweh 4-9 2122a	of solemn rest to Yahweh: whosoever 'doeth any work therein shall be put to death. ³ Ye shall kindle no fire throughout your 'habitations upon the sabbath day ^a .	185
b 25 ¹	⁴ "And Moses 'spake unto all the congregation of the children of Israel, saying, ⁵ "Take ye from among you an offering unto Yahweh: whosoever is of a willing heart, let him bring it, Yahweh's offering; ⁶ gold, and silver, and brass; and blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine linen, and goats' [hair]; ⁷ and rams' skins dyed red, and sealskins, and acacia wood; ⁸ and oil for the light, and spices for the anointing oil, and for the sweet incense; ⁹ and onyx stones, and stones to be set, for the ephod, and for the breastplate. ¹⁰ "And let every wise hearted man among you come, and make all that Yahweh hath commanded; ¹¹ the Dwelling, its tent, and its covering, its clasps, and its boards, its bars, its pillars, and its sockets; ¹² the ark, and the staves thereof, the covering, and the veil of the screen; ¹³ the table, and its staves, and all its vessels, and the 'shewbread; ¹⁴ the candlestick also for the light, and its vessels, and its lamps, and the oil for the light; ¹⁵ and the 'altar of incense, and its staves, and the 'anointing oil, and the sweet /incense, and the screen for the door, at the door of the Dwelling; ¹⁶ the 'altar of burnt offering, with its grating of brass, its staves, and all its vessels, the 'laver and its base; ¹⁷ the hangings of the court, the pillars thereof, and their sockets, and the screen for the gate of the court; ¹⁸ the pins of the tabernacle, and the pins of the court, and their 'cords; ¹⁹ the 'finely wrought garments, for ministering in the holy place,	185
c 30 ¹ om 8 cp 25 ¹ 10-19 2122b		
d 30 ¹ .. e 30 ¹ 25 f 30 ¹ 25 g Ct 27 ¹ h 30 ¹ 25		
i 30 ¹ 40 Num 328 37 428 32 ^a		

35^a The lengthy narrative of the construction of the Dwelling in 35^a-40 obviously reproduces 25-28 30-31¹¹: the following table is designed to show the variations of order between the original and the repetition, and between § and ¶ in the second section:—

Ex 25-31.	Ex 35 ^a -40 §.	Ex 35 ^a -40 ¶.
25 ¹ -9 the Offerings and the Pattern	35 ^a -19 [20-36 ⁷] 37 ¹ -9 10-16	35 ^a -8 § om, 9-19 with variations [20-36 ⁷] 38 ¹ -8 curtailed 9-19 § 11. om, curtailed 18-17 much curtailed, § 24 om
29-30 the Table	17-24	cp 37 ¹ .
31-40 the Lampstand	36 ⁸ -19 20-24 25-38	cp 38 ¹ 2-21 37 ⁵ -6
26 ¹ -14 the Tent	38 ¹ -7 the Altar of Burnt Offering	cp 38 ² 2-24
15-20 the Framework	9-20	37 ⁷ -18 with variations
21-27 the Veil and Screen	39 ¹	cp 39 ¹ 3 36 ⁸ b
27 ¹ -8 the Altar	2-7 8-21	36 ⁸ -14 15-29
9-19 the Forecourt	22-26	30-34
20-21 the Oil for the Light	27-31	35-40
22-25 the Priests' Vestments	32-39	35-37
26-28 the Ephod	Lev 8	Lev 8
29-30 the Breastplate of Judgement	37 ²⁶ -28 38 ¹ [21-28] 24-31	—
31-35 the Eboe	8	37 ¹ [19-21] 39 ¹ -10
36-38 the Turban	cp 40 ²⁰ -32	38 ²⁶
39-43 the Linen Coats	37 ²⁹	cp 38 ²⁷
29 the Priests' Consecration	35 ³⁰ -36 ¹	38 ²⁶
30 ¹ -10 the Incense Altar	39 ³² -43 the work finished	35 ³⁰ -36 ¹
11-16 the half-shekel Tax	40 ¹ -16 the Dwelling to be set up	39 ¹¹ [12 18 cp 1] 14-23
17-18 the Laver	17-23 the Dwelling set up	40 ¹ -18 § 7 11 om, 8 curtailed
19-21 the Priests' Abolutions	24-27 § 28 29b om, § 30-32 om, cp ¶	14-27 § 28 29b om, § 30-32 om, cp ¶
22-28 the Perfumes and Oil	28-32 the Cloud upon the Dwelling	28-32
31 ¹ -11 Bezalel and Oholiab		

The criticism of this section was first undertaken in 1862 by

Dr J Popper in his treatise *Der Biblische Bericht über die Stiftshütte*. His main results have been accepted by Kuenen, who has discussed them in his *Heateuch* pp 76-80 332. The chief points on which he lays stress are—(1) the incorporation in their proper order of the secondary sections in 30-31¹¹: thus the altar of incense 39¹-10 is described after the ark, table, and lampstand, which stood within the Tent; and the laver 30¹⁷ is named after the altar of burnt offering 38²: this rearrangement implies a hand at least as late as the addition of 30-31¹¹ to 25-29. But (2) it can be shown to have been still more recent, for the account of the half-shekel tax and its purpose differs in 38²⁴-31 from that in 30¹¹-16 cp 38²⁸. This conclusion (3) is confirmed by divergences of phraseology in the Repetition; thus 36¹⁰ 12. 22 has *אמר אל משה* 'one to another,' *אמר אל משה* 26⁵ 5. 17 cp Sam 26³ &c. It is further (4) supported by indications of diversity of authorship in 35-40 (with which Lev 8 = Ex 29 must be combined), e.g. 40²⁷-32 anticipates the account of the consecration of the priests Lev 8, and their first sacrifice Lev 9: and in 39¹-31 the formula 'as Yahweh commanded Moses' recurs seven times, though not previously employed in 35-38. It is (5) in harmony with this general view of prolonged redactional activity that ¶ should display such marked peculiarities of dislocation, curtailment, or omission: the text of the Repetition could not have been definitely fixed. Moreover, the phenomena of translation are unexpected: technical terms in the Repetition are sometimes rendered by fresh words, and not by their counterparts in the preceding sections: why should such changes have been introduced if the same translator had been at work? and if a new hand took up the task, was it not because new material called for incorporation in the Greek version? Popper, therefore, boldly concluded that 35-40 did not assume its final form until after the preparation of ¶ had been begun, and this view is favoured by Kuenen, though it may be doubted how far the variations of rendering suffice to justify the conclusion (cp parallel phenomena in Num 3-4). Apart, however, from this particular inference the generally late character of 35-40^a is further indicated (1) by the circumstance that the account of the breastplate of judgement 39⁸-21 includes alike in § and ¶ the duplicate passage which ¶ omitted from 28¹³-30; and (2) by the remarkable parallel between the institution of the new ritual order and the ancient cosmic order. The sevenfold 'as Yahweh commanded Moses' 39¹-31 (cp 40¹⁹-32) matches the sevenfold 'and it was so' and God saw that it was good' of Gen 1; the finished work is inspected by Moses 39³³ and draws forth his blessing cp Gen 1³¹ 28 2^a. Such a parallel seems to belong to the age which witnessed the beginnings of Rabbinical speculation (cp Jos, *Antt* iii 7 7, Philo, *Vit Mos* iii 6 ff).

⁶ M See 25²-7.

¹⁹ M See 31¹⁰.

¹³ M Or, *Presence-bread*.

* Dillm (*NDJ* 635) admitted that the present sequence has been expanded from a much briefer base, and found the original nucleus in 35¹-8 4. 20. 36²-8 40¹. 34-38. No clear criteria, however, seem to be available for such discrimination, though it seems highly probable that P originally contained some brief account of the fulfilment of the instructions in 25-28: cp Gen 6²² Ex 12²⁸ &c.

JE P ^b	P ^c	P ^c
	the holy garments for Aaron the priest, and the garments of his sons, to minister in the priest's office.	
20-22 L120c	²⁰ And all the congregation of the children of Israel departed from the presence of Moses. ²¹ And they came, every one whose heart stirred him up, and every one whom his spirit made willing, [and] brought Yahweh's offering, for the work of the tent of meeting, and for all the service thereof, and for the holy garments. ²² And they came, both men and women, as many as were willing hearted, [and] brought brooches, and earrings, and signet-rings, and armlets, all jewels of gold; even every man that offered an offering of gold unto Yahweh. ²³ And every man, with whom was found blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine linen, and goats' [hair], and rams' skins dyed red, and sealskins, brought them. ²⁴ Every one that did offer an offering of silver and brass brought Yahweh's offering: and every man, with whom was found acacia wood for any work of the service, brought it. ²⁵ And all the women that were wise hearted did spin with their hands, and brought that which they had spun, the blue, and the purple, the scarlet, and the fine linen. ²⁶ And all the women whose heart stirred them up in wisdom spun the goats' [hair]. ²⁷ And the rulers brought the onyx stones, and the stones to be set, for the ephod, and for the breastplate; ²⁸ and the spice, and the oil; for the light, and for the anointing oil, and for the sweet incense. ²⁹ The children of Israel brought a freewill offering unto Yahweh; every man and woman, whose heart made them willing to bring for all the work, which Yahweh had commanded to be made by the hand of Moses.	b 175 i 85
30-36 L120d	³⁰ And Moses said unto the children of Israel, See, Yahweh hath called by name Bezalel the son of Uri, the son of Hur, of the tribe of Judah; ³¹ and he hath filled him with the spirit of God, in wisdom, in understanding, and in knowledge, and in all manner of workmanship; ³² and to devise cunning works, to work in gold, and in silver, and in brass, ³³ and in cutting of stones for setting, and in carving of wood, to work in all manner of cunning workmanship. ³⁴ And he hath put in his heart that he may teach, both he, and Oholiab, the son of Ahisamach, of the tribe of Dan. ³⁵ Them hath he filled with wisdom of heart, to work all manner of workmanship, of the engraver, and of the cunning workman, and of the embroiderer, in blue, and in purple, in scarlet, and in fine linen, and of the weaver, even of them that do any workmanship, and of those that devise cunning works. ³⁶ And Bezalel and Oholiab shall work, and every wise hearted man, in whom Yahweh hath put wisdom and understanding to know how to work all the work for the service of the sanctuary, according to all that Yahweh hath commanded.	j 180 ^a
37-40 L120e a 40 ²³ Lev 161 5†	³⁷ And Moses called Bezalel and Oholiab, and every wise hearted man, in whose heart Yahweh had put wisdom, even every one whose heart stirred him up to come unto the work to do it: ³⁸ and they received of Moses all the offering, which the children of Israel had brought for the work of the service of the sanctuary, to make it withal. And they brought yet unto him freewill offerings every morning. ³⁹ And all the wise men, that wrought all the work of the sanctuary, came every man from his work which they wrought; ⁴⁰ and they spake unto Moses, saying, The people bring much more than enough for the service of the work, which Yahweh commanded to make. ⁴¹ And Moses gave commandment, and they caused it to be proclaimed throughout the camp, saying, Let neither man nor woman make any more work for the offering of the sanctuary. So the people were restrained from bringing. ⁴² For the stuff they had was sufficient for all the work to make it, and too much.	a 58
41-49 L120f	⁴³ And every wise hearted man among them that wrought the work made the Dwelling with ten curtains; of fine twined linen, and blue, and purple, and scarlet, with cherubim the work of the cunning workman made he them. ⁴⁴ The length of each curtain was eight and twenty cubits, and the breadth of each curtain four cubits: all the curtains had one measure. ⁴⁵ And he coupled five curtains one to another: and [the other] five curtains he coupled one to another. ⁴⁶ And he made loops of blue upon the edge of the one curtain from the selvedge in the coupling: likewise he made in the edge of the curtain that was outmost in the second coupling. ⁴⁷ Fifty loops made he in the one curtain, and fifty loops made he in the edge of the curtain that was in the second coupling: the loops were opposite one to another. ⁴⁸ And he made fifty clasps of gold, and coupled the curtains one to another with the clasps: so the Dwelling was one. ⁴⁹ And he made curtains of goats' [hair] for a tent over the Dwelling: eleven curtains he made them. ⁵⁰ The length of each curtain was thirty cubits, and four cubits the breadth of each curtain: the eleven curtains had one measure. ⁵¹ And he coupled five curtains by themselves, and six curtains by themselves. ⁵² And he made fifty loops on the edge of the curtain that was outmost in the coupling, and fifty loops made he upon the edge of the curtain which was [outmost in] the second coupling. ⁵³ And he made fifty clasps of brass to couple the tent together, that it might be one. ⁵⁴ And he made a covering for the tent of rams' skins dyed red, and a covering of sealskins above.	
50-54 L120g	⁵⁵ And he made the boards for the Dwelling of acacia wood, standing up. ⁵⁶ Ten	

35^{22a} M Or, nose-rings.32^b M Or, necklaces.—Num 31⁵⁰†.30 M See 31¹⁻⁶.36⁸ M See 26¹⁻¹⁴.

37 M Or, beryl.

35 M Or, craftsman.

11^a M Or, that was outmost in the first set.17^a M Or, first set.

19 M Or, porpoise-skins.

11^b M Or, set.17^b M Or, set.20 M See 26¹⁸⁻²⁹.

JE P^hP^cP^a

cubits was the length of a board, and a cubit and a half the breadth of each board. ²² Each board had two tenons, "joined one to another: thus did he make for all the boards of the Dwelling. ²³ And he made the boards for the Dwelling; twenty boards for the south side southward: ²⁴ and he made forty sockets of silver under the twenty boards; two sockets under one board for its two tenons, and two sockets under another board for its two tenons. ²⁵ And for the second side of the Dwelling, on the north side, he made twenty boards, ²⁶ and their forty sockets of silver; two sockets under one board, and two sockets under another board. ²⁷ And for the hinder part of the Dwelling westward he made six boards. ²⁸ And two boards made he for the corners of the Dwelling in the hinder part. ²⁹ And they were double beneath, and in like manner they "were entire unto the top thereof unto "one ring: thus he did to both of them in the two corners. ³⁰ And there were eight boards, and their sockets of silver, sixteen sockets; under every board two sockets. ³¹ And he made bars of acacia wood; five for the boards of the one side of the Dwelling, ³² and five bars for the boards of the other side of the Dwelling, and five bars for the boards of the Dwelling for the hinder part westward. ³³ And he made the middle bar to pass through in the midst of the boards from the one end to the other. ³⁴ And he overlaid the boards with gold, and made their rings of gold for places for the bars, and overlaid the bars with gold.

35. L19bc

³⁵ "And he made the veil of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen: with cherubim the work of the cunning workman made he it. ³⁶ And he made thereunto four pillars of acacia, and overlaid them with gold: their hooks were of gold; and he cast for them four sockets of silver. ³⁷ "And he made a screen for the door of the Tent, of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen, the work of the embroiderer; ³⁸ and the five pillars of it with their hooks: and he overlaid their chapiters and their fillets with gold: and their five sockets were of brass.

37. L19bd

1-9 L19c

³⁷ "And Bezalel made the ark of acacia wood: two cubits and a half was the length of it, and a cubit and a half the breadth of it, and a cubit and a half the height of it: ² and he overlaid it with pure gold within and without, and made a "crown of gold to it round about. ³ And he cast for it four rings of gold, in the four feet thereof; even two rings on the one "side of it, and two rings on the other "side of it. ⁴ And he made staves of acacia wood, and overlaid them with gold. ⁵ And he put the staves into the rings on the sides of the ark, to bear the ark. ⁶ And he made a "covering of pure gold: two cubits and a half [was] the length thereof, and a cubit and a half the breadth thereof. ⁷ And he made two cherubim of gold; of "beaten work made he them, at the two ends of the covering; ⁸ one cherub at the one end, and one cherub at the other end: of one piece with the covering made he the cherubim at the two ends thereof. ⁹ And the cherubim spread out their wings on high, covering the covering with their wings, with their faces one to another; toward the covering were the faces of the cherubim.

10-16 L19da

¹⁰ "And he made the table of acacia wood: two cubits [was] the length thereof, and a cubit the breadth thereof, and a cubit and a half the height thereof: ¹¹ and he overlaid it with pure gold, and made thereto a crown of gold round about. ¹² And he made unto it a border of an handbreadth round about, and made a golden crown to the border thereof round about. ¹³ And he cast for it four rings of gold, and put the rings in the four corners that were on the four feet thereof. ¹⁴ Close by the border were the rings, the places for the staves to bear the table. ¹⁵ And he made the staves of acacia wood, and overlaid them with gold, to bear the table. ¹⁶ And he made the vessels which were upon the table, the dishes thereof, and the spoons thereof, and the bowls thereof, and the flagons thereof, to pour out withal, of pure gold.

17-24 L19db

¹⁷ "And he made the candlestick of pure gold: of beaten work made he the candlestick, even its base, and its shaft; its cups, its knops, and its flowers, were of one piece with it: ¹⁸ and there were six branches going out of the sides thereof; three branches of the candlestick out of the one side thereof, and three branches of the candlestick out of the other side thereof: ¹⁹ three cups made like almond-blossoms in one branch, a knop and a flower; and three cups made like almond-blossoms in the other branch, a knop and a flower: so for the six branches going out of the candlestick. ²⁰ And in the candlestick were four cups made like almond-blossoms, the knops thereof, and the flowers thereof: ²¹ and a knop under two branches of one piece with it, and a knop under two branches of one piece with it, for the six branches going out of it. ²² Their knops and their branches were of one piece with it; the whole of it was one beaten work of pure gold. ²³ And he made the lamps thereof, seven, and the tongs thereof, and the snuff-dishes thereof, of pure gold. ²⁴ Of a talent of pure gold made he it, and all the vessels thereof.

25-28 L19dd

²⁵ "And he made the altar of incense of acacia wood: a cubit was the length thereof, and a cubit the breadth thereof, foursquare; and two cubits was the height thereof; the horns thereof were of one piece with it. ²⁶ And he overlaid it with pure gold, the top thereof, and the sides thereof round about, and the horns of it: and he made unto

36²² M Or, morticed.

^{29a} The tenses in this verse excite some suspicion; the impf ירי has the appearance of being 'copied mechanically' from ²⁶ (Dillm and Addis); Sam seems to correct to ירי. But see Driver, *Tenses* p 162¹.

² b M Or, the first.³⁷ 1 M See 25¹⁰⁻²⁰.^{38a} b M ה rib.⁷ M Or, turned.¹⁷ M See 25³¹⁻³⁹.³⁵ M See 26³¹⁻³⁷.² M Or, rim. Or, moulding.⁶⁻⁹ So M. T mercy-seat.¹⁰ M See 25²³⁻²⁹.²³ M See 30¹⁻⁸.

JE P^aP^aP^a

it a crown of gold round about. ²⁷ And he made for it two golden rings under the crown thereof, upon the two ribs thereof, upon the two sides of it, for places for staves to bear it withal. ²⁸ And he made the staves of acacia wood, and overlaid them with gold. ²⁹ And he made the holy anointing oil, and the pure incense of sweet spices, after the art of the perfumer.

³⁰ And he made the altar of burnt offering of acacia wood: five cubits was the length thereof, and five cubits the breadth thereof, foursquare; and three cubits the height thereof. ¹ And he made the horns thereof upon the four corners of it; the horns thereof were of one piece with it: and he overlaid it with brass. ² And he made all the vessels of the altar, the pots, and the shovels, and the basons, the fleshhooks, and the firepans: all the vessels thereof made he of brass. ³ And he made for the altar a grating of network of brass, under the ledge round it beneath, reaching halfway up. ⁴ And he cast four rings for the four ends of the grating of brass, to be places for the staves. ⁵ And he made the staves of acacia wood, and overlaid them with brass. ⁶ And he put the staves into the rings on the sides of the altar, to bear it withal; he made it hollow with planks.

⁷ And he made the laver of brass, and the base thereof of brass, of the mirrors of the serving women which served at the door of the tent of meeting.

⁸ And he made the court: for the south side southward the hangings of the court were of fine twined linen, an hundred cubits: ⁹ their pillars were twenty, and their sockets twenty, of brass; the hooks of the pillars and their fillets were of silver. ¹⁰ And for the north side an hundred cubits, their pillars twenty, and their sockets twenty, of brass; the hooks of the pillars and their fillets of silver. ¹¹ And for the west side were hangings of fifty cubits, their pillars ten, and their sockets ten; the hooks of the pillars and their fillets of silver. ¹² And for the east side eastward fifty cubits. ¹³ The hangings for the one side [of the gate] were fifteen cubits; their pillars three, and their sockets three; ¹⁴ and so for the other side: on this hand and that hand by the gate of the court were hangings of fifteen cubits; their pillars three, and their sockets three. ¹⁵ All the hangings of the court round about were of fine twined linen. ¹⁶ And the sockets for the pillars were of brass; the hooks of the pillars and their fillets of silver; and the overlaying of their chapiters of silver; and all the pillars of the court were filleted with silver. ¹⁷ And the screen for the gate of the court was the work of the embroiderer, of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen: and twenty cubits was the length, and the height in the breadth was five cubits, answerable to the hangings of the court. ¹⁸ And their pillars were four, and their sockets four, of brass; their hooks of silver, and the overlaying of their chapiters and their fillets of silver. ¹⁹ And all the pins of the Dwelling, and of the court round about, were of brass.

²⁰ This is the sum of [the things for] the Dwelling, even the Dwelling of the testimony, as they were counted, according to the commandment of Moses, for the service of the Levites, by the hand of Ithamar, the son of Aaron the priest. ²¹ And Bezalel the son of Uri, the son of Hur, of the tribe of Judah, made all that Yahweh commanded Moses. ²² And with him was Oholiab, the son of Ahisamach, of the tribe of Dan, an engraver, and a cunning workman, and an embroiderer in blue, and in purple, and in scarlet, and fine linen.

²³ All the gold that was used for the work in all the work of the sanctuary, even the gold of the offering, was twenty and nine talents, and seven hundred and thirty shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary. ²⁴ And the silver of them that were numbered of the congregation was an hundred talents, and a thousand seven hundred and threescore and fifteen shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary: ²⁵ a beka a head, [that is], half a shekel, after the shekel of the sanctuary, for every one that passed over to them that were numbered, from twenty years old and upward, for six hundred thousand and three thousand and five hundred and fifty men. ²⁶ And the hundred talents of silver were for casting the sockets of the sanctuary, and the sockets of the veil; an hundred sockets for the hundred talents, a talent for a socket. ²⁷ And of the thousand seven hundred seventy and five [shekels] he made hooks for the pillars, and overlaid their chapiters, and made fillets for them. ²⁸ And the brass of the offering was seventy talents, and two thousand and four hundred shekels. ²⁹ And therewith he

a 188
b 190
c 180

d 1181

³⁷ M See 30²³, 34.

³⁸ M See 27¹⁻⁶.

³⁹ M See 30¹⁸.—The brevity of the reference is again noteworthy cp 30^{17,18}; the source of the statement concerning the serving women's mirrors is unknown. Such women are only mentioned elsewhere in a late addition to the text in 1 Sam 2²³ (cp Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of Samuel* p 26), and the reference to them here may be derived from some Midrash.

⁴⁰ M Or, the women which assembled to minister.—Cp 92^c.

⁴¹ M See Num 4²³ 824; 1 Sam 2²³. ⁴² M See 27²⁻¹⁹.

⁴³ Q as in 25²⁷ 28²⁷ 43, but hardly in the same sense. Dillm sees in it a sign of later addition to the text: rather does the diversity of usage confirm the conclusion partly suggested by the heightened detail, that the whole passage, like so much else embedded in the Great Repetition, is considerably posterior to the sections of the original design.

²³ M Or, a craftsman.

²⁴ It is noteworthy that in 25-28 the 'silver of the offering' (cp 'gold of the offering' ²⁴ 'brass of the offering' ²⁹) is ignored, and the writer only deals with the product of the poll-tax of half a shekel. This is based (1) on a misunderstanding of 30¹¹⁻¹⁸, where the money is to be applied for the 'service of the tent of meeting' ¹⁶, i e for the maintenance of the permanent cultus, not for the construction of the fabric; and (2) on the census of the males now recorded in Num 1. But that census did not take place till a month after the completion of the Dwelling cp Num 1¹ Ex 40¹. Ewald accordingly suggested (*Antiquities* 303⁸) that if Num 1 did not precede this passage originally, a preliminary levy was described and afterwards omitted. The view here taken (after Wellh, Kuen, and Dillm, Ex³ 355 404. *NDJ* 635) regards the discrepancy as due to the misinterpretation of a later amplifying scribe.

JE P ^a	P ^a	P ^a
	made the sockets to the door of the tent of meeting, and the brasen altar, and the brasen grating for it, and all the vessels of the altar, ³¹ and the sockets of the court round about, and the sockets of the gate of the court, and all the pins of the Dwelling, and all the pins of the court round about.	
1-41 L1109 1 L129a	³⁹ ¹ And of the blue, and purple, and scarlet, they made finely wrought garments, for ministering in the holy place, and made the holy garments for Aaron; ² as Yahweh commanded Moses.	a 189 ^a
5-7 L129	² ¹ And he made the ephod of gold, blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen. ³ ¹ And they did beat the gold into thin plates, and cut it into wires, to work it in the blue, and in the purple, and in the scarlet, and in the fine linen, the work of the cunning workman. ⁴ They made shoulderpieces for it, joined together: at the two ends was it joined together. ⁵ And the cunningly woven band, that was upon it, to gird it on withal, was of the same piece [and] like the work thereof; of gold, of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen; ⁶ as Yahweh commanded Moses.	
8-11 L129c	⁶ ¹ And they wrought the onyx stones, inclosed in ouches of gold, graven with the engravings of a signet, according to the names of the children of Israel. ⁷ And he put them on the shoulderpieces of the ephod, to be stones of memorial for the children of Israel; ⁸ as Yahweh commanded Moses.	
	⁸ ¹ And he made the breastplate, the work of the cunning workman, like the work of the ephod; of gold, of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen. ⁹ It was foursquare; they made the breastplate double: a span was the length thereof, and a span the breadth thereof, being double. ¹⁰ And they set in it four rows of stones: a row of sardius, topaz, and carbuncle was the first row. ¹¹ And the second row, an emerald, a sapphire, and a diamond. ¹² And the third row, a jacinth, an agate, and an amethyst. ¹³ And the fourth row, a beryl, an onyx, and a jasper: they were inclosed in ouches of gold in their settings. ¹⁴ And the stones were according to the names of the children of Israel, twelve, according to their names; like the engravings of a signet, every one according to his name, for the twelve tribes. ¹⁵ And they made upon the breastplate chains like cords, of wreathen work of pure gold. ¹⁶ And they made two ouches of gold, and two gold rings; and put the two rings on the two ends of the breastplate. ¹⁷ And they put the two wreathen chains of gold on the two rings at the ends of the breastplate. ¹⁸ And the [other] two ends of the two wreathen chains they put on the two ouches, and put them on the shoulderpieces of the ephod, in the forepart thereof. ¹⁹ And they made two rings of gold, and put them upon the two ends of the breastplate, upon the edge thereof, which was toward the side of the ephod inward. ²⁰ And they made two rings of gold, and put them on the two shoulderpieces of the ephod underneath, in the forepart thereof, close by the coupling thereof, above the cunningly woven band of the ephod. ²¹ And they did bind the breastplate by the rings thereof unto the rings of the ephod with a lace of blue, that it might be upon the cunningly woven band of the ephod, and that the breastplate might not be loosed from the ephod; ²² as Yahweh commanded Moses.	
22-26 L129c	²² ¹ And he made the robe of the ephod of woven work, all of blue; ²³ and the hole of the robe in the midst thereof, as the hole of a coat of mail, with a binding round about the hole of it, that it should not be rent. ²⁴ And they made upon the skirts of the robe pomegranates of blue, and purple, and scarlet, [and] twined [linen]. ²⁵ And they made bells of pure gold, and put the bells between the pomegranates upon the skirts of the robe round about, between the pomegranates; ²⁶ a bell and a pomegranate, a bell and a pomegranate, upon the skirts of the robe round about, to minister in; ²⁷ as Yahweh commanded Moses.	
27-29 L129f	²⁷ ¹ And they made the coats of fine linen of woven work for Aaron, and for his sons, ²⁸ and the ²⁹ mitre of fine linen, and the goodly headties of fine linen, and the linen breeches of fine twined linen, and the girdle of fine twined linen, ²⁹ and blue, and purple, and scarlet, the work of the embroiderer; ³⁰ as Yahweh commanded Moses.	
30 L129a a Ct 28 ³⁶	³⁰ ¹ And they made the plate of the holy crown of pure gold, and ³¹ wrote upon it a writing, like the engravings of a signet, HOLY TO YAHWEH. ³¹ ¹ And they tied unto it a lace of blue, to fasten it upon the ³² mitre above; ³³ as Yahweh commanded Moses.	
32-43 L129h b Cp Gen 2 ¹	³² ¹ Thus was finished all the work of the Dwelling of the tent of meeting: and the children of Israel did according to all that Yahweh commanded Moses, ³³ so did they. ³⁴ And they brought the Dwelling unto Moses, the Tent, and all its furniture, its clasps, its boards, its bars, and its pillars, and its sockets; ³⁵ and the covering of rams' skins dyed red, and the covering of ³⁶ sealskins, and the veil of the screen;	b 189 ^a

³⁹ ¹ This phrase, repeated seven times in ³⁹¹⁻³¹, seems to correspond to the sevenfold refrains in Gen 1 cp ³².

² M See 28⁶⁻¹².

³ This verse has no counterpart in 28⁶⁻¹².

⁴ M See 28¹⁵⁻²⁸.—It will be noted that the repetition contains both descriptions 16-18 19-21 of the rings for fastening on the breastplate; and while (J) omits 28²⁶⁻²⁸ the corresponding passage 39¹⁹⁻²¹ (J) is in its place 36²⁷⁻²⁹ (J).

²² M See 28³¹⁻³⁴.

²³ M Or, turban.

²⁷ M See 28^{39, 42}.

³⁰ M See 28³⁶.

^{31a} This verse has no counterpart in the preceding section.

^{31b} M Or, turban.

³² On the indications of a parallel between the order of the Dwelling and the order of the heavens and the earth in Gen 1 see 35¹⁴ ad fin. (J) omits ^{32a}, and reproduces ³³⁻⁴³ with variations of order and some omissions. The peculiar designation 'Dwelling of the tent of meeting' ³² occurs only here and in 40¹ ³², where (J) has only 'tent of meeting.'

³⁴ M Or, porpoise-skins.

JE P^hP^aP^a

c Cp Gen 1³¹
d Cp Gen 1³² 2³
1-15 L191a

12a L110A
12b L110/1
14. L110pgd
15 L110g
a Cp 2841a
16 L110b

17-19 L110c

20-20 L110d

31. L110e

b 362
33 L110f

34-36 L110g

³⁵ the ark of the testimony, and the staves thereof, and the covering; ³⁶ the table, all the vessels thereof, and the shewbread; ³⁷ the pure candlestick, the lamps thereof, even the lamps to be set in order, and all the vessels thereof, and the oil for the light; ³⁸ and the golden altar, and the anointing oil, and the sweet incense, and the screen for the door of the Tent; ³⁹ the brasen altar, and its grating of brass, its staves, and all its vessels, the laver and its base; ⁴⁰ the hangings of the court, its pillars, and its sockets, and the screen for the gate of the court, the cords thereof, and the pins thereof, and all the instruments of the service of the Dwelling, for the tent of meeting; ⁴¹ the finely wrought garments for ministering in the holy place, and the holy garments for Aaron the priest, and the garments of his sons, to minister in the priest's office. ⁴² According to all that Yahweh commanded Moses, so the children of Israel did all the work. ⁴³ And Moses ^asaw all the work, and, behold, they had done it; as Yahweh had commanded, even ^bso had they done it: and Moses ^cblessed them.

⁴⁰ ¹And Yahweh ^aspoke unto Moses, saying, ²On the first day of the ^bfirst month shalt thou ^crear up the ^dDwelling of the tent of meeting. ³And thou shalt put therein the ark of the testimony, and thou shalt screen the ark with the veil. ⁴And thou shalt bring in the table, and set in order the things that are upon it; and thou shalt bring in the candlestick, and ^elight the lamps thereof. ⁵And thou shalt set the golden altar for incense before the ark of the testimony, and put the screen of the door to the Dwelling. ⁶And thou shalt set the altar of burnt offering before the door of the ^dDwelling of the tent of meeting. ⁷^aAnd thou shalt set the laver between the tent of meeting and the altar, and shalt put water therein. ⁸And thou shalt set up the court round about, and hang up the screen of the gate of the court. ⁹And thou shalt take the anointing oil, and anoint the tabernacle, and all that is therein, and shalt hallow it, and all the furniture thereof: and it shall be holy. ¹⁰And thou shalt anoint the altar of burnt offering, and all its vessels, and sanctify the altar: and the altar shall be most holy. ¹¹And thou shalt anoint the laver and its base, and sanctify it. ¹²And thou shalt bring Aaron and his sons unto the door of the tent of meeting, and shalt wash them with water. ¹³¹And thou shalt put upon Aaron the holy garments; ²and thou shalt anoint him, and sanctify him, that he may minister unto me in the priest's office. ¹⁴¹And thou shalt bring his sons, and put coats upon them: ¹⁵and thou shalt ^aanoint them, as thou didst anoint their father, that they may minister unto me in the priest's office: and their anointing shall ^bbe to them for an ^ceverlasting priesthood ^dthroughout their generations. ¹⁶^{2b}Thus did Moses: according to all that Yahweh commanded him, so did he.

¹⁷¹And it came to pass in the ^bfirst month in the second year, on the first day of the month, that the Dwelling was ^creared up. ¹⁸And Moses ^creared up the Dwelling, and laid its sockets, and set up the boards thereof, and put in the bars thereof, and reared up its pillars. ¹⁹And he spread the tent over the Dwelling, and put the covering of the tent above upon it; ^aas Yahweh commanded Moses. ²⁰¹And he took and put the testimony into the ark, and set the staves on the ark, and put the covering above upon the ark: ²¹and he brought the ark into the Dwelling, and set up the veil of the screen, and screened the ark of the testimony; as Yahweh commanded Moses. ²²And he put the table in the tent of meeting, upon the side of the Dwelling northward, without the veil. ²³And he set the bread in order upon it before Yahweh; as Yahweh commanded Moses. ²⁴And he put the candlestick in the tent of meeting, over against the table, on the side of the Dwelling southward. ²⁵And he ^elighted the lamps before Yahweh; as Yahweh commanded Moses. ²⁶And he put the golden altar in the tent of meeting before the veil: ²⁷and he burnt thereon incense of sweet spices; as Yahweh commanded Moses. ²⁸^aAnd he put the screen of the door to the Dwelling. ²⁹And he set the altar of burnt offering at the door of the ^dDwelling of the tent of meeting, ^aand offered upon it the burnt offering and the meal offering; as Yahweh commanded Moses. ³⁰^aAnd he set the laver between the tent of meeting and the altar, and put water therein, to wash withal. ³¹¹And Moses and Aaron and his sons washed their hands and their feet thereat: ³²when they went into the tent of meeting, and when they ^bcame near unto the altar, they washed: as Yahweh commanded Moses. ³³¹And he reared up the court round about the Dwelling and the altar, ^aand set up the screen of the gate of the court. So Moses finished the work.

³⁴¹Then the cloud covered the tent of meeting, and the ^bglory of Yahweh filled the Dwelling. ³⁵And Moses was not able to enter into the tent of meeting, because the cloud ^aabode thereon, and the ^bglory of Yahweh filled the Dwelling. ³⁶And when the cloud was taken up from over the Dwelling, the children of Israel went onward, throughout all their ^cjourneys: ³⁷but if the cloud were not taken up, then they journeyed not till the day that it was taken up. ³⁸For the cloud ^aof Yahweh was upon the Dwelling by day, and there was fire therein by night, in the sight of all the house of Israel, throughout all their ^bjourneys.

a 185^a
b 183^a
c 60^b
d 54^a

e 27
f 62
g 76^b
h 189

i 79

j 54^a

k 97^a

40^a M Or, set up.

19 Again a sevenfold repetition 19-33 cp 39¹⁷.

25 M Or, set up.

29 G omits 29b.

31 M See 30¹⁹.

7 G omits 7¹¹ and curtains ^a.

28 G omits.

30-32 G omits cp G 38²⁷.

33 G omits 33b.

38 For יָהוָה Klostermann proposes (NKZ 1897 p 76) to read יָהוָה 'was' (otherwise unexpressed in §). The construction 'there was cloud' will then be parallel to § in the next clause. It may be added that 'cloud of Yahweh' occurs elsewhere only in Num 10³⁴, cp 'thy cloud' Num 14¹⁴.

LEVITICUS¹

	JE P ^a	P ^a	P ^a
1-3 ¹²¹ 10 1-15 ^{27b}	1 ¹ ¹²¹ And Yahweh called unto Moses, and spake unto him ^{27b} out of the tent of meeting, saying, 2 ² ^{27b} Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, "When ^{27b} any man of you offereth an oblation unto Yahweh, ye shall offer your oblation of the cattle, [even] of the ^{27b} herd and of the flock.		a 190 ^b
a Ct, flock and herd ^{27b} 38 b 16 14 ¹⁸ 13 c 10 31 8 d 3 ² 13 4 ⁴	3 ³ ^{27b} If his oblation be a burnt offering of the herd, ^{27b} he shall offer it a male without blemish: ^{27b} he shall offer it at the door of the tent of meeting, that he may be ^{27b} accepted before Yahweh. 4 ⁴ ^{27b} And ^{27b} he shall lay his hand upon the head of the burnt offering; and it shall be ^{27b} accepted for him to make atone- ment for him. 5 ⁵ ^{27b} And ^{27b} he shall kill the bullock before Yahweh: and ^{27b} Aaron's sons, the priests, shall present the blood, and ^{27b} sprinkle the blood		b 17 ^b c 17 ^a
e 11 3 ² 13 4 ⁴ f 11 3 ² 13			

The Book of Leviticus forms an important part of the Priestly Code. In the chronology of the *Hex* it comprises the body of legislation imparted to Moses in the month between the erection of the Dwelling Ex 40¹ on New Year's Day at the opening of the second year after the Exodus and the first census, for which instructions were given on the first of the second month in the same year Num 1¹. When its legislative contents are examined, it is seen that they fall into groups, in which the most clearly marked are 1-7 11-15 and 17-26. At 9 the narrative continuation of Ex 29 seems to be resumed; but this element again falls into the background in 10. The study of the several groups reveals the fact that they are not entirely homogeneous with themselves or with each other. The first is concerned with sacrifice; the second deals chiefly with the laws for the preservation of ritual cleanness; while the third has secured the name of the Holiness-legislation cp *Introd* XIII 8 i 143, its varied contents being again and again summed up under that conception. On the general features of the other two cp *ibid* 9 i 152. By common consent the oldest materials are to be found in P^b; they can be to a certain extent disengaged from the framework in which they are now incorporated; and in some sections, such as the Calendar of the Feasts 23, or the Jubile-law 25, they can be separated from the later legislation with which they are now combined. That this union had been effected at the time of the promulgation of Ezra's law-book has been argued *Introd* i 138, on the basis of a comparison of Lev 23²⁴ with Neh 8¹⁴ cp *ibid* 156. It is probable also that the mass of priestly teaching comprised in 1-7 and 11-15 had also found its place by the same date in the great code of P. Whether the repetition of Ex 29 in 8 was also included may, however, be doubted: and similar uncertainty must affect 16 cp *Introd* XIII 118 i 156-7, and 27 *ibid* XVI 38 i 179. In studying the significance of the code historically, the distinction between the age of a usage or custom and the date of the written law which prescribes it, must be always maintained: this work is concerned only with the attempt to fix the literary relations of the documents and their constituent elements. Cp Driver and White, *Lev* in *Haupt's SBOT* 57.

1¹ The first legislative group 1-7 contains a comprehensive account of the offerings to be brought to the Sanctuary. In its present position this section interrupts the connexion, for the consecration of the priests in 8-9 should follow Ex 35-40 as Ex 29 succeeds 25-28. To what precise editorial method this is due, whether Ex 35-40 and Lev 8-9 were inserted later on either side of the sacrificial code in Lev 1-7, or whether the code was subsequently placed in close relation with the account of the completion of the sanctuary, cannot be precisely determined. But in its existing form the group is certainly later than P^a cp 4¹⁴. The conspectus of its contents shows that it is itself composite. Broadly speaking, it falls into two unequal divisions 1²-6⁷ and 6⁸-7³⁶, which show a certain parallelism of contents,

1 ³ -17	Burnt Offering	6 ⁸ -13
21-28	Meal Offering	614-23
31-17	Peace Offering	711-34
41-513	Sin Offering	624-70
514-67	Guilt Offering	71-10

The order in the two sections is not identical, nor is their matter the same. The second group must be regarded as

supplementary to the first: it is designed mainly for the priestly officials 6⁹ 25 contrasted with the lay worshippers 1³ 4²; and it is concerned largely with the sacred dues. For differences of detail see the Analysis and the table of *Laws* vol i. Attention may also be called to the large group of cultus terms and formulae, the constant repetition of which is characteristic of the legal style of P: thus, *Aaron's sons* 19¹, *atonement* 25, *without blemish* (perfect) 193, *bring near* (offer, present) 118², *burn* 37, *burn with fire* 38, *clean* 42, *guilt offering* 118¹, *heave offering* 118², *holy* 86 &c, *kill* 100, *lay his hand on* 102, *meal offering* 118², *oblation* 118², *offering made by fire* 118², *sacrifice of peace offerings* 118¹, *sin offering* 118¹, *soul* 146⁴, *sprinkle* 148, *sweet savour* 155, *unclean* 107, *wave offering* 118¹, *work* 177: introductory formulae, *Yahweh spake . . . saying* 185², *spake unto . . .* 185², *if any one sin* 190, *this is the law . . .* 188. The descriptions of ritual acts are again and again cast in the same mould, as the marginal references will show. On the relation of the priestly teaching (P^a) to P^b cp *Introd* XIII 9 i 152.

1^b The editor who placed the whole section here seems to have attempted by this title to connect it with the situation implied in the erection of the Tent of Meeting or Dwelling.

2² The first division 1²-6⁷ might be described as a 'Manual for worshippers, revised and enlarged from various sources, and in part re-written.' The nucleus is found in 1-3 which treats of the burnt offering 1, the meal offering 2, and the sacrifice of peace offerings 3. Neither 4 (late P^a) nor 5-6⁷, which treat of the sin offering and guilt offering, seems to belong to 1-3 in its original form. Perhaps they take the place of the corresponding section of the little code 1-3; or, if that never dealt with these offerings, they have been added supplementally from other sources. The substance of 1-3 seems in the main older than P^a, and somewhat resembles P^b, yet it is not entirely in one piece cp 24-16. Some phrases which may be plausibly assigned to the compiler are marked by small type: whether he was himself also the author of P^a there seems no means of determining.

3³ The reference to the Tent of Meeting interrupts the connexion. Lev 22¹⁹⁻²² P^b shows clearly that the acceptance depends on the absence of blemish. In no other passage of 1-3 is the place of offering defined.

5⁵ In 1-3 'the priest' occurs eleven times, and 'Aaron's sons, the priests' or an equivalent phrase, eleven times. It seems more natural to regard the plurals as interpolated than as original, for why should each paragraph revert to the singular 9¹², 2² &c? In 9¹³ the singular is actually preserved; (9) converts all the verbs 'kill' 8¹, 'flay' 8¹, 'cut' 8¹, 'kill' 11¹, 'cut' 12¹ into plurals, assigning all these functions to the priests, and 'wash' 9¹³ (cp Sam 9) is altered to match. The formula of P^a 'Aaron' or 'Aaron and his sons' is here replaced by the peculiar phrase 'Aaron's sons the priests' 5⁵ 11² 2² 3². This appears to be an adaptation of the simple term 'the priest' 9¹³ 13 &c by prefixing the designation 'Aaron's sons' and turning the singular 'priest' into the plural. In one case, however, the unique description 'Aaron's sons the priest' 7 points to the origin of the combination. (9) and Sam, however, read 'the priests,' which is adopted by Kautzsch, Driv-Wh, and Addis. These and other facts (cp 7³⁶) confirm the suggestion that the substance of 1-3 is earlier than P^a, but the editing later.

JE P'

P'

P'

g 12 Ex 29¹⁷A Gen 22⁹

i 12 830†

j 12 Ex 29¹⁷

k Sam 6 they

l 12 17 2² & cp 16

m Ct 5a

n 6 they

14-17 17b†

o 5²⁰p 5⁹ 6 = wall

ct 11

14 210da

q 6†

r 412 610.

s 14¹⁰ cp 11:27 28Deut 14¹ Qal

1-2 17maOf

a Ex 29²b 512 Num 5²⁰†

c 512 618 Gen

41⁴⁷†

s 121A

4-12 17mbnc

d 14 ct 1¹²

e 6†

f Ex 29²

g 621 cp Gen

185

A 7⁹

round about upon the altar ^{that is at the door of the tent of meeting.} ⁶ And he shall flay the burnt offering, and ⁷ cut it into its ⁸ pieces. ⁷ And the sons of Aaron the priest shall ⁸ put fire upon the altar, and ⁹ lay wood in order upon the fire: ⁸ and Aaron's sons, the priests, shall lay the pieces, the head, and the ⁹ fat, in order upon the wood that is on the fire which is upon the altar: ⁹ but its ¹⁰ inwards and its ¹¹ legs shall ¹² he ¹³ wash with water: and the ¹⁴ priest shall burn the whole on the altar, for a burnt offering, an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto Yahweh.

¹⁰ And if his oblation be of the flock, of the sheep, or of the goats, for a burnt offering; he shall offer it a male without blemish. ¹¹ And he shall kill it ^{on the side of the altar northward} before Yahweh: and Aaron's sons, the priests, shall sprinkle its blood upon the altar round about. ¹² And he shall cut it into its pieces, with its head and its ¹³ fat: and the priest shall lay them in order on the wood that is on the fire which is upon the altar: ¹³ but the inwards and the legs shall ¹⁴ he ¹⁵ wash with water: and the priest shall offer the whole, and burn it upon the altar: it is a burnt offering, an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto Yahweh.

¹⁴ ¹⁵ And if his oblation to Yahweh be a burnt offering of fowls, then he shall offer his oblation of turtledoves, or of young pigeons. ¹⁵ And the priest shall bring it unto the altar, and ¹⁶ wring off its head, and burn it on the altar; and the blood thereof shall be ¹⁷ drained out on the ¹⁸ side of the altar: ¹⁶ and he shall take away its ¹⁹ crop with the ²⁰ filth thereof, and cast it beside the altar on the east part, in the place of the ²¹ ashes: ¹⁷ and he shall ²² rend it by the wings thereof, ¹⁸ but shall not ¹⁹ divide it asunder: and the priest shall burn it upon the altar, upon the wood that is upon the fire: it is a burnt offering, an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto Yahweh.

²¹ And when any one offereth an oblation of a ²² meal offering unto Yahweh, his oblation shall be of ²³ fine flour; and he shall ²⁴ pour ²⁵ oil upon it, and put ²⁶ frankincense thereon: ² and he shall bring it to Aaron's sons the priests: and he shall ³ take thereout his ⁴ handful of the fine flour thereof, and of the oil thereof, with all the frankincense thereof; and the priest shall burn [it as] the ⁵ memorial thereof upon the altar, an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto Yahweh: ³ and that which is left of the meal offering shall be ⁴ Aaron's and his sons': it is a thing most holy of the offerings of Yahweh made by fire.

⁴ ⁵ And when ⁶ thou offerest an oblation of a meal offering ⁷ baken in the oven, it shall be ⁸ unleavened ⁹ cakes of fine flour mingled with oil, or ¹⁰ unleavened ¹¹ wafers anointed with oil. ⁵ And if thy oblation be a meal offering of the ¹² baking pan, it shall be ¹³ of fine flour unleavened, mingled with oil. ⁶ Thou shalt ¹⁴ part it in ¹⁵ pieces, and ¹⁶ pour oil thereon: it is a meal offering. ⁷ And if thy oblation be a meal offering of the ¹⁷ frying pan, it shall be made of fine flour with oil. ⁸ And ¹⁸ thou shalt bring the meal offering that is made of these things unto Yahweh: and it shall be presented unto the priest, and he shall bring it unto the altar. ⁹ And the priest shall ¹⁹ take up from the meal offering the ²⁰ memorial thereof, and

d 274^a

e 53

a 128

b 72

c 112^bd 85^a

^{15b} Ct 11b: the order of the words in 6 'upon the altar round about that is' &c makes it probable that the local description has been added.

⁷ This direction to kindle a special fire seems to conflict with the ordinance for maintaining a perpetual fire on the altar 6²⁻¹³: Kalisch regards it, therefore, as belonging to an antecedent ritual stage. The view of Knobel, repeated by Dillm, that the author here contemplates only the first burnt offering seems sufficiently met by the remark of Kalisch that the precepts of the chapter are altogether general in their application. If this view is correct, the regulation supplies another testimony to the relative antiquity of the substance of this section.

¹⁴ A supplement, as the title in ² only contemplates 'herd and flock.' Note that here 'the priest' kills the bird; on the subject in ⁵ cp Dillm-Ryss 'the offerer,' and Driv-Wh more probably 'one of the attendants at the temple.'

¹⁵ M Or, pinch.—5⁹†.

¹⁶ M Or, feathers.—6†.

²¹ The word *minḥah*, rightly rendered here 'meal offering,' from its invariable usage in P, is in J a generic word for offerings of any sort cp Gen 4²⁻⁵. Its place is taken in P for this sense by the word *qorban*, rendered in this verse and usually 'oblation.' Cp ^{118b}.

⁴ The passage 4-16 is marked as supplementary as (1) it is merely a more detailed duplicate of 1-3, and (2) the use of 'thou' and 'ye' stamps it as distinct from the rest of 1-3 which is couched in the third person (but cp ⁵). In ¹³ it has affinity with P^b.

² M Or, flat plate.—621⁷ Ezek 4³: Chron 23²⁹†.

⁸ 6 'and he shall bring,' which harmonizes with ^{15b} 'and he shall present it' 6. Perhaps the reading of MT מִן הַמִּנְחָה was originally מִן הַזֶּהֱבָה, the letter ה having been accidentally anticipated. In the last clause it is customary to understand the priest as subject; but the priest's action only begins in ⁹, and the context points to the worshipper. In that case ⁸ may be regarded as part of an editorial amalgam.

JE P ¹	P ²	P ³
1 ¹ 123A	shall burn it upon the altar: an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto Yahweh. ¹⁰ ² And that which is left of the meal offering shall be Aaron's and his sons': it is a thing most holy of the offerings of Yahweh made by fire. ¹¹ No meal offering, which ye shall offer unto Yahweh, shall be made with leaven: for ye shall burn 'no leaven, nor any honey, as an offering made by fire unto Yahweh. ¹² As an oblation of first [fruits] ye shall offer them unto Yahweh: but they shall not come up for a sweet savour on the altar. ¹³ And every oblation of thy meal offering shalt thou 'season with salt; neither shalt thou 'suffer the salt of the 'covenant of thy God 'to be lacking from thy meal offering: with all thine oblations thou shalt offer salt.	
1 Ct 7 ¹² Am 4 ⁵		
j Ex 30 ³⁵ k Cp Ex 12 ¹⁵ 5		
14-16 Lym: O1 80 ⁴ l Josh 5 ¹¹ m 16 ¹ n 23 ¹⁴ 2 Kings 4 ⁴²	¹⁴ ² And if 'thou offer a meal offering of firstfruits unto Yahweh, thou shalt offer for the meal offering of thy firstfruits corn in the ear 'parched with fire, 'bruised corn of the 'fresh ear. ¹⁵ And thou shalt put oil upon it, and lay 'frankincense thereon: it is a meal offering. ¹⁶ And the priest shall burn the 'memorial of it, part of the 'bruised corn thereof, and part of the oil thereof, with all the 'frankincense thereof: it is an offering made by fire unto Yahweh.	
1-16 L7p9 a 1 ²	³ ¹ And 'if his oblation be a sacrifice of 'peace offerings; if he offer of the herd, whether 'male or female, he shall offer it without blemish before Yahweh. ² And he shall lay his hand upon the head of his oblation, and kill it 'at the door of the tent of meeting: and Aaron's sons the priest ^s shall sprinkle the blood upon the altar round about. ³ And he shall offer of the sacrifice of peace offerings an offering made by fire unto Yahweh; the 'fat that covereth the inwards, and all the fat that is upon the inwards, ⁴ and the two 'kidneys, and the fat that is on them, which is by the 'loins, and the 'caul upon the liver, 'with the kidneys, shall he take away. ⁵ And Aaron's sons shall burn it on the altar 'upon the burnt offering, which is upon the wood that is on the fire: it is an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto Yahweh.	a 107 ⁴
b 9 14 4 ⁸ Ex 29 ¹³ 16	⁶ And if his oblation for a sacrifice of peace offerings unto Yahweh be of the flock; 'male or female, he shall offer it without blemish. ⁷ If he offer a lamb for his oblation, then shall he offer it before Yahweh: ⁸ and he shall lay his hand upon the head of his oblation, and kill it before the tent of meeting: and Aaron's sons shall sprinkle the blood thereof upon the altar round about. ⁹ And he shall offer of the sacrifice of peace offerings an offering made by fire unto Yahweh; the fat thereof, the fat 'tail entire, he shall take it away 'hard by the 'backbone; and the 'fat that covereth the inwards, and all the fat that is upon the inwards, ¹⁰ and the two 'kidneys, and the fat that is upon them, which is by the loins, and the caul upon the liver, 'with the kidneys, shall he take away. ¹¹ And the priest shall burn it upon the altar: it is the 'food of the offering made by fire unto Yahweh.	b 43
c 10 15 Ex 29 ¹³ d 10 16 4 ⁹ 7 ⁴⁶	¹² And if his oblation be a goat, then he shall offer it before Yahweh: ¹³ and he shall lay his hand upon the head of it, and kill it before the tent of meeting: and the sons of Aaron shall sprinkle the blood thereof upon the altar round about. ¹⁴ ¹ And he shall offer thereof his oblation, [even] an offering made by fire unto Yahweh; the 'fat that covereth the inwards, and all the fat that is upon the inwards, ¹⁵ and the two 'kidneys, and the fat that is upon them, which is by the loins, and the caul upon the liver, 'with the kidneys, shall he take away. ¹⁶ And the priest shall burn them upon the altar: it is the food of the offering made by fire, for a sweet savour: all the fat is Yahweh's.	
e Ct 11 16 1 ⁹ 13 2 ² cp 1 ¹⁷ 61 ¹	¹⁷ It shall be a 'perpetual statute 'throughout your generations in all your 'dwellings, that ye shall eat neither fat nor blood.	c 65 ^c d 76 ^b e 55 ^a
f Ex 29 ²² g 5 ¹		
14-17 L6e/		

² Cp 'bread of thy God' 21⁸ &c. 'God' is used with a pronominal suffix, but without the name Yahweh, twenty times in passages assigned to P^h Lev 18²¹ 19¹² 14 32 21⁶⁻⁸ 12 17 21. 22²⁵ 23¹⁴ 24¹⁵ 25¹⁷ 36 43 Num 10¹⁰ 15¹⁰ (cp 6⁷). In six out of the ten other passages where it is thus used in the Hex the pronoun is needed by the context in each case. The exceptions are Num 25¹³ (P²) Deut 31¹⁷ 32³ (the Song of Moses) Josh 9²³.

³ M Or, thank offerings.

² The usual phrase is 'kill it before Yahweh' 1⁵ cp 11. In ⁸ 13 the editor would seem to have found it sufficient to replace 'Yahweh' by 'the tent of meeting' as the place of his presence. Cp 1⁵.

⁴ 10 15 M Or, which he shall take away by the kidneys.

¹¹ M 5 bread.—Cp Lev 21⁶ 17 21. 22²⁵, all P^h.

JE P ¹	P ²	P ¹
1-25 Lxxj a 27 21 5 b 5 16 623	4 ¹ 11 And Yahweh spake unto Moses, saying, 2 Speak unto the children of Israel, saying, 3 If any one ^a shall sin 4 unwittingly, in any of the things which Yahweh hath commanded not to be done, and shall do any one of them: 5 if the 6 anointed priest shall sin so as to bring 7 guilt on the people; then let him offer for his sin, 8 which he hath sinned, a young bullock without blemish unto Yahweh for a sin offering. 9 And he shall bring the bullock unto the door of the tent of meeting before Yahweh; and he shall lay his hand upon the head of the bullock, and kill the bullock before Yahweh. 10 And the 11 anointed priest shall take of the blood of the bullock, and bring it to the tent of meeting: 12 and the priest shall 13 dip his finger in the blood, and sprinkle of the blood seven times before Yahweh, before the 14 veil of the sanctuary. 15 And the priest shall put of the blood upon the horns of the 16 altar of sweet incense before Yahweh, which is in the tent of meeting; and all the blood of the bullock shall he pour out at the 17 base of the 18 altar of burnt offering, which is at the door of the tent of meeting. 19 And all the fat of the bullock of the sin offering he shall 20 take off from it; the 21 fat that covereth the inwards, and all the fat that is upon the inwards, 22 and the two 23 kidneys, and the fat that is upon them, which is by the loins, and the caul upon the liver; 24 with the kidneys, shall he take away, 25 as it is 26 taken off from the ox of the sacrifice of peace offerings: and the priest shall burn them upon the 27 altar of burnt offering. 28 And the skin of the bullock, and all its flesh, with its head, and with its 29 legs, and its inwards, and its 30 dung, 31 even the whole bullock shall he carry forth 32 without the camp unto a clean 33 place, where the 34 ashes are 35 poured out, and burn it on wood with fire: where the ashes are 36 poured out shall it be burnt. 37 And if the whole 38 congregation of Israel shall 39 err, and the thing be 40 hid from the eyes of the 41 assembly, and they have done any of the things which Yahweh hath commanded not to be done, and are 42 guilty; 43 when the sin wherein they have sinned is known, then the assembly shall offer a 44 young bullock for a sin offering, and bring it before the tent of meeting. 45 And the elders of the 46 congregation shall lay their hands upon the head of the bullock before Yahweh: and the bullock shall be killed before Yahweh. 47 And the 48 anointed priest shall bring of the blood of the bullock to the tent of meeting: 49 and the priest shall 50 dip his finger in the blood, and sprinkle it seven times before Yahweh, before the veil. 51 And he shall put of the blood upon the horns of the 52 altar which is before Yahweh, that is in the tent of meeting, and all the blood shall he pour out at the 53 base of the 54 altar of burnt offering, which is at the door of the tent of meeting. 55 And all the fat thereof shall he 56 take off from it, and burn it upon the altar. 57 Thus shall he do with the bullock; 58 as he did with the bullock of the sin offering, 59 so shall he do with this: and the priest shall make atonement for them, and they shall be 60 forgiven. 61 And he shall carry forth the bullock 62 without the camp, and burn it as he burned the first bullock: it is the sin offering for the assembly. 63 When a 64 ruler sinneth, and doeth 65 unwittingly any one of all the things which Yahweh his God hath commanded not to be done, and is 66 guilty; 67 if his sin, wherein he hath sinned, be made known to him, he shall bring for his oblation a goat, a male without blemish; 68 and he shall lay his hand upon the head of the goat, and kill it in the 69 place where they kill the burnt offering before Yahweh: it is a sin offering. 70 And the priest shall 71 take of the blood of the sin offering with his finger, and put it upon the horns of the 72 altar of burnt offering, and the blood thereof shall he pour out at the 73 base of the altar of burnt offering. 74 And all the fat thereof shall he burn upon the altar, as the fat of the sacrifice of peace offerings: and the priest shall make atonement for him as concerning his sin, and he shall be 75 forgiven. 76 And 77 if any one of the 78 common people sin 79 unwittingly, in doing any of the things which Yahweh hath commanded not to be done, and be 80 guilty; 81 if his sin, which he hath sinned, be made known to him, then he shall bring for his oblation a goat, a 82 female without blemish, for his sin 83 which he hath sinned. 84 And he shall lay his hand upon the head of the sin offering, and kill the sin offering in the 85 place of burnt offering. 86 And the priest shall 87 take of the blood thereof with his finger, and put it upon the horns of the 88 altar of burnt offering, and all the blood thereof shall he pour out at the 89 base of the altar. 90 And all the fat thereof shall he take away, as the fat is taken away from off the sacrifice of peace offerings; and the priest shall burn it upon the altar for a sweet savour unto Yahweh; and the priest shall make atonement for him, and he shall be 91 forgiven. 92 And if he bring a 93 lamb as his oblation for a sin offering, he shall bring it	a 168 b 82 ^b c 143 ^d d 85 e 120 ¹ f 45 ^a g 81 ¹ h 131 i 107 ^d
c 27 9 ^b 14 ^b 16 51 Num 19 ¹⁸ d Ex 26 ²³ e Ex 30 ¹ f Ex 29 ¹² g Ex 30 ²⁶ h 3 ^b i 3 ^a j Cp 7 et 3 ^b k Ex 29 ¹⁷ l Ex 29 ¹⁴ m Cp 1 ¹⁶ et 611 n 11 ^b o 5 ¹ p Num 15 ²² cp Deut 27 ¹⁸ q 5 ²⁻⁴ Num 5 ¹³ Niph ^a r Cp 189 s 26 31 35 10... 10 ²³ Num 15 ²⁵ 28 Niph [†] t 13... u 30 34 81 ^b 1614 Ex 29 ¹² Num 19 ⁴		

⁴¹ The description of the rites of the sin offering in 4 is clearly later than the bulk of 1-7 for it distinguishes the 'altar of sweet incense' 7 from the 'altar of burnt offerings' cp Ex 30¹. For other indications cp notes 3 14 32, and the marginal references.

² M. Or, through error.

³ The following section illustrates the enrichment of ritual and the elaboration of ceremonial characteristic of the later P² compared with P¹ and the earlier P¹. Cf Ex 29¹⁰⁻¹⁴ P², and Lev 8¹⁴⁻¹⁷ P², where the blood of the sin offering is not taken into the inner sanctuary.

⁹ M. See 3¹.

¹³ The use of this word 13. 21 is unexpected by the side of the term 'congregation.' For the 'elders' 15 cp Ex 12²¹ and Lev 9¹.

¹⁴ This requirement is probably another indication of later date. In 9³ 15 16² &c (P²) the offering of a he-goat is enough. G and Sam add 'without blemish.'

²¹ M. 5 people of the land.

³² In 28 a goat is required cp 3 14 22. This section which allows a lamb as alternative, may therefore be a supplement, but as the language is unchanged, it is probably from the same hand.

JE	P ^a	P ^a	P ^a
	a female without blemish. ³³ And he shall lay his hand upon the head of the sin offering, and kill it for a sin offering in the 'place where they kill the burnt offering.		
5-7 ¹²¹ 1-4 ^{178a} 1 ^{147a} 2 ^{16bd} 3 ^{16bd}	³⁴ And the priest shall 'take of the blood of the sin offering with his finger, and put it upon the horns of the 'altar of burnt offering, and all the blood thereof shall he pour out at the 'base of the altar: ³⁵ and all the fat thereof shall he take away, as the fat of the lamb is taken away from the sacrifice of peace offerings; and the priest shall burn them on the altar; 'upon the offerings of Yahweh made by fire: and the priest shall make atonement for him as touching his sin 'that he hath sinned, and he shall be 'forgiven.		
6 2-4 ⁴¹⁸ 3 ^{16gc}	⁵¹ ³² And if any one sin, in that he heareth the voice of 'adjuration, he being a witness, whether he hath seen or known, if he do not utter [it], then he shall 'bear his iniquity: ² 'or if any one touch any unclean thing, whether it be the carcase of an unclean beast, or the carcase of unclean cattle, or the carcase of unclean 'creeping things, and it 'be hidden from him, and he be unclean, then he shall be 'guilty: ³ 'or if he touch the 'uncleanness of man, whatsoever his uncleanness be wherewith he is unclean, and it be hid from him; when he knoweth of it, then he shall be guilty: ⁴ 'or if any one swear 'rashly with his lips to 'do evil, or to do good, whatsoever it be that a man shall utter 'rashly with an oath, and it be hid from him; when he knoweth of it, then he shall be guilty in one of these [things]: ⁵ and it shall be, when he shall be guilty in one of these [things], that he shall 'confess that wherein he hath sinned: ⁶ and he shall bring 'his guilt offering unto Yahweh for his sin 'which he hath sinned, a female from the flock, a lamb or a goat, for a sin offering; and the priest shall make atonement for him as concerning his sin.	a 28 ^a b 157 ^b c 8 ^a d 107 ^a	
4 ^{150a} c Ps 106 ³³ Prov 12 ¹⁰ d Cp Is 41 ²³	⁷ ³² And if his means 'suffice not for a lamb, then he shall bring 'his guilt offering for that wherein he hath sinned, two turtledoves, or two young pigeons, unto Yahweh; one for a sin offering, and the other for a burnt offering. ⁸ And he shall bring them unto the priest, who shall offer that which is for the sin offering first, and 'wring off its head from its neck, but shall not 'divide it asunder: ⁹ and he shall sprinkle of the blood of the sin offering upon the 'side of the altar; and the rest of the blood shall be 'drained out at the 'base of the altar: it is a sin offering. ¹⁰ And he shall 'offer the second for a burnt offering, 'according to the 'ordinance: and the priest shall make atonement for him as concerning his sin 'which he hath sinned, and he shall be 'forgiven.	e 44	
7-10 ^{178b} f Cp Ex 36 ⁸ ct 11 ⁶	¹¹ ³² But if his 'means suffice not for two turtledoves, or two young pigeons, then he shall bring his oblation for that wherein he hath sinned, the 'tenth part of an ephah of fine flour for a sin offering; he shall put no 'oil upon it, neither shall he put any frankincense thereon: for it is a sin offering. ¹² And he shall bring it to the priest, and the priest shall 'take his handful of it as the memorial thereof, and burn it on the altar, 'upon the offerings of Yahweh made by fire: it is a sin offering. ¹³ And the priest shall make atonement for him as touching his sin 'that he hath sinned 'in any of these things, and he shall be 'forgiven: and [the remnant] shall be the priest's, as the meal offering.		
9 117 h 115 i 47	¹⁴ ³² And Yahweh spake unto Moses, saying, ¹⁵ If any one commit a 'trespass, and sin 'unwittingly, in the holy things of Yahweh; then he shall bring his guilt offering unto Yahweh, a ram without blemish out of the flock, according to thy	f 109 g 160 ^b	
j 9 ¹⁶ Num 15 ³⁴ 20 ¹³ k 15 16 18 67 4 ²⁰ 11-18 ^{178c}			
l 21			
m 23			
n 42			
14-16 ^{178a}		h 164 ^a i 168	

⁴³⁵ M Or, after the manner of.

⁵¹ This chapter has been regarded as an appendix to 4. But there are no clear indications of late date like those in 4 (cp 6 with 4²⁸⁻³¹). On the other hand the passage in 5-6⁷ is rather a collection of fragments (cp 14 6¹) of different origin and date on the sin and guilt offerings (see vol I *Laure*). The oldest nucleus seems to lie in 5¹⁻⁴, because of the absence of ritual direction, and the greater individuality of style. In 1 the cause of guilt is by no means parallel with the error of inadvertence 4². The accumulation of different cases in 1-4 4³ 13 22 27, the phrase 'bear his iniquity,' and the stress on 'uncleanness,' point to affinity with P^a: while the absence of any definite distinction between sin and guilt offerings implies that the use of the terms was not yet fully fixed. ^{67b} M Or, for his guilt. Or, his trespass offering.

^{7a} A supplement added to meet cases of poverty. The elaborate ritual directions in 8. ct 6 show the later origin of the passage.

⁸ M Or, pinch.—Cp 15.

^{10a} M Or, prepare.

^{10b} A reference to the usage already defined 1¹⁻⁴.

¹³ M Or, after the manner of.

¹⁴ In 14-16 and 61-7 guilt offerings are required as well as restitution in full with one-fifth more, in cases of withholding what is due to Yahweh and to a neighbour. These passages seem later than 5¹⁻⁸ as they distinguish the guilt offering clearly, but they are somewhat similar in form. The same may be said of 17-19 which now interrupts the sequence of the 'trespass' sections, and seems to be itself supplemental to 5¹⁻⁴. The discovery of guilt incurred unconsciously ⁴ is met by confession and atonement. But what of the cases where subsequent calamity or misfortune (cp Dillm in loc) suggested the presence of guilt for which the sufferer could not account ¹⁷? These also required a proper guilt offering, and a ram is demanded ¹⁴, ct the goat of 4¹³ 28.

	JE P ^a	P ^a	P ^a
o 6 ⁵		¹ estimation in silver by shekels, after the ¹ shekel of the sanctuary, for a guilt offering: ¹⁰ and he shall ¹ make restitution for that which he hath done amiss in the holy thing, and shall add the ² fifth part thereto, and give it unto the priest: and the priest shall make atonement for him with the ram of the guilt offering, and he shall be ¹ forgiven.	l 61 k 88 ^a
p 6 ⁵ 22 ¹⁴ 27 ¹⁵ Num 5 ⁷ op Gen 47 ⁸⁴ ^a		¹⁷ ¹ And if any one sin, and do any of the things ² which Yahweh hath commanded not to be done; though he knew it not, yet is he guilty, and shall ¹ bear his iniquity. ¹⁸ And he shall bring a ram without blemish out of the flock, according to thy ¹ estimation, for a guilt offering, unto the priest: and the priest shall make atonement for him concerning the thing wherein he erred ¹ unwittingly and knew it not, and he shall be ¹ forgiven. ¹⁹ It is a guilt offering: he is certainly guilty before Yahweh.	
17-19 17 ⁸⁵ q 4 ¹³		²⁰ ¹ And Yahweh spake unto Moses, saying, ² If any one sin, and commit a ¹ 'trespass against Yahweh, and deal falsely with his ¹ 'neighbour in a matter of ¹ 'deposit, or of ¹ 'bargain, or of ¹ 'robbery, or have ¹ 'oppressed his neighbour; ³ or have found ¹ 'that which was lost, and deal ¹ 'falsely therein, and ¹ 'swear to a lie; in any of all these that a man doeth, sinning therein: ⁴ then it shall be, if he hath sinned, and is ¹ 'guilty, that he shall restore that which he took by robbery, or the thing which he hath gotten by oppression, or the ¹ 'deposit which was committed to him, or the ¹ 'lost thing which he found, ⁵ or any thing about which he hath sworn falsely; he shall even restore it in ¹ 'full, and shall ¹ 'add the fifth part more thereto: unto him to whom it appertaineth shall he give it, in the day of his ¹ 'being found guilty. ⁶ And he shall bring his guilt offering unto Yahweh, a ram without blemish out of the flock, according to thy ¹ 'estimation, for a guilt offering, unto the priest: ⁷ and the priest shall make atonement for him before Yahweh, and he shall be ¹ 'forgiven; concerning whatsoever he doeth so as to be ¹ 'guilty thereby.	a 154 ^a b 81 ^a c 81 ^b d 61
1 [5 ²⁰ in 5] 1-7 17 ⁸⁵ 24 ⁹⁶ 501 a 4 ¹ Gen 41 ²⁴ b 16 ¹ 8 ¹ Ezek 22 ²⁹ Ps 62 ¹⁰⁴ c 19 ¹³ Ezek 18 ¹⁸ d Ex 22 ⁹ e 19 ¹¹		⁸ ¹ And Yahweh spake unto Moses, saying, ⁹ Command Aaron and his sons, saying, ¹⁰ This is the law of the burnt offering: ¹¹ the burnt offering shall be ¹² on the ¹³ hearth upon the altar all night unto the morning; and the fire of the altar shall be ¹⁴ kept burning thereon. ¹⁵ ¹ And the priest shall put on his linen ¹⁶ garment, and his linen ¹⁷ breeches shall he put upon his flesh; and he shall ¹⁸ take up the ¹⁹ ashes whereto the fire hath consumed the burnt offering on the altar, and he shall put them beside the altar. ²⁰ ¹ And he shall ²¹ put off his garments, and put on other garments, and carry forth the ashes ²² without the camp unto ²³ a clean place. ²⁴ ¹ And the fire upon the altar shall be ²⁵ kept burning thereon, it shall not ²⁶ go out; and the priest shall ²⁷ burn wood on it every morning: and he shall lay the burnt offering in order upon it, and shall burn thereon the fat of the peace offerings. ²⁸ ¹ Fire shall be ²⁹ kept burning upon the altar ³⁰ continually; it shall not ³¹ go out.	
f Ex 30 ¹³ Num 5 ⁷ 5 ¹⁶		¹⁴ ¹ And this is the law of the meal offering: the ² sons of Aaron shall offer it before Yahweh, before the altar. ³ ¹ And he shall ⁴ take up therefrom his handful, of the fine flour of the meal offering, and of the oil thereof, and	o 85 f 120 ^a g 124
h 5 ¹³			
8 [61 in 5] 8-13 17 ⁸⁵ i Cp 15 33 ¹⁴ Ps 102 ²⁴ j 12. Dent 32 ²² 10 120 ¹⁰ 118 ¹⁴ k 5 ¹ l Ex 28 ⁴³ m 116 n 1623			
o Ex 35 ³ 5			
14-18 7m/oi p 2 ²			

6^{2a} On 2-7 cp 5¹⁴. The word 'neighbour' 5 is found elsewhere only in P^b 206: its occurrence here suggests that this passage may have some affinity with that group cp 5¹⁴.

2^b M Or, *pledge*.—5†.

8 The section 6^{2a}-7³⁰ which closes the sacrificial code, might be called 'a manual for priests, edited afresh with several additions.' The original constituents are easily separated by following the clues afforded by the introductory formulae 'this is the law of . . . ' and the terms of the colophon 7³⁰. Both the order of subjects, and the framework in which they are set, show that this collection is not based on 1-6⁷, or by the same author as 1-3. But the ease with which the references to P^a can be eliminated, seems to indicate that in its original form this section was, like 1-3, older than P^a. The phrases that appear to be from an editor's hand are again marked by small type.

9^a This is the first occurrence of a phrase which occurs altogether seventeen times cp 188^b, but always in passages already isolated on other grounds as part of a collection of

priestly teaching. In titles it will be found in Lev 6⁹ 14 23 7¹¹ 14³ Num 6¹³ 9¹⁴: in colophons Lev 11⁴⁶ 12⁷ 13⁵⁹ 14³³ 54 57 15³² Num 5²⁰ 6³¹.

9^b It may be a question whether the law in 9-13 has not been modified by the editor. It seems, though somewhat obscurely, to refer to the daily burnt offering, and in particular to that of the evening. If this was only instituted very late, as some critics have suggested cp Nowack, *Hebr Archdol* ii 222, this paragraph must be either late or revised. Some authorities, chiefly on this ground, ascribe the whole section 6^{2a}-7 to P^a. But the analogy of the remaining paragraphs confirms the belief that the general case of the burnt offering was originally in the writer's view cp 12^b.

9^c M Or, *on its firewood*.

11 This direction shows that the passage is at least earlier than 116 and 411, where 'the place of the ashes' is apparently well known.

14 Ct 'the priest' 10-12. In inserting 'sons of Aaron' the editor has left the singular in the next verse.

	JE P ^a	P ^a	P ^a
16-18 L ¹ ndj	all the frankincense which is upon the meal offering, and shall burn it upon the altar for a sweet savour, as the memorial thereof, unto Yahweh.		
17 L ¹ nd q 7 ²⁴ Num 18 ⁸ 18...	¹⁶ ^L And that which is left thereof shall Aaron and his sons eat: it shall be eaten without leaven in a ^a holy place; in the court of the tent of meeting they shall eat it. ¹⁷ ^L It shall not be baked with leaven. I have ^a given it as their portion of my offerings made by fire; it is most holy, as the sin offering, and as the guilt offering. ¹⁸ Every male among the ^a children of Aaron shall eat of it, as a ^a due for ever ^a throughout your generations, from the offerings of Yahweh made by fire: whosoever toucheth them shall be holy.		
r Ct 29 7 ⁶ © priests	¹⁹ ^L And Yahweh spake unto Moses, saying, ²⁰ This is the oblation of Aaron and of his sons, which they shall offer unto Yahweh ^a in the day when he is anointed; the ^a tenth part of an ephah of fine flour for a meal offering ^a perpetually, ^a half of it in the morning, and half thereof in the evening. ²¹ On a ^a baking pan it shall be made with oil; when it is ^a soaked, thou shalt bring it in: in ^a baked pieces shalt thou offer the meal offering for a sweet savour unto Yahweh. ²² And the ^a anointed priest that shall be in his stead from among his sons shall offer it: by a ^a statute for ever it shall be wholly burnt unto Yahweh. ²³ And every meal offering of the priest shall be wholly burnt: it shall not be eaten.		h 6 ²⁰ i 7 ⁶ b
19-23 L ¹ yme 11de	²⁴ ^L And Yahweh spake unto Moses, saying, ²⁵ Speak unto Aaron and to his sons, saying, This is the law of the sin offering: in the place where the burnt offering is killed shall the sin offering be killed before Yahweh: it is most holy.		j 180b k 82
s Cp 8-9	²⁶ ^L The priest that offereth it for sin shall eat it: in ^a a holy place shall it be eaten, in the court of the tent of meeting. ²⁷ ^a Whatsoever shall touch the flesh thereof shall be holy: and when there is sprinkled of the blood thereof upon any garment, thou shalt ^a wash that whereon it was sprinkled in ^a a holy place. ²⁸ But the ^a earthen vessel wherein it is sodden shall be broken: and if it be sodden in a brassen vessel, it shall be ^a scoured, and ^a rinsed in water. ²⁹ ^a Every male among the priests shall eat thereof: it is most holy.		
t 7 ¹³ : Chron 23 ²⁹ † u 4 ⁵	³⁰ ^L And no sin offering, whereof any of the blood is brought into the tent of meeting to make atonement in the holy place, shall be eaten: it shall be burnt with fire.		
24-26 L ¹ nd	⁷¹ ^L And this is the law of the guilt offering: it is most holy. ² In the place where they kill the burnt offering shall they kill the guilt offering: and the ^a blood thereof shall he sprinkle upon the altar round about. ³ And he shall offer of it all the fat thereof; the ^a fat tail, and the ^a fat that covereth the inwards, ⁴ and the two kidneys, and the fat that is on them, which is by the loins, and the caul upon the liver, ^a with the kidneys, shall he take away: ⁵ and the priest shall burn them upon the altar for an offering made by fire unto Yahweh: it is a guilt offering. ⁶ ^L Every male among the priests shall eat thereof: it shall be eaten in ^a a holy place: it is most holy. ⁷ As is the sin offering, so is the guilt offering: there is one law for them: the priest that maketh atonement therewith, he shall have it.		l 173
28 29 L ¹ ndj v Cp 16	⁸ ^L And the priest that offereth any man's burnt offering, even the priest shall have to himself the skin of the burnt offering which he hath offered.		
w 11 ²⁸ 14 ⁵ 50 15 ¹³ Num 5 ¹⁷ x Jer 46 ⁴ 2 Chron 4 ¹⁸ † y 15 ¹¹ L ¹ z 7 ⁶ cp 18 30 L ¹ ndj	⁹ ^L And every meal offering that is baked in the oven, and all that is dressed in the ^a frying pan, and on the ^a baking pan, shall be the priest's that offereth it.		
1-7 L ¹ nd	¹⁰ ^L And every meal offering, ^a mingled with oil, or ^a dry, shall all the sons of Aaron have, ^a one as well as another.		
a 1 ⁵ b Ex 29 ²³ c 3 ² Ex 29 ¹³			
d L ¹ ndj e 6 ²⁰ f 6 ²⁰			
g L ¹ ndj h 6 ²⁰ i 6 ²⁰			
j L ¹ ndj k 6 ²⁰ l 6 ²⁰			
m L ¹ ndj n 6 ²⁰ o 6 ²⁰			
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v L ¹ ndj w 6 ²⁰ x 6 ²⁰			
y L ¹ ndj z 6 ²⁰ 30 L ¹ ndj			
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y L ¹ ndj z 6 ²⁰ 30 L ¹ ndj			
1-7 L ¹ nd			
a 1 ⁵ b Ex 29 ²³ c 3 ² Ex 29 ¹³			
d L ¹ ndj e 6 ²⁰ <			

JE	P ^a	P ^a	P ^a
11-21 <i>L7Pa</i> 12-18 <i>L7N4b</i> i 12 18 22 ²⁹ ct Josh 7 ¹⁸ j Ex 29 ²	11 ¹² And this is the law of the sacrifice of peace offerings, which one shall offer unto Yahweh. 12 If he offer it for a 'thanksgiving, then he shall offer with the sacrifice of thanksgiving unleavened 'cakes mingled with oil, and unleavened 'wafers anointed with oil, and 'cakes mingled with oil, of fine flour ² soaked. 13 With 'cakes of leavened bread he shall offer his oblation with the sacrifice of his peace offerings for 'thanksgiving. 14 And of it he shall offer one out of each oblation for an heave offering unto Yahweh; it shall be the priest's that sprinkleth the blood of the peace offerings. 15 And the flesh of the sacrifice of his peace offerings for 'thanksgiving shall be eaten on the day of his oblation; he shall not leave any of it until the morning. 16 But if the sacrifice of his oblation be a vow, or a freewill offering, it shall be eaten on the day that he offereth his sacrifice: and ¹⁷ on the morrow that which remaineth of it shall be eaten: 17 but that which remaineth of the flesh of the sacrifice on the third day shall be burnt with fire. 18 And if any of the flesh of the sacrifice of his peace offerings be eaten on the third day, it shall not be 'accepted, neither shall it be imputed unto him that offereth it: it shall be an 'abomination, and the soul that eateth of it shall 'bear his iniquity. 19 And the flesh that toucheth any unclean thing shall not be eaten; it shall be burnt with fire. And as for the flesh, every one that is clean shall eat thereof: 20 but the soul that eateth of the flesh of the sacrifice of peace offerings, that pertain unto Yahweh, having his uncleanness upon him, that soul shall be 'cut off from his people. 21 And when any one shall touch any unclean thing, the uncleanness of man, or an unclean beast, or any unclean 'abomination, and eat of the flesh of the sacrifice of peace offerings, which pertain unto Yahweh, that soul shall be 'cut off from his people.		
k 631			
15-18 <i>L7Qf</i> l Ct 22 ³⁰ <i>h</i> m 18g <i>d</i>			
m 19 ⁸			
n 19 ⁷ Ezek 4 ¹⁴ 1a 65 ⁴⁷ 1b-21 <i>L6Ga</i>			b 17 ^a c 28 ^a
21 <i>L6b</i>			d 50 ^a
o 11-10-18 20 23 41 Ezek 8 ¹⁰ Is 66 ¹⁷ † cp Deut 29 ²⁷			
22-27 <i>L6Gg</i>	22 ¹⁹ And Yahweh spake unto Moses, saying, 23 Speak unto the children of Israel, saying, Ye shall eat no fat, of ox, or sheep, or goat. 24 And the fat of that ² which dieth of itself, and the fat of that which is torn of beasts, may be used for any other 'service: but ye shall in no wise eat of it. 25 For whosoever eateth the fat of the beast, of which men offer an offering made by fire unto Yahweh, even the soul that eateth it shall be 'cut off from his people. 26 And ye shall eat no manner of blood, whether it be of fowl or of beast, in any of your 'dwellings. 27 Whosoever it be that eateth any blood, that soul shall be 'cut off from his people.		e 177 ^b f 55 ^a
p 17 ¹⁸ 22 ⁸ cp Ex 22 ³¹	28 ¹⁹ And Yahweh spake unto Moses, saying, 29 Speak unto the children of Israel, saying, He that offereth the sacrifice of his peace offerings unto Yahweh shall bring his oblation unto Yahweh out of the sacrifice of his peace offerings: 30 his own 'hands shall bring the offerings of Yahweh made by fire; the fat with the 'breast shall he bring, that the breast may be waved for a wave offering before Yahweh. 31 And the priest shall burn the fat upon the altar: but the 'breast shall be Aaron's and his sons'. 32 And the right 'thigh shall 'ye give unto the priest for an heave offering out of the sacrifices of your peace offerings. 33 He ¹⁹ among the sons of Aaron, that offereth the blood of the peace offerings, and the fat, shall have the right 'thigh for a 'portion. 34 ¹⁹ For the wave breast and the heave 'thigh have I ¹⁹ taken of the children of Israel out of the sacrifices of their peace offerings, and have ¹⁹ given them unto Aaron the priest and unto his sons as a 'due for ever from the children of Israel.		
q Ex 29 ²⁴ r Ex 29 ²⁸ 31-34 <i>L11k</i>			
s 211			
t Ex 29 ³⁶ u Num 3 ¹³ 8 ¹⁶ 18 ⁶ v 617 35- <i>L11p d</i>	30 ¹⁹ This is the 'anointing-portion of Aaron, and the anointing-portion of his sons,		g 62 ^a h 185 ^b

711 The paragraph on the 'peace offerings' especially conveys the impression of a very early piece. With 12-14 ct Num 15⁹; 15-18 cp 22²⁹; 18 'abomination' cp 19⁷, 'bear his iniquity' cp 19⁸ 20¹⁷ 19; 20. 'cut off from his people' 17⁴ 9. 18²⁹ 19⁸ 20¹⁸ (22³) 23²⁹: there are thus several phraseological affinities with P^a.

12 The order in *h* 'and fine flour soaked cakes mingled with oil' is peculiar. *h* omits the repetition of 'cakes mingled.' Cp 8²⁶ Ex 29²³.

22 A supplement of uncertain origin and date (though showing affinity with earlier passages) providing for the slaughter and consumption of animals not offered in sacrifice.

28 A supplement similar to the preceding, about the priests'

dues. The appearance of 'Aaron and his sons' in 31 after 'the priest' is noteworthy, and similarly 'ye' 32. Can this be an early draft of Ex 29²⁶⁻²⁸ completed and inserted here? In that case 35, would be its conclusion by the later editor.

32-34 M Or, shoulder.—Ex 29²².

33 The position of these words in *h* after 'fat' confirms the general grounds for their rejection.

34 A supplement by R^p who here returns to the use of the first person in the divine utterance to which he is accustomed.

35a Here the sons of Aaron share in his anointing, as in P^a only; cp Ex 28⁴¹.

35b M Or, portion.—Cp Num 18⁶ *h* in this sense†.

JE P ^a	P ^a	P ^a
	out of the offerings of Yahweh made by fire, in the day when he presented them to 'minister unto Yahweh in the priest's office; ³⁸ which Yahweh commanded to be given them of the children of Israel, in the day that he 'anointed them. It is a 'due for ever throughout their 'generations.	i 129 ^a j 23 k 70 ^b
37 17a ^a	37 ³⁷ This is the law of the burnt offering, of the meal offering, and of the sin offering, and of the guilt offering, and of the 'consecration, and of the sacrifice of peace offerings; ³⁸ which Yahweh commanded Moses in mount 'Sinai, in the day that he commanded the children of Israel to offer their oblations unto Yahweh, in the wilderness of Sinai.	l 69 ^b m 7
1-26 111d ^a a Ex 29 ^b b Ex 29 ^c c Ex 29 ^d d Ex 29 ^e	8 ¹ ³¹ And Yahweh spake unto Moses, saying, ² Take Aaron and his sons 'with him, and the 'garments, and the 'anointing oil, and the 'bullock of the sin offering, and the 'two rams, and the basket of unleavened bread; ³ and 'assemble thou all the 'congregation at the 'door of the tent of meeting. ⁴ And Moses 'did as Yahweh commanded him; and the congregation was assembled at the door of the tent of meeting. ⁵ And Moses said unto the congregation, 'This is the thing which Yahweh hath commanded to be done. ⁶ ¹ And Moses brought Aaron and his sons, and 'washed them with water. ⁷ ¹ And he 'put upon him the coat, and girded him with the girdle, and clothed him with the robe, and put the ephod upon him, and he girded him with the cunningly woven band of the ephod, and bound it unto him therewith. ⁸ ¹ And he placed the 'breastplate upon him: and in the breastplate he 'put 'the Urim and the Thummim. ⁹ And he 'set the 'mitre upon his head; and upon the 'mitre, in 'front, did he set the golden plate, the holy 'crown; 'as Yahweh commanded Moses. ¹⁰ ¹ And Moses took the anointing oil, ¹¹ and anointed the 'Dwelling and all that was therein, and 'sanctified them. ¹² ¹ And he 'sprinkled thereof upon 'the altar seven times, and anointed the altar and all its vessels, and the 'laver and its base, to 'sanctify them. ¹³ And he 'poured of the anointing oil upon Aaron's head, and anointed him, to 'sanctify him. ¹⁴ ¹ And Moses 'brought Aaron's sons, and clothed them with coats, and girded them with girdles, and bound headties upon them; 'as Yahweh commanded Moses. ¹⁵ ¹ And he brought the bullock of the sin offering: and Aaron and his sons 'laid their hands upon the head of the bullock of the sin offering. ¹⁶ And he 'slew it; and Moses 'took the blood, and put it upon the horns of the altar round about with his finger, 'and 'purified the altar, and 'poured out the blood at the base of the altar, and 'sanctified it, to make 'atonement for it. ¹⁷ And he took all the 'fat that was upon the inwards, and the caul of the liver, and the two kidneys, and their fat, and Moses burned it upon the altar. ¹⁸ But the 'bullock, and its skin, and its flesh, and its dung, he burnt with fire 'without the camp; 'as Yahweh commanded Moses. ¹⁹ ¹ And he presented the ram of the burnt offering: And Aaron and his sons 'laid their hands upon the head of the ram. ²⁰ And he 'killed it: and Moses sprinkled the blood upon the altar round about. ²¹ And he 'cut the ram into its pieces; and Moses burnt the	a 176 b 21 ^a c 45 d 189 ^b e 188 ^b f 54 ^b g 86 ^b h 149 i 128 j 143 ^a k 25 ^a l 120 ^b
6 119d ^c c Ex 29 ^d 7-9 13 112g f Ex 29 ^e		
8 121b/		
9 Ex 29 ^b		
10 Ex 29 ^c		
11 Ex 29 ^d		
12 Ex 29 ^e		
13 Ex 29 ^f		
14-15 111d ^c		
16-17 110b		
18 Ex 29 ¹² 27 ¹		
19 Ex 29 ¹⁸		
20 111g ^c		
21 Ex 29 ^e		
22-27 17b ⁱ		
28 Ex 29 ¹⁰		
29 Ex 29 ¹¹		
30 Ex 29 ¹²		
31 Ex 29 ¹³		
32 Ex 29 ¹⁴		
33-34 17b ^p		
35 Ex 29 ¹⁵		
36 Ex 29 ¹⁶		
37 Ex 29 ¹⁷		

737 The colophon concludes this little 'priests' manual.' The words 'and of the consecration' seem to have slipped into the wrong place from the margin, where they may have been a gloss to refer to 28-36 or to 6-23. The rest defines the original items of the collection, 'burnt offering' 6^a-13, 'meal offering' 6^a-14, 'sin offering' 6^a-20, 'guilt offering' 7^a-10, 'peace offerings' 11-21. The other paragraphs 6^a-23 22-27 28-34 35. are thus excluded as supplementary.

38 The reference to 'Mount Sinai' contrasted with 'out of the tent of meeting' 1^a, bears out the suggestion 6^a that the materials of this section may have been derived from sources older than P^a. Cp 25^a 26^a P^a. The treatment has been adjusted to the camp 6^a, but the usages described seem to be those of the Temple priests.

81 M See Ex 29.—This chapter is usually regarded as an expansion of an earlier and briefer account of the fulfilment of Ex 29, just as Ex 35-40 may be founded on a shorter version of the construction of the Dwelling Ex 25-28 30 31. This passage, however,

is earlier than Ex 35-40 as it recognizes only one altar. Its laborious reproduction of Ex 29, with a few slight modifications, e.g. 3^a 20. 28 31, shows that it cannot well have formed part of P^a. The formula 'as Yahweh commanded Moses' serves as a kind of refrain 9 13 17 21 29 (cp 5 34) Ex 39^a: on its secondary character cp *Introd* i 155^a.

8 M That is, the *Lights and the Perfections*.

9 M Or, turban.

10 Probably an interpolation, as (1) there is no parallel in Ex 29, and (2) G has a rather different order, placing 10^b after 11.

11 This verse similarly contrasts with Ex 29 which, except for the interpolation in 21, religiously restricts the application of the holy oil to 'Aaron's head.' It is therefore probably another gloss like 30 Ex 28^a 29^a.

12 The 'purification,' 'sanctification,' and 'atonement' for the altar seem like the explanations of a writer anxious to leave nothing in his original Ex 29^a without its interpretation.

JE	P ^e	P ^e	P ^e
x 1 ⁸ ct 9 ¹⁸ Ex 20 ¹⁷ y Ex 29 ¹⁸		"head, and the pieces, and the "fat. ²¹ And he washed the inwards and the legs with water; and Moses "burnt the whole ram upon the altar: it was a burnt offering for a sweet savour: it was an offering made by fire unto Yahweh; 'as Yahweh commanded Moses. ²² 'And he presented the "other ram, the "ram of "consecration: and Aaron and his sons laid their hands upon the head of the ram. ²³ And he "slew it; and Moses took of the blood thereof, and put it upon the tip of Aaron's right ear, and upon the thumb of his right hand, and upon the great toe of his right foot. ²⁴ And he brought Aaron's sons, and Moses put of the blood upon the tip of their right ear, and upon the thumb of their right hand, and upon the great toe of their right foot: and Moses "sprinkled the blood upon the altar round about. ²⁵ And he took the fat, and the "fat tail, and all the fat that was upon the inwards, and the caul of the liver, and the two kidneys, and their fat, and the right "thigh: ²⁶ 'and out of the "basket of unleavened bread, that was before Yahweh, he took one "unleavened cake, and one cake of oiled bread, and one wafer, and placed them on the fat, and upon the right thigh: ²⁷ and he "put the whole upon the hands of Aaron, and upon the hands of his sons, and waved them for a wave offering before Yahweh. ²⁸ And Moses "took them from off their hands, and burnt them on the altar upon the burnt offering: they were a "consecration for a sweet savour: it was an offering made by fire unto Yahweh. ²⁹ And Moses "took the breast, and waved it for a wave offering before Yahweh: it was Moses' "portion of the ram of "consecration; 'as Yahweh commanded Moses. ³⁰ 'And Moses took of the anointing oil, and of the blood which was upon the altar, and "sprinkled it upon Aaron, upon his garments, and upon his sons, and upon his sons' garments "with him; and sanctified Aaron, his garments, and his sons, and his sons' garments "with him. ³¹ And Moses said unto Aaron and to his sons, "Boil the flesh at the door of the tent of meeting: and there eat it and the bread that is in the basket of "consecration, "as I commanded, saying, Aaron and his sons shall eat it. ³² 'And that which "remaineth of the flesh and of the bread shall ye burn with fire. ³³ And ye shall not go out from the door of the tent of meeting seven days, until the days of your "consecration be "fulfilled: for he shall "consecrate you "seven days. ³⁴ As hath been done this day, so Yahweh hath commanded to do, to make "atonement for you. ³⁵ And at the door of the tent of meeting shall ye abide day and night seven days, and "keep the charge of Yahweh, "that ye die not: for so I "am commanded. ³⁶ And Aaron and his sons did all the things which Yahweh "commanded by the hand of Moses.	m 69 ^b
20 21. Lym/ d' Ex 29 ²³		³⁷ 'And it came to pass on the "eighth day, that Moses called Aaron and his sons, and the "elders of Israel; ² and he said unto Aaron, Take thee a "bull calf for a sin offering, and a ram for a burnt offering, "without blemish, and offer them before Yahweh. ³ And unto the children of Israel thou shalt "speak, saying, Take ye a "he-goat for a sin offering; and a calf and a lamb, both "of the first year, without blemish, for a burnt offering; ⁴ and an ox and a ram for peace offerings, to sacrifice before Yahweh; and a meal offering "mingled with oil: for to-day Yahweh "appeareth unto you. ⁵ And they brought that which Moses commanded "before the tent of meeting: and all the "congregation drew near and stood before Yahweh. ⁶ And Moses said, "This is the thing which Yahweh commanded that ye should do: and the 'glory of Yahweh shall	n 39 ^b o 52 ^a p 180 ^a
20 22. Lym/ d' Ex 29 ²³			
c' Ex 29 ²⁴			
f' Ex 29 ²⁵			
g' Ex 29 ²⁶			
30 23. Lym/ d' Ex 29 ²³			
A' Cp Ex 29 ²¹			
32 24. Lym/ d' Ex 29 ²³			
f' 12 ⁴ 25 ³⁰ Num 65 13 6 k' Ex 29 ²⁵			
i' Ex 34 ²⁴			
1-24 25b 1 a 82 ³			
b Ct 4 ³			
c Cp 16 ⁵ P ^e ct 414 P ^e			
d Ex 29 ²			
e Gen 17 ¹			
f 614 6			
			d 45 e 188 ^b f 79

⁸²² The amplifying term is introduced earlier here cp Ex 29²⁶: the original author can hardly be supposed to have thus annotated his own work.

²⁵ M Or, shoulder.

²⁶ A substitute for the homelier 'loaf of bread' in the original Ex 29²³. ³⁰ See Ex 28⁴¹ 29²¹ and notes.

³¹ M (G) Onkelos and S read, as I am commanded. See ³⁵ 101¹³.

³⁵ M (G) All your hand.

⁹¹ The main thread of the Priestly Law and History Book is resumed here from Ex 29, and it is not necessary to suppose the elimination of anything more in the interval than some brief account of the construction and erection of the sanctuary and

the consecration of the priesthood, such as has been expanded into Ex 35-40 and Lev 8. The terminology of the ritual in this chapter coincides entirely with that of P, cp Aaron and his sons, sin offering, burnt offering, peace offering, meal offering, make atonement, offer the oblation, slay, pour, sprinkle, burn, &c. That the ritual is that of P^e is inferred (1) because it implies only one altar 7-10 12-14 &c; (2) the blood is not brought into the inner sanctuary cp 4³⁸; (3) the ritual of the sin offering 8-11 15 is less detailed than that in 814-17 cp 4¹⁻²¹, and similarly with the burnt offering 12-14 cp 818-21.

^{1b} Perhaps an indication of later correction (Dillm), of 'children' ³ where Sam and (G) again introduce 'elders.'

	JE P ⁶	P ⁶	P ⁶
g Ex 1610		⁶ appear unto you. ⁷ And Moses said unto Aaron, Draw near unto the altar, and offer thy sin offering, and thy burnt offering, and make atonement for thyself, and ⁸ for the people: and offer the oblation of the people, and make atonement for them; as Yahweh commanded. ⁸ ¹ So Aaron drew near unto the altar, and slew the calf of the sin offering, ⁹ which was for himself. ⁹ And the sons of Aaron presented the blood unto him: and he ¹⁰ dipped his finger in the blood, and put it upon the ¹⁰ 'horns of the altar, and poured out the blood at the base of the altar: ¹⁰ but the ¹⁰ 'fat, and the kidneys, and the caul from the liver of the sin offering, he burnt upon the altar; as Yahweh commanded Moses. ¹¹ And the ¹¹ 'flesh and the skin he burnt with fire without the camp. ¹² ¹ And he slew the burnt offering; and Aaron's sons ¹² 'delivered unto him the blood, and he ¹² 'sprinkled it upon the altar round about. ¹³ And they ¹³ 'delivered the burnt offering unto him, ¹³ 'piece by piece, and the ¹³ 'head: and he burnt them upon the altar. ¹⁴ And he ¹⁴ 'washed the inwards and the legs, and burnt them upon the burnt offering on the altar. ¹⁵ And he presented the people's oblation, and took the ¹⁵ 'goat of the sin offering which was for the people, and slew it, and offered it for sin, as the first. ¹⁶ And he presented the burnt offering, and offered it ¹⁶ 'according to the ordinance. ¹⁷ And he presented the meal offering, and ¹⁷ 'filled his hand therefrom, and burnt it upon the altar, besides the burnt offering of the morning. ¹⁸ ¹ He slew also the ox and the ram, the sacrifice of peace offerings, which was for the people: and Aaron's sons ¹⁸ 'delivered unto him the blood, and he ¹⁸ 'sprinkled it upon the altar round about, ¹⁹ and the fat of the ox; and of the ram, the fat tail, and that which covereth [the inwards], and the kidneys, and the caul of the liver: ²⁰ and they put the fat upon the breasts, and he burnt the fat upon the altar: ²¹ and the breasts and the right thigh Aaron ²¹ 'waved for a wave offering before Yahweh; ²² as Moses commanded. ²² ¹ And Aaron lifted up his hands toward the people, and ²² 'blessed them; and he came down from offering the sin offering, and the burnt offering, and the peace offerings. ²³ And Moses and Aaron went into the tent of meeting, and came out, and blessed the people: and the ²³ 'glory of Yahweh appeared unto all the people. ²⁴ ¹ And there ²⁴ 'came forth fire from before Yahweh, and consumed upon the altar the burnt offering and the fat: and when all the people saw it, they ²⁴ 'shouted, and ²⁴ 'fell on their faces.	
8-11 15 L70j		¹⁰ ¹ ¹ And ¹⁰ 'Nadab and Abihu, the sons of Aaron, took each of them his ¹⁰ 'censer, and put fire therein, and laid ¹⁰ 'incense thereon, and ¹⁰ 'offered ¹⁰ 'strange fire before Yahweh, which he had not commanded them. ² And there ¹⁰ 'came forth fire from before Yahweh, and ¹⁰ 'devoured them, and they died before Yahweh. ³ Then Moses said unto Aaron, ³ 'This is it that Yahweh spake, saying, I will be ³ 'sanctified in them that ³ 'come nigh me, and ³ 'before all the people I will be ³ 'glorified. And Aaron held his peace. ⁴ And Moses called ⁴ 'Mishael and Elzaphan, the sons of ⁴ 'Uzziel the uncle of Aaron, and said unto them, Draw near, carry your brethren from before the ⁴ 'sanctuary ⁴ 'out of the camp. ⁵ So they drew near, and carried them in their coats ⁵ 'out of the camp; as Moses had said.	
h 4 ⁶ i Ex 2912 j Ex 2913		⁶ ¹ And Moses said unto Aaron, and unto ⁶ 'Eleazar and unto ⁶ 'Ithamar, his sons, ⁶ 'Let	
k Ex 2914			
12-14 16 L70n			
l 13 18 5 ⁶			
m Ex 2916			
n Cp Ex 2917 ct 820			
o 510			
p 28 ct 269 5			
18-21 L70t			
q Ex 2926			
22 L11hj			
r Cp Num 628			
s 103 Num 1685			
t Cp Deut 3245 Hiph ⁶ 1-5 L71a a Ex 273			
b 924			
c 5=consumed 924			
d Ex 144=get me honour 5			
e Ex 618 22			
f L11f1dt			
			g 97 a 12 ¹ b 95 ⁶ c 118 ⁶ d 153 e 188 ⁶ f 86 ⁶ g 64 h 88 ⁶ i 120 ⁶ j 128 ⁶

⁹⁷ Read with 5 'for thy house'; the people are named in the next clause.

⁸ (5¹⁰ omit: (5¹⁰ 'calf of his sin offering.')

²¹ (5¹⁰ Sam 'as Yahweh commanded Moses' cp ¹⁰.

²⁴ Possibly ²⁴ is an interpolation, for in ¹³ and ¹⁶ the fat is not mentioned in connexion with the burnt offering ct ⁸²⁰, while it is stated that Aaron burnt the pieces that were delivered to him one by one for that very purpose. Moreover ²² records the conclusion of the whole sacrificial process. How then can 'the burnt offering and the fat' be still upon the altar? (Cp De Wette, *Beiträge* ii 302-4 quoted by Kalisch.) It is possible that (5's rendering in ¹⁵, ¹⁷ ²⁰ 'offer' and 'put' for 'burn' may be influenced by this consideration, but the same terms are not unfrequently employed elsewhere, e.g. ¹⁹ ¹³ ¹⁵ ¹⁷ ²¹ ³⁰ ¹¹.

¹⁰¹ The materials of 10 are composite, and the regulations in ⁶⁻²⁰ seem to have been somewhat loosely thrown together, though ⁶, ¹²⁻¹⁵ and ¹⁶⁻²⁰ are attached to the main incident in ¹⁻⁵. This appears due to P⁶, where it stands as the immediate sequel of ⁹²⁴ as an illustration of the danger of unauthorized cultus. For the quotation in ⁵ see Klostermann's emendation Ex 29⁴³⁸.

³ M Or, are nigh.

⁶⁴ A secondary supplement as it includes all priests alike in the unction cp Ex 28^{41N}. Moreover ⁷ seems to imply that the consecration was not yet complete: but according to ⁹¹ it was finished.

⁶⁵ M Some ancient versions render, *Uncover not your heads*.

JE P ¹	P ¹	P ¹
f 13 ⁴⁵ 21 ¹⁰ Num 51 ¹⁰ g 13 ⁴⁵ 21 ¹⁰ A Ex 16 ³⁰ Num 16 ²² Josh 22 ¹⁸ i Ex 16 ³¹ j Num 16 ³⁷ 7 12of k Ex 29 ⁷ 8 12uf	not the hair of your heads go loose, neither rend your clothes; that ye die not, and that he be not wroth with all the congregation: but let your brethren, the whole house of Israel, bewail the burning which Yahweh hath kindled. ⁷ And ye shall not go out from the door of the tent of meeting, lest ye die: for the anointing oil of Yahweh is upon you. And they did according to the word of Moses. ⁸ And Yahweh spake unto Aaron, saying, ⁹ Drink no wine nor strong drink, thou, nor thy sons with thee, when ye go into the tent of meeting, that ye die not: it shall be a statute for ever throughout your generations.	k 53 ^a l 46 m 185 ^a n 176 o 62 ^a p 76 ^a q 53 r 107 ^b s 43 ^b t 180 ^a
10 16Kc 12hm l 1 Sam 21 ⁴ Ezek 22 ²⁶ 42 ²⁰ 44 ²⁸ 48 ¹⁴ m 20 ³⁵ n 14 ⁵⁷ cp Ex 24 ¹⁸ ci 27 ¹ 12-15 12jk 13 17mn o 116 610	¹⁰ And ye shall put difference between the holy and the common, and between the unclean and the clean; ¹¹ and ye shall teach the children of Israel all the statutes which Yahweh hath spoken unto them by the hand of Moses. ¹² And Moses spake unto Aaron, and unto Eleazar and unto Ithamar, his sons that were left, Take the meal offering that remaineth of the offerings of Yahweh made by fire, and eat it without leaven beside the altar: for it is most holy: ¹³ and ye shall eat it in a holy place, because it is thy due, and thy sons' due, of the offerings of Yahweh made by fire: for so I am commanded. ¹⁴ And the wave breast and the heave thigh shall ye eat in a clean place; thou, and thy sons, and thy daughters with thee: for they are given as thy due, and thy sons' due, out of the sacrifices of the peace offerings of the children of Israel. ¹⁵ The heave thigh and the wave breast shall they bring with the offerings made by fire of the fat, to wave it for a wave offering before Yahweh: and it shall be thine, and thy sons' with thee, as a due for ever; as Yahweh hath commanded.	u 118 ^b v 118 ^b w 90 ^a x 87 ^b y 175 z 85 a' 118 ^b
16-20 17al r 9 ¹⁵	¹⁶ And Moses diligently sought the goat of the sin offering, and, behold, it was burnt: and he was angry with Eleazar and with Ithamar, the sons of Aaron that were left, saying, ¹⁷ Wherefore have ye not eaten the sin offering in the place of the sanctuary, seeing it is most holy, and he hath given it you to bear the iniquity of the congregation, to make atonement for them before Yahweh? ¹⁸ Behold, the blood of it was not brought into the sanctuary within: ye should certainly have eaten it in the sanctuary, as I commanded. ¹⁹ And Aaron spake unto Moses, Behold, this day have they offered their sin offering and their burnt offering before Yahweh; and there have befallen me such things as these: and if I had eaten the sin offering to-day, would it have been well-pleasing in the sight of Yahweh? ²⁰ And when Moses heard [that], it was well-pleasing in his sight.	v 118 ^b c' 28 ^a d' 25 ^a e' 118 ^b
s 5 ¹ Kings 618 al t 636 u 9 ¹⁷ 1-23 16ac	¹¹ And Yahweh spake unto Moses and to Aaron, saying unto them, ² Speak unto the children of Israel, saying, ³ These are the living things which ye shall eat among all the	a 185 b 185 ^a

10⁸ A fragment, marked by a closing formula ^{9b}, but slenderly connected with the text (note the phrase 'that ye die not' ⁹ cp ⁶). Laws directly addressed to Aaron are rare Num 18¹ ⁸ 20⁸. For the prohibition in ⁹ cp Ezek 44²¹.

10⁸ Another fragment attached to the preceding without any apparent link. On the lack of grammatical connexion cp Driver and White (*Leviticus* in Haupt's *SBOT* § p 28). The passage shows affinity with P¹ in its emphasis on teaching cp *Introd* XIII 9a i 152. D also lays stress both on distinctions of clean and unclean Deut 14³⁻²⁰, and on the priestly duty of instruction 24⁸ cp 33¹⁰.

12 This paragraph, also a fragment, is joined to the context by the introductory clause. The rest recalls 614-18 25-29 ⁷ by its provision for eating the holy food 'in a holy place' ¹³, 'in a clean place' ¹⁴. Nowhere else is the peculiar expression 'a holy place' defined, without reference to the Tent of Meeting, as 'beside the altar' ¹². For the substance of the paragraph cp 7³⁰⁻³⁴. Owing to the completeness with which the earlier matter has been assimilated with the later form, the regulation is here ascribed to P¹.

16 A very late supplement. The anger of Moses is not caused by neglect to bring the blood into the sanctuary, as provided in 4 (P¹); it is assumed that Aaron was aware of that provision, and had sufficient reason for not carrying it out. Aaron is only charged with a less serious omission in not eating a sin offering which had thus become of a lower grade. Cp also 616¹⁸.

17 M Or, to take away.

11¹ The subject of sacrifice with which the priesthood is first concerned 1-10 now makes way for the treatment of uncleanness and purification 11-15 under four heads, animals 11, child-birth 12, leprosy 13-14, issues 15. The laws are addressed partly to Moses alone, as in earlier sections 12¹ 14¹, partly to Moses and Aaron together 11¹ 13¹ 15¹. In its present position the series interrupts the sequence of 16¹ on 10¹⁻⁵, and its place is rather due to the compilers of the complex whole of the Priestly Code

than to the author of P¹. Its existing form, therefore, may be due to P¹, and this view is supported by occasional signs of acquaintance with regulations of the sacrificial code, as in 12⁶⁻⁸ 14¹³. . . 21. . . 15¹⁴. 20. . . But like 1-3 5-6⁷ and 6⁶-7, the legislation in 11-15 seems to contain materials for the most part older than P¹, worked up in a later setting. Occasional resemblances to P¹ have led some critics to ascribe them mainly to that source. Thus Driver-Wh assign 11²⁻²³ 41-47 to P¹. It seems probable, however, that the whole law is more complex cp 2¹⁸; and it is here placed together with the cognate laws in 12-15 with the group of priestly teaching P¹.

2 The contents of the law of the clean and unclean animals are in a high degree complex. Two distinct themes run through it (1) uncleanness as affecting food, and (2) uncleanness as produced by touch. Interpreters differ as to whether the second half of the colophon 47 refers to both or only to the first. Those who restrict 47 to cases of permitted and prohibited food regard the section on uncleanness by touch 24-40 as an addition cp 24¹⁸. If, however, 47^a is not simply repeated in 47^b the colophon recognizes both branches of the main subject. But even the regulations dealing with lawful and unlawful foods are not homogeneous. 25-8 exhibits the distinction of clean and unclean as in Deut 14³⁻⁸. But in 9-23 this nomenclature is dropped, and all forbidden creatures are *shēqec* 'abomination' (cf 'abominable thing' Deut 14³ to *ēbhah*), the subject being resumed after the section on defilement by touch 24-40 with another class of 'creeping things' which are also *shēqec* 41. The structure of the whole group may be thus tabled:—

I *Forbidden food*:

- (1) Clean and unclean, land animals 25-8, Colophon: beast, birds 13-19, winged creeping things 20-23.
- (2) Abomination, water-animals 9-12, bird, waters, creeping things on earth.

JE P ^a	P ^a	P ^a
a 2. Deut 14 ⁹⁻¹⁰	beasts that are on the earth. ³ "Whatsoever "parteth the hoof, and is	
b 7 28 Deut	⁴ "clovenfooted, [and] "cheweth the 'cud, among the beasts, that shall ye eat.	
c 5-7 28 Deut 14	⁴ Nevertheless these shall ye not eat of them that chew the cud, or of them	
6-8†	that part the hoof: the camel, because he "cheweth the cud but parteth not	
d Deut 14 ^{8†}	the hoof, he is "unclean unto you. ⁵ And the "coney, because he "cheweth	c 167 ^b
e Deut 14 ⁷	the cud but parteth not the hoof, he is unclean unto you. ⁶ And the "hare,	
f 16b/	because she "cheweth the cud but parteth not the hoof, she is unclean unto	
g Deut 14 ⁹	you. ⁷ And the 'swine, because he parteth the hoof, and is clovenfooted,	
g 9-13 Deut	but "cheweth not the cud, he is unclean unto you. ⁸ Of their flesh ye	
14 ^{9-†}	shall not eat, "and "their carcasses ye shall not touch; they are unclean	
h 7 ²¹	unto you.	
i 13 48 20 ²⁵ Deut	⁹ "These shall ye eat of all that are in the waters: whatsoever hath "fins and	
7 ²⁰ Ps 22 ^{24†}	scales in the waters, in the seas, and in the rivers, them shall ye eat. ¹⁰ And all	d 157 ^b
j Deut 14 ¹²⁻¹⁸	that have not fins and scales in the seas, and in the rivers, of all "that move in	
k Deut 14 ^{13†}	the waters, and of all the living creatures that are in the waters, they are an	
l 16†	"abomination unto you, ¹¹ and they shall be an "abomination unto you; ye shall	
m Deut 14 ¹³ Job	not eat of their flesh, and their carcasses ye shall "have in abomination. ¹² What-	
n Deut 14 ¹⁸	soever hath no fins nor scales in the waters, that is an "abomination unto you.	
o Deut 14 ^{14†}	¹³ And these ye shall "have in abomination among the fowls; they shall not be	
p Deut 14 ¹⁵	eaten, they are an "abomination: "the "eagle, and the "gier eagle, and the "ospray;	e 18 ¹
q Deut 14 ¹⁶ Ps	¹⁴ and the "kite, and the "falcon "after its kind; ¹⁵ every raven "after its kind;	
102 ^{8†}	¹⁶ and the "ostrich, and the "night hawk, and the "seamew, and the "hawk "after	
r Deut 14 ^{17†}	its kind; ¹⁷ and the "little owl, and the "cormorant, and the "great owl; ¹⁸ and	
s Deut 14 ^{16†}	the "horned owl, and the "pelican, and the "vulture; ¹⁹ and the "stork, the "heron	
t Deut 14 ¹⁷	"after its kind, and the "hoopoe, and the "bat.	
u Deut 14 ¹⁸	²⁰ All winged "creeping things that go upon all four are an "abomination unto	
v Deut 14 ^{18†}	you. ²¹ Yet these may ye eat of all winged "creeping things that go upon all four,	
w Deut 14 ¹⁸ Is	which have legs above their feet, to "leap withal upon the earth; ²² even these	
x 16 ⁹	of them ye may eat; the "locust "after its kind, and the "bald locust after its kind,	
y 24-28 16b/	and the "cricket after its kind, and the "grasshopper after its kind. ²³ But all	
	winged "creeping things, which have four feet, are an "abomination unto you.	
	²⁴ "And by these ye shall become unclean: whosoever toucheth the carcase of them	
	shall be unclean until the even: ²⁵ and whosoever beareth [aught] of the carcase of	

II Forbidden touch:

Clean and unclean, land animals 24-25,

creeping things on earth: 2-31,

effects of contact 32-38,

carcasses of beasts 39-40.

I Forbidden Food:

(2) Abomination, creeping things on earth 41-42.

Here it is clear that the section on contamination by touch II interrupts the list of edible creatures which are *shéqec* I (2). But why should the list of prohibited animals fall into two unequal divisions marked by different terminology, while the entire list in Deut 14⁹⁻²⁰ is on the basis of clean and unclean? And why, in the second group concerning touch should only two classes be mentioned out of five recognized in the first? The difficulties do not end here. Some of the *abomination* passages seem to contain doublets. In 9 'waters' is followed, as though analytically, by 'seas' and 'rivers'; but 10 begins 'And whatsoever hath no fins and scales in the seas and in the rivers,' while 12 runs 'Whatsoever hath no fins nor scales in the waters': are these from the same hand? So 10^b exhibits parallel clauses, and 23 *h* really repeats 20. This duplication is particularly clear in 43-45, where 44^a forms a close to 43 (following on 41.), and 41^b repeats with variations the commands of 43 (et especially 'creeping thing that creepeth' and 'creeping thing that moveth'). The whole law, therefore, seems to be compiled from at least two sources, (1) concerning clean and unclean, whether in food or contact, (2) concerning 'abomination' in eating, a group already showing traces of composite character. To (1) may be assigned, roughly, 2b-8 39. with later supplements in 24-38, these extracts being only portions of a larger original. (2) 9-23 41-44^a (with perhaps 45) are derived from a similar series of food-laws, based on the conception of 'abomination,' and showing marked affinity with P^b, note the parallel 'ye shall not make your souls abominable' 43 and 20²⁵, with the phrases

'I am Yahweh your God' 203^b, 'be ye holy' 203^a, and 'I am holy' 203^c. This second group is not without resemblance to J, e.g. 'sanctify yourselves' 44 cp 20⁷ Ex 19²² Num 11¹⁸ Josh 3⁵ 7¹³, 'goeth on the belly' 43 cp Gen 3¹⁴, 'bring up' 45 cp 21¹³. It is possible that these series are founded on earlier ordinances once comprised in P^b 20²⁵ and now expanded, the characteristic conclusions having been retained.

11³⁴ The list of animals in 9-23 is closely parallel to that in Deut 14⁹⁻²⁰, but there is no general agreement on the precise relation of one to the other; Dillm, for example, maintaining the priority of Lev as of P in general, and Driver, Deut 165, regarding the Deuteronomistic law as the earlier. See Deut 14²⁷.

2b-7 *M* *h* bringeth up.

24 *M* *h* shaphan, the Hyrax Syriacus or rock-badger.—Deut 14⁷ Ps 104¹⁸ Prov 30^{24†}.

8 Some critics regard this as an editorial addition harmonising with 24., but cp Deut 14⁸.

13 *M* Or, great vulture.

16 *M* *h* tahmas, of uncertain meaning.

18 *M* Or, swan.

19 *M* Or, ibis.

22 *M* Four kinds of locusts or grasshoppers, which are not certainly known.

24 It is possible that 24-31 is distinct from 2b-8, as it looks like an elaboration of the prohibition in 8, which would hardly have appeared there if a continuation of the same law had contained these fuller directions. The language of 26. is not entirely parallel with that of 3., and does not cover the cases of the camel, coney, or hare. An additional class, the 'creeping things,' is also mentioned with a list of names found nowhere else. The law further prescribes means of cleansing, whereas no mode is specified for removing the defilement contracted by eating forbidden food. Further, it has been argued that 47^a does not refer to uncleanness by touch. Driv-Wh observe that no reference is made to 24-40 in the subscription 45.

JE P ^a	P ^a	P ^a
	them shall 'wash his clothes, and be unclean until the even. ¹⁶ Every beast which 'parteth the hoof, and is not clovenfooted, nor cheweth the cud, is unclean unto you : every one that toucheth them shall be unclean. ¹⁷ And whatsoever goeth upon its paws, among all beasts that go on all four, they are unclean unto you : whose toucheth their carcase shall be unclean until the even. ¹⁸ And he that beareth the carcase of them shall 'wash his clothes, and be unclean until the even : they are unclean unto you.	f 173
um 64-1a 14 cp 18 red owl	¹⁹ And these are they which are unclean unto you among the 'creeping things that 'creep upon the earth ; the 'weasel, and the 'mouse, and the 'great lizard 'after its kind, ²⁰ and the 'gecko, and the 'land-crocodile, and the 'lizard, and the 'sand-lizard, and the 'chameleon. ²¹ These are they which are unclean to you among all 'that creep : whosoever doth touch them, when they are dead, shall be unclean until the even.	g 188 ^a h 157 ^a
	²² And upon whatsoever any of them, when they are dead, doth fall, it shall be unclean ; whether it be any vessel of wood, or raiment, or skin, or sack, whatsoever vessel it be, wherewith any 'work is done, it must be put into water, and it shall be unclean until the even ; then shall it be 'clean. ²³ And every 'earthen vessel, wherewith any of them falleth, whatsoever is in it shall be unclean, and it ye shall break. ²⁴ All food [therein] which may be eaten, that on which water cometh, shall be unclean : and all drink that may be drunk in every [such] vessel shall be unclean. ²⁵ And every thing where-upon [any part] of their carcase falleth shall be unclean ; whether oven, or 'range for pots, it shall be broken in pieces : they are unclean, and shall be unclean unto you. ²⁶ Nevertheless a 'fountain or a 'pit wherein is a 'gathering of water shall be clean : but 'that which toucheth their carcase shall be unclean. ²⁷ And if [aught] of their carcase fall upon any 'sowing seed which is to be sown, it is clean. ²⁸ But if water be put upon the seed, and [aught] of their carcase fall thereon, it is unclean unto you.	i 177 ^a j 43 ^a
1 711 5 114	²⁹ And if any beast, of which ye may 'eat, die ; he that toucheth the carcase thereof shall be unclean until the even. ⁴⁰ And he that eateth of the carcase of it shall 'wash his clothes, and be unclean until the even : he also that beareth the carcase of it shall wash his clothes, and be unclean until the even.	k 74
of	⁴¹ And every 'creeping thing that 'creepeth upon the earth is an 'abomination ; it shall not be eaten. ⁴² Whatsoever goeth upon the belly, and whatsoever goeth upon all four, or whatsoever hath many feet, even all creeping things that creep upon the earth, them ye shall not eat ; for they are an 'abomination. ⁴³ Ye shall not make 'yourselves abominable with any creeping thing that creepeth, neither shall ye make yourselves unclean with them, that ye should be defiled thereby.	l 110
1 28a	^{44a} For 'I am Yahweh your God : 'sanctify yourselves therefore, and 'be ye holy ; for 'I am holy.	m 179 ^a n 202 ^b o 202 ^a
11 23 your souls	^{44b} And ye shall not defile 'yourselves with any manner of creeping thing that 'moveth upon the earth. ⁴⁵ For I am Yahweh that brought you 'up out of the land of Egypt, to 'be your God : ye shall therefore 'be holy, for 'I am holy.	p 49 q 26
1 26ba your souls ik 414 et 430 1236	⁴⁶ This is the law of the beast, and of the fowl, and of every living creature that 'moveth in the waters, and of every creature that 'creepeth upon the earth : ⁴⁷ to 'make a difference between the unclean and the clean, and between the living thing that may be eaten and the living thing that may not be eaten.	r 53
27	¹²¹ And Yahweh 'spake unto Moses, saying, ² Speak unto the children of Israel, saying, If a woman 'conceive seed, and bear a man child, then she shall 'be unclean seven days ; 'as in the days of the 'impurity of her 'sickness shall she be unclean. ³ And in the eighth day the flesh of his foreskin shall be 'circumcised. ⁴ And she shall continue in the blood of [her] 'purifying three and thirty days ; she shall touch no 'hallowed thing, nor come into the 'sanctuary, until the days of her purifying be 'fulfilled. ⁵ But if she bear a 'maid child, then she shall be unclean two weeks, as in her 'impurity : and she shall continue in the blood of [her] purifying threescore and six days. ⁶ And when the days of her purifying are 'fulfilled, for a son, or for a daughter, she shall bring a lamb 'of the first year for a 'burnt offering, and a 'young pigeon, or a turtledove, for a sin offering, 'unto the door of the tent of meeting,	a 185 ^a b 167 ^a c 139
12 Gen 111 § 11 cp 1533 1 2b		d 41 e 43 ^a f 38 ^a g 91 h 107 ^d
7		i 110 ^b

¹⁰ M Words of uncertain meaning, but probably denoting kinds of lizards.

M Or, *seupan*.

M Or, *he who*.

In 11-15 the use of this opening phrase is restricted to the *shon* (cp 188^b) see 127 13⁶⁶ 14³² 54 57 (cp Num 5²⁰), save in 14² where it appears in the title, as in 6⁸-7, a section in many ways

^{36a} M Or, *cistern*.

^{44b} T neither shall ye.

analogous to this.

¹²¹ This chapter is later than 15¹⁰ to which it apparently refers in 2^b ; but it presents the same general features, and seems best considered along with it (see 15^{1N}).

² M Or, *separation*.

⁶ The only trace of adaptation to the 'Camp' form of legislation first introduced by P^a.

	JEP ^a	P ^a	P ^a
<i>g</i> 5 ^b <i>h</i> 5 ¹⁰ <i>i</i> 20 ¹⁸		unto the priest : ⁷ and he shall ⁹ offer it before Yahweh, and ^h make atone- ment for her ; and she shall ¹ be cleansed from the 'fountain of her blood. ^h This is the law for her that beareth, whether a ¹ male or a female. ⁸ ^h And if her means ^m suffice not for a lamb, then she shall take two turtledoves, or two young pigeons ; the one for a burnt offering, and the other for a sin offering : and the priest shall make atonement for her, and she shall be clean.	<i>j</i> 43 ^a <i>k</i> 183 ^b <i>l</i> 107 ^c <i>m</i> 58
1-46 16hc <i>a</i> (6)† <i>b</i> 14 ^{6d} † <i>c</i> (12)†		13 ¹ ^h And Yahweh ^a spake unto Moses and unto Aaron, saying, ² ^h When a man shall have in the skin of his flesh a ^a rising, or a ^b scab, or a ^b bright spot, and it become in the skin of his flesh the plague of leprosy, then he shall be brought unto ^a Aaron the priest, or unto one of his sons the priests : ³ and the priest shall look on the plague in the skin of the flesh : and if the hair in the plague be turned white, and the appearance of the plague be ^d deeper than the skin of his flesh, it is the plague of 'leprosy : and the priest shall look on him, and ^a pronounce him unclean. ⁴ And if the bright spot be white in the skin of his flesh, and the appearance thereof be not deeper than the skin, and the hair thereof be not turned white, then the priest shall shut up [him that hath] the plague seven days : ⁵ and the priest shall look on him the seventh day : and, behold, if in his eyes the plague be at a stay, and the plague be not ^s spread in the skin, then the priest shall shut him up seven days more : ⁶ and the priest shall look on him again the seventh day : and, behold, if the plague be ⁹ dim, and the plague be not spread in the skin, then the priest shall pronounce him clean : it is a ^b scab : and he shall ^a wash his clothes, and be clean. ⁷ But if the scab spread abroad in the skin, after that he hath shewn himself to the priest for his 'cleansing, he shall shew himself to the priest again : ⁸ and the priest shall look, and, behold, if the scab be spread in the skin, then the priest shall pronounce him unclean : it is leprosy.	<i>a</i> 185 ^a <i>b</i> 190 ^b <i>c</i> 12 ^a <i>d</i> 167 ^a
<i>f</i> (22)† <i>g</i> (6)* <i>h</i> 6-8†		⁹ 'When the plague of leprosy is in a man, then he shall be brought unto the priest ; ¹⁰ and the priest shall look, and, behold, if there be a white rising in the skin, and it have turned the hair white, and there be 'quick raw flesh in the rising, ¹¹ it is an ^h old leprosy in the skin of his flesh, and the priest shall pronounce him unclean : he shall not shut him up ; for he is unclean. ¹² And if the leprosy 'break out abroad in the skin, and the leprosy cover all the skin of [him that hath] the plague from his head even to his feet, as far as appeareth to the priest ; ¹³ then the priest shall look : and, behold, if the leprosy have covered all his flesh, he shall pronounce [him] clean [that hath] the plague : it is all turned white : he is clean. ¹⁴ But whensoever raw flesh appeareth in him, he shall be unclean. ¹⁵ And the priest shall look on the raw flesh, and pronounce him unclean : the raw flesh is unclean, it is leprosy. ¹⁶ Or if the raw flesh turn again, and be changed unto white, then he shall come unto the priest, ¹⁷ and the priest shall look on him : and, behold, if the plague be turned into white, then the priest shall pronounce [him] clean [that hath] the plague : he is clean.	<i>e</i> 173 <i>f</i> 42 ^a
<i>i</i> Cp 2 18 24 29 38 40 47 5		¹⁸ And 'when the flesh hath in the skin thereof a ^m boil, ¹⁹ and it is healed,	
<i>j</i> 24 ct Gen 45 ^b <i>k</i> 26 ¹⁰ Deut 4 ²⁵ †			
<i>l</i> (6) Ex 9 ^a . cp Num 17 ⁵ 8 Gen 40 ¹⁰ ^a			
<i>m</i> 18-20 23 Ex 9 ¹⁰ . Deut 28 ²⁷ 35 ^a			

12⁶ Supplementary, because (1) it comes after the colophon 7^b, and (2) the provision for cases of poverty elsewhere (5⁷ 14²¹ cp 14¹) appears to have been added later.

13¹ The laws dealing with leprosy 13-14 are obviously incorporated in the general Priestly Code cp 13¹. &c, but they are by no means homogeneous, and the extreme elaboration of treatment prescribed throughout, suggests that the practice in these matters was not codified early. Deut 24⁸ shows that there was a recognized procedure laid down by the priests, but the omission of any detail (ct 14⁵⁻²⁰ on clean and unclean) may perhaps indicate that it was yet unwritten. On the successive additions to the original leprosy code see the notes, and in particular 14⁵⁴ 57^a. The vocabulary naturally shows a considerable number of peculiar terms. Where these terms only occur in 13 14, the number of occurrences is marked in brackets without further detail, or additional instances elsewhere are separately enumerated ; thus ² 'plague' (61) Gen 12⁷ Ex 11¹ Deut 17⁵ 21⁵ 24⁸. The general phraseological affinities with P, apart from the ideas

of 'clean' and 'unclean,' are noted in the usual way. Phrases appearing only in these chapters, such as 'shut up seven days' 13⁴. 21 28 31 60 64, belong to the general manner of P, but need no special attention.

² The first section comprises 2-4⁶, and treats in 2-28 of 'a rising or a scab or a bright spot,' and in 29-44 of a 'scall' 'upon the head or upon the beard.' The whole stress is laid upon the detection and discrimination of leprosy. If the sufferer be a leper, then 45. regulates his conduct. If 'the plague' be not leprosy, then the priest is to 'pronounce him clean' 6 13 17 23 28 31 37, and 'he is clean' 13 17 37, or 'and he shall wash his clothes and be clean' 6 34. No hint is given that anything more is needed, and the reference to the washing of the clothes almost seems to exclude the ritual of 14 in whole or in part (see further 14¹¹). The slight traces of the influence of P^a are indicated in 2^b and 46^b, where the Aaronic priesthood and the camp are unexpectedly introduced : with 2 cp 14².

JE	P ¹	P ²	P ³
n 24 42. 49 14 ³⁷ †	and in the place of the boil there is a white rising, or a bright spot, "reddish-white, then it shall be shewed to the priest; ²⁰ and the priest shall look, and, behold, if the appearance thereof be "lower than the skin, and the hair thereof be turned white, then the priest shall pronounce him unclean: it is the plague of leprosy, it hath broken out in the boil. ²¹ But if the priest look on it, and, behold, there be no white hairs therein, and it be not lower than the skin, but be dim, then the priest shall shut him up seven days: ²² and if it spread abroad in the skin, then the priest shall pronounce him unclean: it is a plague. ²³ But if the bright spot stay in its place, and be not spread, it is the "scar of the boil; and the priest shall pronounce him clean.		
o 21 26 14 ³⁷ *			
p 28 Prov 16 ³⁷ †			
q 25 28†			
r 30 14 ⁹ 19 ²⁷ 21 ⁵ *	²⁴ Or "when the flesh hath in the skin thereof a "burning by fire, and the "quick [flesh] of the burning become a bright spot, reddish-white, or white; ²⁵ then the priest shall look upon it: and, behold, if the hair in the bright spot be turned white, and the appearance thereof be deeper than the skin; it is leprosy, it hath broken out in the burning: and the priest shall pronounce him unclean: it is the plague of leprosy. ²⁶ But if the priest look on it, and, behold, there be no white hair in the bright spot, and it be no lower than the skin, but be dim; then the priest shall shut him up seven days: ²⁷ and the priest shall look upon him the seventh day: if it spread abroad in the skin, then the priest shall pronounce him unclean: it is the plague of leprosy. ²⁸ And if the bright spot stay in its place, and be not spread in the skin, but be dim; it is the rising of the burning, and the priest shall pronounce him clean: for it is the scar of the burning.		
s 32 36†	²⁹ And "when a man or woman hath a plague upon the head or upon the "beard, ³⁰ then the priest shall look on the plague: and, behold, if the appearance thereof be deeper than the skin, and there be in it "yellow thin hair, then the priest shall pronounce him unclean: it is a "scall, it is leprosy of the head or of the beard. ³¹ And if the priest look on the plague of the scall, and, behold, the appearance thereof be not deeper than the skin, and there be no "black hair in it, then the priest shall shut up [him that hath] the plague of the scall seven days: ³² and in the seventh day the priest shall look on the plague: and, behold, if the scall be not spread, and there be in it no yellow hair, and the appearance of the scall be not deeper than the skin, ³³ then he shall be "shaven, but the scall shall he not shave; and the priest shall shut up [him that hath] the scall seven days more: ³⁴ and in the seventh day the priest shall look on the scall: and, behold, if the scall be not spread in the skin, and the appearance thereof be not deeper than the skin; then the priest shall pronounce him clean: and he shall "wash his clothes, and be clean. ³⁵ But if the scall spread abroad in the skin after his "cleansing; ³⁶ then the priest shall look on him: and, behold, if the scall be spread in the skin, the priest shall not seek for the yellow hair; he is unclean. ³⁷ But if in his eyes the scall be at a stay, and black hair be grown up therein; the scall is healed, he is clean: and the priest shall pronounce him clean.		g 108 ¹
t 30-37 14 ⁶⁴ †			
u 37†			
v 14 ⁸ . 21 ⁵ Num 6 ⁹ 12.			
w 5†	³⁸ And "when a man or a woman hath in the skin of their flesh bright spots, even white bright spots; ³⁹ then the priest shall look: and, behold, if the bright spots in the skin of their flesh be of a dull white; it is a "tetter, it hath broken out in the skin; he is clean.		
x 41*	⁴⁰ And "if a man's "hair be fallen off" his head, he is "bald; [yet] is he clean. ⁴¹ And if his hair be fallen off from the front part of his head, he is "forehead bald; [yet] is he clean. ⁴² But if there be in the "bald head, or the "bald forehead, a reddish-white plague; it is leprosy breaking out in his bald head, or his bald forehead. ⁴³ Then the priest shall look upon him: and, behold, if the rising of the plague be reddish-white in his bald head, or in his bald forehead, as the appearance of leprosy in the skin of the flesh; ⁴⁴ he is a "leprous man, he is unclean: the priest shall surely pronounce him unclean; his plague is in his head.		h 103
y 2 Kings 2 ²³ †			
z 42. 55†			

	JE P ⁱ	P ⁱ	P ⁱ
a' 10 ⁶ 21 ¹⁰ †			
U' 5* Mic 3 ⁷ al			
47-50 1461			
c' 48 53 59 Deut			
2211 ^a			
d' (9) ct Ex 12 ³⁸			
Neh 13 ²⁴ †			
e' 14 ³⁷ Ps 68 ¹³ †			
f' 52 14 ⁴⁴ Ezek			
2824†			
1-8a 16hd			
a Cp 1103			
4-7 171a			
b 6 49 51- Num			
19 ⁶⁴			
c Ex 25 ⁴			
d Ex 12 ³²			
e 628			
f 4 ⁶			
	<p>⁴⁵ And the ¹leper in whom the plague is, his clothes shall be ^a'rent, and ²'the hair of his head shall go loose, and he shall ^b'cover his upper lip, and shall cry, Unclean, unclean. ⁴⁶ All the days wherein the plague is in him he shall be unclean; he is unclean: he shall dwell ^c'alone; ¹without the camp shall his ^d'dwelling be</p> <p>⁴⁷ ¹¶⁴⁷ The garment also that the plague of leprosy is in, whether it be a ^e'woollen garment, or a linen garment; ⁴⁸ whether it be in ^f'warp, or ^g'woof; of linen, or of woollen; whether in a skin, or in any ^h'thing made of skin; ⁴⁹ if the plague be ⁱ'greenish or reddish in the garment, or in the skin, or in the warp, or in the woof, or in any thing of skin; it is the plague of leprosy, and shall be shewed unto the priest: ⁵⁰ and the priest shall look upon the plague, and shut up [that which hath] the plague seven days: ⁵¹ and he shall look on the plague on the seventh day: if the plague be spread in the garment, either in the warp, or in the woof, or in the skin, whatever ^j'service skin is used for; the plague is a ^k'fretting leprosy; it is unclean. ⁵² And he shall burn the garment, whether the warp or the woof, in woollen or in linen, or any thing of skin, wherein the plague is: for it is a fretting leprosy; it shall be burnt in the fire. ⁵³ And if the priest shall look, and, behold, the plague be not spread in the garment, either in the warp, or in the woof, or in any thing of skin; ⁵⁴ then the priest shall command that they wash the thing wherein the plague is, and he shall shut it up seven days more: ⁵⁵ and the priest shall look, after that the plague is washed: and, behold, if the plague have not changed its colour, and the plague be not spread, it is unclean; thou shalt burn it in the fire: it is a ^l'fret, ^m'whether the bareness be within or without. ⁵⁶ And if the priest look, and, behold, the plague be dim after the washing thereof, then he shall rend it out of the garment, or out of the skin, or out of the warp, or out of the woof: ⁵⁷ and if it appear still in the garment, either in the warp, or in the woof, or in any thing of skin, it is breaking out: thou shalt burn that wherein the plague is with fire. ⁵⁸ And the garment, either the warp, or the woof, or whatsoever thing of skin it be, which thou shalt wash, if the plague be departed from them, then it shall be washed the second time, and shall be clean. ⁵⁹ ¹This is the law of the plague of leprosy in a garment of woollen or lincn, either in the warp, or the woof, or any thing of skin, to pronounce it clean, or to pronounce it unclean.</p> <p>¹⁴¹ ¹¶¹⁴¹ And Yahweh ⁿ'spake unto Moses, saying, ² ¹¶¹⁴¹ This shall be the law of the ^o'leper in the day of his ^p'cleansing: he shall be brought unto the priest: ³ and the priest shall go forth ^q'out of the camp; and the priest shall look, and, behold, if the plague of leprosy be healed in the ^r'leper; ⁴ ¹¶¹⁴¹ then shall the priest command to take for him that is to be cleansed two living clean birds, and ^s'cedar wood, and ^t'scarlet, and ^u'hyssop^b: ⁵ and the priest shall command to kill one of the birds in an ^v'earthen vessel over ^w'running water: ⁶ as for the living bird, he shall take it, and the cedar wood, and the scarlet, and the hyssop, and shall ^x'dip them and the living bird in the blood of</p>	<p>l 120^b</p> <p>j 55^b</p> <p>k 177^b</p> <p>l 188^b</p> <p>a 185^a</p> <p>b 188^a</p> <p>c 42^c</p> <p>d 120^a</p> <p>e 103</p>	

13⁴⁵ M See 10⁶.

⁴⁶ Cp ⁴ where the sufferer is to be 'shut up' i.e. probably confined to leper's quarters near the village or town. The following clause is an editorial adaptation.

⁴⁷ This section, on leprosy in a garment, seems to proceed from the same cycle of priestly *toroth* as 2-4⁶. But it has apparently been extracted separately and attached by another hand to the preceding section, for it has a colophon of its own ⁵⁹, and the reference to it in the colophon 14⁵⁶ which includes 2-4⁶ is plainly a gloss.

⁴⁸ M Or, *woven or knitted stuff* (and in 49. .).

⁵⁰ M 5 whether it be bald in the head thereof, or in the forehead thereof.

¹⁴¹ This second division of the 'law of leprosy' seems neither to fit any part of the preceding context, nor to be itself homogeneous. (1) The first portion is occupied 1-3² with the ritual of cleansing a leper who is 'healed' ³, but who is not 'pronounced clean' ⁷ till the ceremonies of 4-7⁸ have been performed, and further personal purifications are then needed, washing of clothes, bathing, and shaving the hair ^{8a}, before it is said that 'he shall be clean.' Yet 13 requires only the priestly verdict and the washing of clothes e.g. 13⁶. But (2) after seven days

a second and sacrificial ceremony is needed before it can be said ²⁰ that 'he shall be clean.' These sections are thus separate in source from 13, and disclose distinct elements within themselves.

² The opening section 2-8^a is complete in itself, and bears every appearance of recording ancient practice. It might be conjectured that the compiler of 13 thought the ceremonial superstitious and unnecessary, and so refrained from enjoining it. The antiquity of the ritual may be upheld on various grounds: (1) for an Arabic parallel cp Wellhausen, *Skizzen* iii 156, W Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites* 402: (2) the alternate vagueness and precision of the directions is unlike the style of other enactments; the priest 'shall command to take' ⁴, but the person to whom the command is addressed is unnamed cp ⁵; 'two living clean birds,' a unique phrase; 'cedar wood' &c, only in Num 19⁶; the slaughter of one of the birds 'in an earthen vessel over living water,' two unique conditions: (3) the rite is regarded as so incomplete that it needs an elaborate supplement cp 8^b. The title 2^a belongs to the section cp and et 11⁴⁶. The use of the phrase 'this is the law . . .' in a title and not in a colophon supplies another indication of the distinct origin of 14^{2-8a} (cp 11^{46b}).

⁵ M 5 living.—Cp 50-52 15¹³ Num 19^{17a}.

JE	P ^a	P ^a	P ^a
	the bird that was killed over the ^a running water : ⁷ and he shall ^a sprinkle upon him that is to be cleansed from the leprosy seven times, and shall pronounce him clean, and shall let go the living bird into the ^a open field. ⁸ And he that is to be cleansed shall ^a wash his clothes, and shave off all his hair, and ^a bathe himself in water, and he shall be clean : ⁹ <i>and after that he shall come into the ^acamp, but shall dwell ^aoutside his tent seven days.</i> ⁹ <i>And it shall be on the seventh day, that he shall shave all his hair off his head and his ^abeard and his ^aeyebrows, even all his hair he shall shave off : and he shall ^awash his clothes, and he shall ^abathe his flesh in water, and he shall be clean.</i> ¹⁰ <i>And on the eighth day he shall take two he-lambs ^awithout blemish, and one ewe-lamb ^aof the first year without blemish, and three ^atenth parts [of an ephah] of fine flour for a meal offering, ^amingled with oil, and one ^alog of oil.</i> ¹¹ <i>And the priest that cleanseth him shall ^aset the man that is to be cleansed, and those things, before Yahweh, at the door of the tent of meeting : ¹² and the priest shall take one of the he-lambs, and offer him for a guilt offering, and the log of oil, and wave them for a wave offering before Yahweh : ¹³ and he shall ^akill the he-lamb in the place ^awhere they kill the sin offering and the burnt offering, in the place of the ^asanctuary : for as the sin offering is the priest's, so is the guilt offering : it is ^amost holy : ¹⁴ and the priest shall take of the blood of the guilt offering, and the priest shall put it upon the ^atip of the right ear of him that is to be cleansed, and upon the thumb of his right hand, and upon the great toe of his right foot : ¹⁵ and the priest shall take of the log of oil, and ^apour it into the palm of his own ^aleft hand : ¹⁶ and the priest shall ^adip his right finger in the oil that is in his left hand, and shall ^asprinkle of the oil with his finger ^aseven times before Yahweh : ¹⁷ and of the rest of the oil that is in his hand shall the priest put upon the tip of the right ear of him that is to be cleansed, and upon the thumb of his right hand, and upon the great toe of his right foot, upon the blood of the guilt offering : ¹⁸ and the rest ^aof the oil that is in the priest's hand he shall put upon the head of him that is to be cleansed : and the priest shall ^amake atonement for him before Yahweh. ¹⁹ <i>And the priest shall ^aoffer the sin offering, and make atonement for him that is to be cleansed because of his uncleanness ; and afterward he shall kill the burnt offering : ²⁰ and the priest shall ^aoffer the burnt offering and the meal offering upon the altar : and the priest shall make atonement for him, and he shall be clean.</i> ²¹ <i>And if he be poor, and cannot ^aget so much, then he shall take one he-lamb for a guilt offering to be waved, to make atonement for him, and one ^atenth part [of an ephah] of fine flour mingled with oil for a meal offering, and a log of oil ; ²² and two turtledoves, or two young pigeons, such as he is ^aable to get ; and the one shall be a sin offering, and the other a burnt offering. ²³ And on the eighth day he shall bring them for his ^acleansing unto the priest, unto the door of the tent of meeting, before Yahweh. ²⁴ And the priest shall take the lamb of the guilt offering, and the log of oil, and the priest shall wave them for a wave offering before Yahweh : ²⁵ and he shall kill the lamb of the guilt offering, and the priest shall take of the blood of the guilt offering, and put it upon the ^atip of the right ear of him that is to be cleansed, and upon the thumb of his right hand, and upon the great toe of his right foot : ²⁶ and the priest shall pour of the oil into the palm of his own left hand : ²⁷ and the priest shall sprinkle with his right finger some of the oil that is in his left hand seven times before Yahweh : ²⁸ and the priest shall put of the oil that is in his hand upon the tip of the right ear of him that is to be cleansed, and upon the thumb of his right hand, and upon the great toe of his right foot, upon the place of the blood of the guilt offering : ²⁹ and the rest ^aof the oil that is in the priest's hand he shall put upon the head of him that is to be cleansed, to make atonement for him before Yahweh. ³⁰ And he shall</i></i>	f 100 g 149 h 173 i 174 ^a j 123 k 119 ^b l 160 ^a m 141 n 88 ^c o 90 ^a p 128 q 117 r 109	
9 ⁵⁵ 17 ⁵ Num 19 ¹⁶ 26-30 26h/71 ⁵ A Cp 3 13 ⁴⁶ i 13 ²⁹ j 6 ^a k Ex 29 ² l 12 15 21 24 [†] m 4 ¹² n 17 25 28 Ex 29 ²⁰ o 16 24 ^a Ct Gen 13 ⁹ 6 p 4 ⁶ 161 ¹⁸ (2) q 5 ⁹ 832 6 r Cp 516 21-22 26h/71c s Ct 18 6 cp Ex 12 ¹⁰ Lev 7 ¹⁸			

14⁶ M 6 living.—Cp 20-22 15¹³ Num 19¹⁷.

⁸ Probably an editorial clause linking 2-8a with 9-20 in which the camp is nowhere mentioned. The 'seven days' then supply the antecedent to ⁹. But this can hardly have been the original arrangement. The recovered leper has already shaved off all his hair ^{8a}, but in ⁹ he repeats the process. Further in ⁷ he is already pronounced clean by the priest, and after the final illustrations ^{8a} he is clean (the rendering of the Hithpa ptp 'he that is to be cleansed' conveys an erroneous impression that the purgation is still in the future : it should rather be 'he that is cleansing or purging himself,' in reference to the whole process).

But in 9-20 an atonement sacrifice is further required. The ritual terminology, *meal offering*, *offer*, *guilt offering*, *wave*, *sin offering*, *most holy*, *burnt offering*, *atonement*, belongs to that of Ex 29 ; one peculiar term, however, a 'log of oil' ¹⁰, occurs in no other law. It appears probable, therefore, that later usage developed a different ceremony of purgation, and the compiler has combined the two. ¹⁰ 6 rare in P cp 110.

²¹ The analogy of similar cases elsewhere cp 14 5⁷ suggests that 21-32 is a supplement, see 12⁵⁰. This conclusion is confirmed by the independent colophon in 32.

	JE P ^a	P ^a	P ^a
		offer one of the turtledoves, or of the young pigeons, such as he is 'able to get; ³¹ 'even such as he is 'able to get, the one for a sin offering, and the other for a burnt offering, with the meal offering: and the priest shall make atonement for him that is to be cleansed before Yahweh. ³² 'This is the law of him in whom is the plague of leprosy, who is not 'able to get [that which pertaineth] to his 'cleansing.	
33-35 14j		³³ 'And Yahweh 'spake unto Moses and unto Aaron, saying, ³⁴ 'When ye 'be come into the 'land of Canaan, 'which 'I give to you for a 'possession, and I put the plague of leprosy in a house of the land of your 'possession; ³⁵ then he that owneth the house shall come and tell the priest, saying, There seemeth to me to be as it were a plague in the house: ³⁶ and the priest shall command that they 'empty the house, before the priest go in to see the plague, that all that is in the house be not made unclean: and afterward the priest shall go in to see the house: ³⁷ and he shall look on the plague, and, behold, if the plague be in the walls of the house with 'hollow strakes, 'greenish or 'reddish, and the appearance thereof be lower than the wall; ³⁸ then the priest shall go out of the house to the door of the house, and shut up the house seven days: ³⁹ and the priest shall come again the seventh day, and shall look: and, behold, if the plague be spread in the walls of the house; ⁴⁰ then the priest shall command that they 'take out the stones in which the plague is, and cast them into an unclean place 'without the city: ⁴¹ and he shall cause the house to be 'scraped within round about, and they shall pour out the mortar that they 'scrape off 'without the city into an unclean place: ⁴² and they shall take other stones, and put them in the place of those stones; and he shall take other mortar, and shall 'plaster the house. ⁴³ And if the plague come again, and break out in the house, after that he hath 'taken out the stones, and after he hath 'scraped the house, and after it is plastered; ⁴⁴ then the priest shall come in and look, and, behold, if the plague be spread in the house, it is a 'fretting leprosy in the house: it is unclean. ⁴⁵ And he shall break down the house, the stones of it, and the timber thereof, and all the mortar of the house; and he shall carry them forth 'out of the city into an unclean place. ⁴⁶ Moreover he that goeth into the house all the while that it is shut up shall be unclean until the even. ⁴⁷ And he that lieth in the house shall 'wash his clothes; and he that eateth in the house shall wash his clothes. ⁴⁸ And if the priest shall come in, and look, and, behold, the plague hath not spread in the house, after the house was plastered; then the priest shall pronounce the house clean, because the plague is healed. ⁴⁹ And he shall take to cleanse the house two birds, and 'cedar wood, and scarlet, and hyssop: ⁵⁰ and he shall kill one of the birds in an earthen vessel over 'running water: ⁵¹ and he shall take the cedar wood, and the hyssop, and the scarlet, and the living bird, and dip them in the blood of the slain bird, and in the 'running water, and sprinkle the house seven times: ⁵² and he shall cleanse the house with the blood of the bird, and with the 'running water, and with the living bird, and with the cedar wood, and with the hyssop, and with the scarlet: ⁵³ but he shall let go the living bird 'out of the city into the open field: so shall he make atonement for the house: and it shall be clean.	s 191 ^a t 4 ^a u 94 ^a v 137 ^b
54-57 14k		⁵⁴ 'This is the law for all manner of plague of leprosy, and for a scall; ⁵⁵ and for the leprosy of a garment, and for a house; ⁵⁶ and for a rising, and for a scab, and for a bright spot: ⁵⁷ 'to 'teach when it is unclean, and when it is clean: 'this is the law of leprosy.	w 130 ^a
58-61 14l		⁵⁸ 'And Yahweh 'spake unto Moses and to Aaron, saying, ⁵⁹ 'Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, When 'any man 'hath an issue out of his flesh, because of his 'issue he is 'unclean. ⁶⁰ And this shall be his uncleanness in his issue: whether his flesh 'run with his issue, or his flesh be 'stopped from his issue, it is his uncleanness. ⁶¹ Every bed whereon he that hath the issue lieth	x 188 ^b
62-65 14m			a 185 ^a b 190 ^a c 187 ^b

14³¹ This clause is absent from G & S, and is generally recognized as an intrusion, cp Dillm-Ryss and Driv-Wh.

³³ This section is often connected with that on the leprosy of a garment 13⁴⁷⁻⁵⁰, as it contains some common terms cp ³⁷ 44. But its independence may be inferred from the circumstances (1) that it has a new introductory formula ³³, cp 13^{47N}, (2) that it adopts ⁴⁹ the mode of cleansing described in 14³²⁻³⁴, (3) that it has no colophon at 13⁵⁰. From (1) it may also be concluded that 34-53 is later than 3-32; just as the mention of atonement in 53 implies a later source than 3-34 where no atonement is needed.

⁵⁴ The elaborate regulations for the treatment of leprosy in a house conclude with a remarkable piece of ancient ritual ⁴⁹⁻⁵³, and are here considered as based upon long established usage. But the prolixity of detail implies later handling. The customary opening formula required fuller expansion to accommodate so obvious a provision for settled life in the legislation of the wilderness. Parallels will be found in other sections embodying early material, e.g. 19³³ 23¹⁰ 25². Similarly, Deut 17¹⁴ 18⁹ 26¹, though with characteristic differences in subsequent expression.

^{50-52b} M & S living.

^{52a} A new feature is here introduced in 'cleansing with the living water' which in 5. is only connected with the killing of the bird. In other respects also the description of the procedure is rather vague and confused.

⁵⁴ The colophon reflects the composite elements of 13-14 like a mirror. At first it probably consisted only of ^{57b} 'this is the law of leprosy,' which follows the regular usage, cp 188^b (15),

whereas ⁵⁴ has an unusual variant, 'the law for.' The first addition would then be ⁵⁴ (its two clauses answering to 13³²⁻³³ and 39-44 respectively) and ^{57a}. ⁵⁴, taken from 13³² verbally and referring only to 13³²⁻³³, looks like a gloss which should have been inserted before 'and for a scall' (13³²⁻³³). The clause in ^{54a} 'and for the leprosy of a garment' must also be an addition, referring to 13⁴⁷⁻⁵⁰ which has already its own colophon. The next words 'and for a house' will be the last addition. They can hardly have belonged to the previous clause, for the matter they refer to is separated from the section on the garment by 14¹⁻³², and the idiom in 54 would require 'and for the leprosy of an house.'

⁵⁷ The whole stress is here laid on the discrimination of leprosy, and no allusion is made to the ritual of cleansing. Thus it would seem that originally ⁵⁴ followed 13^{46a} and that five distinct supplements have been successively incorporated 13⁴⁷⁻⁵⁰ 14³²⁻³⁴ 14³⁵⁻⁵⁰ 14⁵¹⁻⁵³ 14⁵³⁻⁵³, the last three being, in substance at all events, much the most recent.

¹⁵ This chapter has been regarded as supplementary, or as largely modified by an editor. The tedious repetitions of leading phrases perhaps give rise to this impression. The only distinctive traces of P^a, however, lie in the allusions to the 'door of the Tent of Meeting' 14²⁹, and these may easily have been added here as elsewhere. The sacrificial ritual 14²⁹ seems parallel with that of the sin offering in 5. In the case of normal or recurrent secretions, where it would have been unnatural, it is omitted.

	JE	P ^a	P ^a	
		shall be unclean: and every thing whereon he sitteth shall be unclean. ⁵ And whosoever toucheth his bed shall wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water, and be unclean until the even. ⁶ And he that sitteth on any thing whereon he that hath the issue sat shall wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water, and be unclean until the even. ⁷ And he that toucheth the flesh of him that hath the issue shall wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water, and be unclean until the even. ⁸ And if he that hath the issue spit upon him that is clean; then he shall wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water, and be unclean until the even. ⁹ And what saddle soever he that hath the issue rideth upon shall be unclean. ¹⁰ And whosoever toucheth any thing that was under him shall be unclean until the even: and he that beareth those things shall wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water, and be unclean until the even. ¹¹ And whomsoever he that hath the issue toucheth, without having rinsed his hands in water, he shall wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water, and be unclean until the even. ¹² And the earthen vessel, which he that hath the issue toucheth, shall be broken: and every vessel of wood shall be rinsed in water. ¹³ And when he that hath an issue is cleansed of his issue, then he shall number to himself seven days for his cleansing, and wash his clothes; and he shall bathe his flesh in running water, and shall be clean. ¹⁴ And on the eighth day he shall take to him two turtledoves, or two young pigeons, and come before Yahweh unto the door of the tent of meeting, and give them unto the priest: ¹⁵ and the priest shall offer them, the one for a sin offering, and the other for a burnt offering; and the priest shall make atonement for him before Yahweh for his issue.	d 173	
18*		¹⁶ And if any man's seed of copulation go out from him, then he shall bathe all his flesh in water, and be unclean until the even. ¹⁷ And every garment, and every skin, whereon is the seed of copulation, shall be washed with water, and be unclean until the even. ¹⁸ The woman also with whom a man shall lie with seed of copulation, they shall both bathe themselves in water, and be unclean until the even.	e 42*	
9 ep 14 57		¹⁹ And if a woman have an issue, [and] her issue in her flesh be blood, she shall be in her impurity seven days: and whosoever toucheth her shall be unclean until the even. ²⁰ And every thing that she lieth upon in her impurity shall be unclean: every thing also that she sitteth upon shall be unclean. ²¹ And whosoever toucheth her bed shall wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water, and be unclean until the even. ²² And whosoever toucheth any thing that she sitteth upon shall wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water, and be unclean until the even. ²³ And if it be on the bed, or on any thing whereon she sitteth, when he toucheth it, he shall be unclean until the even. ²⁴ And if any man lie with her, and her impurity be upon him, he shall be unclean seven days; and every bed whereon he lieth shall be unclean.	f 117	
7. 22 10 ²⁰ 22 ⁴ Num 5 ^{15†}		²⁵ And if a woman have an issue of her blood many days not in the time of her impurity, or if she have an issue beyond the time of her impurity; all the days of the issue of her uncleanness she shall be as in the days of her impurity: she is unclean. ²⁶ Every bed whereon she lieth all the days of her issue shall be unto her as the bed of her impurity: and every thing whereon she sitteth shall be unclean, as the uncleanness of her impurity. ²⁷ And whosoever toucheth those things shall be unclean, and shall wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water, and be unclean until the even. ²⁸ But if she be cleansed of her issue, then she shall number to herself seven days, and after that she shall be clean. ²⁹ And on the eighth day she shall take unto her two turtledoves, or two young pigeons, and bring them unto the priest, to the door of the tent of meeting. ³⁰ And the priest shall offer the one for a sin offering, and the other for a burnt offering; and the	g 190*	

18⁹ M Or, carriage.—1 Kings 5⁴ Cant 3^{10†} et Gen 4¹² Ex 14²⁵.

18 M & living.

19 20 M Or, separation.—P 122.

	JE P ^r	P ^r	P ^r
	priest shall make atonement for her before Yahweh for the issue of her uncleanness.		
i Num 5 ³ 19 ¹³ 35 ³⁴	³¹ Thus shall ye ^r separate the children of Israel from their uncleanness ; ^b that they die not in their uncleanness, when they ^d defile my ^r Dwelling that is in the midst of them.		h 58 ^a
j 20 ¹⁸ op 12 ²⁰	³² ^r This is the law of him that hath an issue, and of him whose seed of copulation goeth from him, so that he is unclean thereby ; ³³ and of her that is ^r sick with her impurity, and of him that hath an issue, of the ^r man, and of the woman, and of him that lieth with her that is unclean.		i 107 ^a
1-24 Lyyb qhb a 10 ¹⁻⁷ 2-28 Lyyas	¹⁶ ^r And Yahweh spake unto Moses, after the death of the two sons of Aaron, ^a when they drew near before Yahweh, and died ; ² ^r and Yahweh said unto Moses, Speak unto Aaron thy brother, that he come not at all times into the ^r holy place within the ^r veil, ^b before the ^r covering which is upon the ark ; that he ^d die not : for I will ^r appear in the cloud upon the covering.		a 88 ^a b 171 c 47 d 52 ^a
b 61 ⁴ 9 ⁵ q c Ex 16 ¹⁰ d Op 4 ³ e Lxxc	³ ^r Hereunto shall Aaron come into the holy place : with a young bullock for a ^d sin offering, and a ram for a burnt offering. ⁴ ^r He shall put on the holy linen coat, and he shall have the linen breeches upon his flesh, and shall be girded with the linen girdle, and with the linen ^r mitre shall he be attired : they are the ^r holy garments ; and he shall ^r bathe his flesh in water, and put them on. ⁵ And he shall take of the ^r congregation of the children of Israel two ^r he-goats for a sin offering, and one ram for a burnt offering.		e 174 ^a f 45
e Ex 28 ⁴	⁶ And Aaron shall present the bullock of the sin offering, which is for himself, and make atonement for himself, and for his house. ⁷ And he shall take the two goats, and ^r set them before Yahweh at the ^r door of the tent of meeting. ⁸ And Aaron shall cast ^r lots upon the two goats ; one lot for Yahweh, and the other lot for ^r Azazel. ⁹ And Aaron shall present the goat upon which the lot ^r fell for Yahweh, and ^r offer him for a sin offering. ¹⁰ But the goat, on which the lot fell for Azazel, shall be ^r set alive before Yahweh, to make atonement ^r for him, to send him away for Azazel into the wilderness. ¹¹ And Aaron shall present the bullock of the sin offering, which is for himself, and shall make atonement for himself, and for his house, and shall kill the bullock of the sin offering which is for himself : ¹² ^r and he shall take a ^r censer full of coals of fire from off the altar before Yahweh, and his ^r hands full of ^r sweet incense beaten small, and bring it within the veil : ¹³ and he shall put the incense upon the fire before Yahweh, that the cloud of the incense may cover the covering that is upon the ^r testimony, that he ^d die not :		g 141 h 111 ^b i 106
f 4 ²⁸			
g q = came up Joah 18 ¹¹ 19 ¹⁰ A Cp Ex 29 ³⁶ q 117			
13 Lymb i Ex 27 ³ j Ex 9 ⁶ k Ex 25 ⁶			j 161

15^{31a} Cp Num 6². Hiph Lev 22³ Niph* cp Ezek 14⁵ 7. But Sam reads וְהוֹדִיעָם, which seems also to lie behind ὁ ἐλάβετο τοὺς ἁγίους, and ὁ δόξαβη, cp Ex 15³⁰. This reading on the whole supports those who find an ancient flavour in this verse.

^{31b} T tabernacle cp 54^b. In what sense is the Dwelling to be understood? It has been often interpreted of the fabric of the sanctuary described in Ex 25-30. But it seems rather to denote the gracious inhabitation of the land by its divine Lord cp 26¹¹ Num 5³ 35³⁴ (cp Introd XIII 38 i 129). In that case the passage would belong to a stage when the outward structure had not yet been invested with the dignity belonging to it in P^r.

³² The colophon by its conformity to type cp 114^{6a} confirms the ascription of the chapter to a cycle of *toroth* anterior to P^r. But the wording seems redundant, and ^{33b} perhaps betrays irregular additions. In ³² ^{33a} the references are clear to 2-15 16-18 19-24. But ^{33b} includes 2-15 afresh as well as 23-30 while there seems no special reason for the allusion to ²⁴ in the last words. The change of construction in the final clause deserves notice ; is וְיָשָׁא parallel to ' in 14⁵⁴, or is it attracted by וְיָשָׁא?

¹⁶ This important chapter has been much discussed (cp Benzinger, ZATW 1889 65-89, Cheyne, ZATW 1895 153 ; cp Addis, Hez ii 330, and Driv-Wh, Lev 79). For its historical relations see Introd XIII 118 i 156. The more drastic suggestions for its disintegration have failed to carry general conviction, but it is hard to believe it homogeneous. The following is offered as a probable account of its literary history. (1) The kernel is found in the directions for the cleansing of the inner sanctuary, the Tent of Meeting, and the altar cp 20, and for an atonement for the people cp 21 on the occasion (left undefined) of Aaron's entering within the veil. This is assigned to P^r,

because (a) the term 'the altar' ¹² 18 20 25 is used throughout as though it were the only one ; (b) the censer is employed ¹². so as to exclude the presence of the golden altar, only the great altar of burnt offering having fire always upon it 6². (cp Dillm) ; 'before Yahweh' ¹² as in ¹⁵ 13 cp 4⁶ ; (c) the ritual in no degree transcends Ex 29 or Lev 9, where it is parallel with them. The ritual terminology includes the usual words *burnt offering, sin offering, make atonement, present, cleanse, uncleanness, hallow, &c.*

(2) An introductory verse has been prefixed, connecting the need for atonement with the death of Aaron's sons, and by a series of systematic alterations and additions ³ 6 11 14 17b &c, a special element of atonement for Aaron and his house has been introduced throughout the course of the ritual. As this is not mentioned in ¹⁶ and ²⁰, this personal element would seem not to be original, and this impression is confirmed by the awkwardness of the allusions in ³ and ⁶. The words and clauses suspected as additions are, as far as possible, printed in small type. But the assimilation is very thorough, and may be very early. On the other hand, the sevenfold aspersion ¹⁴ 19 usually belongs elsewhere to P^r (4⁶ 17 811¹⁴ 14⁷ 16 27 51 Num 19⁴⁷) ; and the increase in the personal dignity and importance of the high priest points in the same direction. (3) The ceremonial is to be repeated at the consecration of every high priest ^{32b}. (4) It is made an annual fast day ²⁹.

³ The introduction of Aaron's sin offering and burnt offering seems somewhat premature here, before he is robed ⁴. Subsequently ⁶ is repeated in ¹¹, so that the place of Aaron's own sacrifice in the ceremony is doubtful. The passages seem best explained as later additions to the text.

⁴ M Or, turban.

⁸ M Or, dismissal.

¹⁰ M Or, over.

[illegible]

16¹⁷ Not a P^s phrase, cp Josh 8^{35*}. 21 M Or, *appointed*.—5†.
29 In 29–31 ³⁴ a yearly fast day is enjoined. The character of the ceremony seems here to have altered. All reference to the cleansing of the holy place, the tent of meeting, and the altar is omitted. The stonement for the children of Israel because of all their sins ³⁴ is the great transaction to be repeated once in the year. These verses are hardly from the hand of the first author of the ritual.

³² This paragraph is clearly inserted to provide that Aaron's

successors should do as he had done. But the generality of the terms and the absence of any Aaron phrases indicate that it is not original. The terminology also has changed: 'the holy place'¹⁸, ²⁰ has become the 'holy sanctuary'; 'the priests'²³ take the place of 'himself and his house'¹¹ ^{17b}. The regulations are here viewed as an earlier insertion than ²⁰., and as applying to the day of consecration: but they might have been added later to provide the omitted reference to other acts of atonement, and to declare explicitly the continuous right and duty of the high-priest.

JE P ^b	P ^c	P ^d
* Cp 4 ²⁶ §	34 ^a "And this shall be an everlasting statute unto you, to make atonement for the children of Israel because of all their sins once in the year.	r 189 ^a
1-7 17 ^a P:	34 ^b "And he did as Yahweh commanded Moses.	a 185 ^a
10 ^a 11 ^a	17 ¹ "And Yahweh spake unto Moses, saying, ² Speak unto Aaron, and unto his sons, and unto all the children of Israel, and say unto them; 'This is the thing which Yahweh hath commanded, saying, ³ What man soever there be of the house of Israel, that killeth an ox, or lamb, or goat, in the camp, or that killeth it without the camp, ⁴ and hath not brought it unto the door of the tent of meeting, to offer it as an oblation unto Yahweh before the Dwelling of Yahweh: blood shall be imputed unto that man; he hath shed blood; and that man shall be cut off from among his people: ⁵ to the end that the children of Israel may bring their sacrifices, which they sacrifice in the open field, even that they may bring them unto Yahweh, unto the door of the tent of meeting, unto the priest, and sacrifice them for sacrifices of peace offerings unto Yahweh. ⁶ And the priest shall sprinkle the blood upon the altar of Yahweh at the door of the tent of meeting, and burn the fat for a sweet savour unto Yahweh. ⁷ And they shall no more sacrifice their sacrifices unto the he-goats, after whom they go a whoring. This shall be a statute for ever unto them throughout their generations.	b 12 ^a c 188 ^a d 218 ^a e 200 ^a f 190 ^a g 117 ^a h 118 ^a i 118 ^a j 197 ^a
a 8 10 22 ¹⁸	8 "And thou shalt say unto them, 'Whatsoever man there be of the house of Israel, or of the strangers that sojourn among them, that offereth a burnt offering or sacrifice, ⁹ and bringeth it not unto the door of the tent of meeting, to sacrifice it unto Yahweh; even that man shall be cut off from his people.	k 209 ^a l 118 ^a m 148 ^a n 37 ^a o 158 ^a
Ezek 14 4 7 ^a	10 "And whatsoever man there be of the house of Israel, or of the strangers that sojourn among them, that eateth any manner of blood; I will set my face against that soul that eateth blood, and will cut him off from among his people. ¹¹ For the life of the flesh is in the blood: and I have given it to you upon the altar to make atonement for your souls: for it is the blood that maketh atonement by reason of the life.	p 60 ^a q 76 ^a
b Ex 16 ²¹ 12 ^b	12 "Therefore I said unto the children of Israel, No soul of you shall eat blood, neither shall any stranger that sojourneth among you eat blood.	r 145 ^a
c 12 cp Num 187 ³⁰	13 And whatsoever man there be of the children of Israel, or of the strangers that sojourn among them, which taketh in hunting any beast or fowl that may be eaten; he shall pour out the blood thereof, and cover it with dust. ¹⁴ For as to the life of all flesh, the blood thereof is [all one] with the life thereof: therefore I said unto the children of Israel, Ye shall eat the blood of no manner of flesh: for the life of all flesh is the blood thereof: whosoever eateth it shall be cut off.	s 50 ^a
d Gen 9 ⁶		t 212 ^a u 146 ^a v 197 ^a w 94 ^a x 25 ^a
e 14 53 Num 191 ⁶		y 21 ^b
f 3 ^a		
g Cp 216		
h 3 ^a 5		
i 19 ²⁹ 20 ^b Num 15 ³⁹ Ex 34 ^{1b} Deut 31 ¹⁶ Ezek 20 ³⁰		
j 14 22 ^a		
k 17 ^a 18 ^a 10 ^a 11 ^a		
l 14 30 cp 12 ¹⁰		
m Cp Ex 20 ²⁴ Lev 22 ¹⁸ 21		
n 14 16 ^a i		
o Gen 9 ⁴ Deut 12 ²³		
p 14 Num 18 ²⁴		
q 17 ²³		
r Cp Deut 12 ¹⁶ 24 Ezek 24 ⁷		
s Cp Ex 31 ¹⁴ §		

16^{34a} This clause may have stood originally between 30 and 31.

34^b This statement must have belonged to the earlier injunctions, where a single ceremony was imposed upon Aaron, without mention of any repetition.

17¹ At this point the so-called 'Holiness Code' 17-26 begins. It is here designated P^b. On its name and general characteristics see *Introd* XIII 8 i 143. The variety of its contents, and its frequent repetitions, show that it has been compiled from various sources, not always in complete agreement with each other. It has been the task of R^p to harmonize as far as possible any conflicting data; thus in 17 the opening words bear the plainest marks of P^c, and must, as elsewhere, be assigned to the editor who combined P^b with P^c. The association of priesthood and laity in legislative address is exceedingly rare in P cp 22¹⁸.

3 Like D Deut 12¹, P^b opens with a ritual law 3-9. This is itself in two parts 3-7 and 8, which have a common aim. 3-7 in its present form lays down three rules: (1) no slaughter of domestic animals may take place without sacrifice; (2) sacrifice may be offered only to Yahweh; (3) and only at the central sanctuary. 8 repeats (2) and (3). The whole has been adapted to the camp-scheme of legislation by R^p, to whom the enunciation of the third principle seems due. P^b does not elsewhere speak of the Dwelling in its technical sense, or refer to the 'entrance of the tent of meeting.' The recurrence of this phrase in both laws 3 and 8 shows it to be editorial. For comparison with other codes see *Laws* as noted in the margin. On the general implications of this enactment and its relative antiquity

compared with the fundamental conception of D see *Introd* i 146, and cp *Driv-Wh*, Lev 85 (only available when the *Introd* and notes had been completed): the slight difference in the view of the stages of the text turns on the use of the 'Dwelling.'

4 T *tabernacle*, cp 54^a. The parallel with the 'tent of meeting' seems to make it clear that this term is here used in the sense of the Levitical sanctuary, and not in its ideal meaning cp 15³¹. In that case the clause is an editorial addition founded on Ex 25¹: P^b only knows of the sanctuary 21¹².

5 The whole of this verse may be secondary, cp the ritual in 15. On the other hand the ceremony was no doubt ancient, though its specification is hardly after the manner of P^b.

7 M Or, *satyr*.—Is 13²¹ 34¹⁴ f.

8 The peculiar opening of this verse 'and to them thou shalt say,' addressed to the laity cp 20², suggests that the following passage has lost some of its original context. In 8 there seems clearly a doublet of 2b-7: the instructions are rather more developed; the law applies to non-Israelites as well as to the house of Israel; the altar gifts include burnt offering as well as peace offering 8. In 10-16 it must be doubtful whether the prohibition of eating with blood cp 19²⁶ is continuous with 3-7 or with 8. The reference to the strangers in 10¹³ points to the same source as in 8; in any case, the editorial work in 10-16 is better assimilated than in 3-7, and cannot be isolated with certainty.

13 Some § MSS and Sam read 'house.' On the other hand § has 'children' (sons) in 8 10 as well as in this passage.

JE ^{P^h}	P ^e	P ^r
15 L ^{60c} q 7 ²⁴ 22 ⁸ Ex 22 ³¹ r 11 ²³	15 ¹⁵ And every ¹⁶ soul that eateth ¹⁷ that which dieth of itself, or that which is ¹⁸ torn of beasts, ¹⁹ whether he be ²⁰ homeborn or a stranger, he shall ²¹ wash his clothes, and ²² bathe himself in water, and be ²³ unclean ²⁴ until the even: then shall he ²⁵ be clean. ²⁶ But if he wash them not, nor bathe his flesh, then he shall ²⁷ bear his iniquity.	x 35 a' 34 b' 173 c' 174 d' 167 ^a e' 42 ^a f' 193 g 185 ^a h 203 ^b i 4 ^a j 94 ^a k 217 l 199
1-5 L ^{60g}	18 ¹ ¹ And Yahweh ² spake unto Moses, saying, ³ Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, ⁴ I am Yahweh your God. ⁵ After the doings of the land of Egypt, wherein ye dwell, shall ye not do: and after the doings of the ⁶ land of Canaan, whither ⁷ I bring you, shall ye not do: neither shall ye ⁸ walk in their statutes. ⁹ My judgements shall ye ¹⁰ do, and my statutes shall ye ¹¹ keep, to walk therein: ¹² I am Yahweh your God. ¹³ Ye shall therefore ¹⁴ keep my statutes, and my judgements: which if a man do, he shall live ¹⁵ in them: ¹⁶ I am Yahweh.	g 203 ^a h 218 i 204 j 215
6-18 L ⁶⁰ⁱ	17 ⁶ None of you shall approach to any that is near of ⁷ kin to him, to ⁸ uncover [their] nakedness: ⁹ I am Yahweh. ¹⁰ The nakedness of thy father, even the nakedness of thy mother, shalt thou not uncover: she is thy mother; thou shalt not uncover her nakedness. ¹¹ The nakedness of thy father's wife shalt thou not uncover: it is thy father's nakedness. ¹² The nakedness of thy sister, the daughter of thy father, or the daughter of thy mother, whether ¹³ born at home, or ¹⁴ born abroad, even their nakedness thou shalt not uncover. ¹⁵ The nakedness of thy son's daughter, or of thy daughter's daughter, even their nakedness thou shalt not uncover: for theirs is thine own nakedness. ¹⁶ The nakedness of thy father's wife's daughter, ¹⁷ begotten of thy father, she is thy sister, thou shalt not uncover her nakedness. ¹⁸ Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy father's sister: she is thy father's ¹⁹ near kinswoman. ²⁰ Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy mother's sister: for she is thy mother's ²¹ near kinswoman. ²² Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy father's brother, thou shalt not approach to his wife: she is thine ²³ aunt. ²⁴ Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy daughter in law: she is thy son's wife; thou shalt not uncover her nakedness. ²⁵ Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy brother's wife: it is thy brother's nakedness. ²⁶ Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of a woman and her daughter; thou shalt not take her son's daughter, or her daughter's daughter, to uncover her nakedness; they are ²⁷ near kinswomen: it is ²⁸ wickedness. ²⁹ And thou shalt not take a woman to her sister, to be a ³⁰ rival [to her], to uncover her nakedness, beside the other in her life time. ³¹ And thou shalt not approach unto a woman to uncover her nakedness, as long as she is ³² impure by her ³³ uncleanness. ³⁴ And thou shalt not ³⁵ lie carnally with thy ³⁶ neighbour's wife, to ³⁷ defile thyself with her. ³⁸ And thou shalt not give any of thy seed ³⁹ to make them pass through [the fire] to Molech, ⁴⁰ neither shalt thou ⁴¹ profane the name of thy God: ⁴² I am Yahweh. ⁴³ Thou shalt not lie with mankind, ⁴⁴ as with womankind: it is ⁴⁵ abomination. ⁴⁶ And thou shalt not ⁴⁷ lie with any ⁴⁸ beast to ⁴⁹ defile thyself therewith: neither shall any woman stand before a beast, to ⁵⁰ lie down thereto: it is ⁵¹ confusion.	k 220 l 139 m 167 ^c n 206 o 167 ^d
a Cp 11 §†		p 210 q 192
b 20 ²⁰ Ex 6 ²⁰ †		r 205 s 167 ^a
c Cp 1 Sam 16 19 L ^{61d}		
20 L ^{61A} d 23 20 ¹⁵ Num 20 ³¹ 21 L ^{61b} 21b L ⁶⁰ⁱ 22 L ^{61c} 23 20 ¹⁸ f 20 ¹⁸ Ex 22 ¹⁹		
g 20 ¹⁹ †		
24-30 L ^{61A} 11p		
A 20 ²³ 25. L ^{62m} i Ex 20 ⁵ 32 ²⁴ 34 ⁷		

17^{15a} An appendix, which is probably from the compiler's hand. The law is more rigorous than that of Deut 14²¹. The 'stranger' who may there buy the food which would pollute an Israelite, here incurs the same uncleanness, and needs the same purification cp 19²⁴ 24²².

18³ The hortatory introduction in 2^{b-5} has several parallels in P^h, especially in the form of closing admonitions cp 24³⁰ 19²⁷ 20²²⁻²⁴ 22³¹⁻³³ 25¹⁸ 33, and on a more extended scale 26³⁻⁴⁵.

5 M Or, *by*.—Cp Ezek 20¹¹ 13²¹.

7 The laws in 6¹⁹ find a curious parallel within P^h in 20¹¹⁻²¹: on the relation between the two groups see 20²⁸. It is possible that the general introduction in 6, with its plural address, may be due to the writer of 2^{b-5} (Baentsch).

17 M Or, *enormity*.

19 M Or, *separated for*.

21 M Or, *to set them apart to Molech*.—Cp 20² Ex 13¹² Deut 18¹⁰ Jer 32³¹ Ezek 20²¹ 23³⁷ 2 Kings 16³ 17¹⁷ 21⁶. This verse so clearly interrupts the context 20²², that it can hardly be in its original place. The link of association which has led to its insertion here is probably founded on the figure of harlotry applied to the Molech cult 20². The refrain 'I am Yahweh' would more naturally point to the series in 19 cp 19¹²..

24 For this concluding exhortation cp 38. The whole passage implies considerable expansion, in the adaptation of earlier materials. Thus the verbs in 25 are really all in the past tense, 'and the land was defiled... and I visited... and the land vomited'... as though a passage of retrospect had been converted into prophecy cp 20²³. Perhaps 24 and 30 are nearest to their original form. In 29 the editor drops the conception of national punishment for individual doom cp 17⁷...

	JE P ^b	P ^c	P ^d
j Cp 20 ²² .			
k 20 ⁴ 2615 JE61 2b L117 3a L124 a Ct Ex 20 ¹² cp 200 2b L9be b 30 263 Ex 31 ¹⁸ ct Ex 20 ⁸ 4 L5bi c Ex 34 ¹⁷ 5-8 L701 d 5 = sacrifice 239 e Ct 715-18 f 715 Ezek 414 1a 654 ⁴ ct 1823 5 9 L21c g 2322 Deut 24 ¹⁹ h 2322 Gen 47 ¹⁴ i 2322 j Deut 24 ²¹ Psalm k 5 l 1a L221 l Ex 20 ¹⁵ 11b L4f m 63 n 63 12 L50: o Cp Ex 20 ⁷ 16 12a L22c p 62 4 Deut 24 ¹⁴ 2329 33 ^a q 62 4 Ezek 18 ⁷ 12 1a 12b L4g 20 ⁵ r 5 s Deut 24 ¹⁴ 14 L22b t Cp Deut 27 ¹⁸ 15 L40g u 58 Deut 25 ¹⁶ 324 ^a Jer 25 Ezek 188 33 ¹⁸ (10) v Ex 23 ⁸ w 52 Ex 23 ³⁰ 16 L4f x 5 Jer 9 ⁴ Ezek 22 ⁹ y Cp Ex 23 ⁷ 17 L2bc z Gen 4 ¹⁵ a' 5 cp Jer 3 ⁵ 12 Ps 103 ⁹ b' Cp 84 19 L21 c' Deut 22 ⁹ d' Deut 22 ¹¹	land 'vomiteth out her inhabitants. ²⁶ 'Ye therefore shall 'keep my 'statutes and my judgements, and shall not do any of these 'abominations; neither the 'homeborn, nor the 'stranger that sojourneth among you: ²⁷ (for all these 'abominations have the men of the land done, which were before you, and the land is defiled;) ²⁸ that the land 'vomit not you out also, when ye defile it, as it vomited out the nation that was before you. ²⁹ For whosoever shall do any of these 'abominations, even the 'souls that do them shall be 'cut off from among their people. ³⁰ Therefore shall ye 'keep my charge, that ye do 'not any of these 'abominable 'statutes, which were done before you, and that ye defile not yourselves therein: ^b I am Yahweh your God. 19 ¹ And Yahweh 'spake unto Moses, saying, ² Speak unto all the 'congregation of the children of Israel, and say unto them, ³ 'Ye shall 'be holy: for 'I Yahweh your God am holy. ³ 'Ye shall 'fear every man his mother, and his father, ² and ye shall 'keep my 'sabbaths: 'I am Yahweh your God. ⁴ 'Turn ye not unto 'idols, nor make to yourselves 'molten gods: 'I am Yahweh your God. ⁵ 'And when ye 'offer a 'sacrifice of peace offerings unto Yahweh, ye shall 'offer it that ye may be 'accepted. ⁶ It shall be eaten the same day ye offer it, and on the 'morrow: and if aught remain until the third day, it shall be 'burnt with fire. ⁷ And if it be eaten at all on the third day, it is an 'abomination; it shall not be 'accepted: ⁸ but every one that eateth it shall 'bear his iniquity, because he hath 'profaned the holy thing of Yahweh: ^a and that 'soul shall be cut off from his people. ⁹ 'And 'when ye reap the harvest of your land, thou shalt not wholly reap the corners of thy field, neither shalt thou 'gather the 'gleaning of thy harvest. ¹⁰ And thou shalt not 'glean thy vineyard, neither shalt thou 'gather the 'fallen fruit of thy vineyard; thou shalt 'leave them for the poor and for the stranger: 'I am Yahweh your God. ¹¹ 'Ye shall not 'steal; 'neither shall ye 'deal falsely, nor 'lie one to 'another. ¹² 'And ye shall not swear by my name 'falsely, so that thou 'profane the name of thy God: 'I am Yahweh. ¹³ 'Thou shalt not 'oppress thy neighbour, nor 'rob him: ² the 'wages of a 'hired servant shall not abide with thee all night until the morning. ¹⁴ 'Thou shalt not curse the deaf, nor put a stumbling-block before the 'blind, but thou shalt 'fear thy God: 'I am Yahweh. ¹⁵ 'Ye shall do no 'unrighteousness in judgement: thou shalt not 'respect the person of the poor, nor 'honour the person of the mighty: but in righteousness shalt thou judge thy 'neighbour. ¹⁶ 'Thou shalt not go up and down as a 'talebearer among thy 'people: neither shalt thou stand against the 'blood of thy neighbour: 'I am Yahweh. ¹⁷ 'Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thine 'heart: thou shalt surely rebuke thy 'neigh- bour, and not 'bear sin because of him. ¹⁸ Thou shalt not take 'vengeance, nor 'bear any grudge against the children of thy people, but thou shalt 'love thy neighbour as thyself: 'I am Yahweh. ¹⁹ Ye shall 'keep my statutes. 'Thou shalt not let thy cattle 'gender with a 'diverse kind: thou shalt not sow thy field with 'two kinds of seed: neither shall there come upon thee a garment of 'two kinds of 'stuff mingled together.	t 216 u 213 v 24 w 145 ^b x 146 y 197 ^b z 39 ^b a 185 ^a b 45 c 202 d 203 ^c e 211 f 203 ^b g 214 h 118 ¹ i 17 ^b j 38 k 17 ^a l 193 m 210 n 50 ^a o 206 p 210 ^a q 203 ^a r 200 ^a s 208 t 201 u 199 v 205	

18³⁰ So 5 as in 3. T customs. Cp 20²³.

19² The collection of laws in 19 is introduced and closed by brief exhortations showing affinities with 18²⁻⁷ and 24-30. But the contents are not confined to a single topic, and their variety clearly points to diversity of source. Thus (1) some precepts are repeated 3b and 30a, 14b and 32b, 15a and 35a; (2) the peculiar term 'neighbour' 11 15 17 alternates curiously with the common 'brother' 13 16 18; (3) the ritual passage 5-8 does not seem to belong by subject to the rest of the religious moral and social legislation of the context; its incongruity with 7¹⁵⁻¹⁸ makes it indeed improbable that it is an editorial insertion of the type of 21, but it may rather be taken as belonging to a group of cultus laws of which traces remain in 21-22 retouched by a later hand; (4) the alternate predominance of the singular 'thou' 13-19 and the plural 'ye' 2-12 and 23-37 seems partly due to

difference of origin. The materials may be to some extent of ancient date, as they have analogies with regulations in several codes where the same subjects have been treated; thus (1) with the Ten Words 3. 11.; (2) with the Book of Judgements (Ex 21-23) 13. 33.; further points of contact exist (3) with J 4 9 20 29, and (4) with D 9 10 13 15 19 26 28 31 33 35; while the phraseology often resembles that of Jer and Ezek (besides Ph words) 7 13 15. 18 20 35. The signs of arrangement into groups are discussed by Briggs, *Higher Crit.* 245 ff. and more fully by Paton, *Orig. Form of Lev* 17-19; analogy has been found in 3-8 to the laws of the first table of the Decalogue; and in 9-20 to those of the second.

4 M. 5 things of nought. See Jer 14¹⁴.—Cp Is 2¹⁸ 20 10¹⁰, 19¹ 31⁷ Ezek 30¹³ al.

8 The formula seems an editorial addition cp 50^a: ct 17^a. 22³, where the phraseology is different.

JE	P ^b	P ^c	P ^d
20 L ¹ ad t	20 ¹ And "whosoever lieth 'carnally with a woman, that is a 'bondmaid,		w 190 ^c
e' 15 ¹⁶ 22 ⁴ Num	"betrothed to an husband, and not at all "redeemed, nor "freedom given		
f' 15 ¹⁷	her; "they shall be punished; they shall not be put to death, because she		
g' 15 ¹⁸	was not 'free. 21 ¹ And he shall bring his 'guilt offering unto Yahweh, unto the door of the		
h' Op Ex 21 ⁸	tent of meeting, even a ram for a guilt offering. 22 ¹ And the priest shall make atonement for him with		
i' 15 ¹⁹	the ram of the guilt offering before Yahweh for his sin which he hath sinned: and he shall be		
j' Cp 6 ⁶	forgiven 'for his sin which he hath sinned. 23 ¹ And "when ye shall come into the		x 191
k' 15 ²⁰	land, and shall have planted all manner of 'trees for food, then ye shall		y 166
l' Cp Gen 2 ⁹ 3 ⁶	count the fruit thereof as their 'uncircumcision: three years shall they		
	be as uncircumcised unto you; it shall not be eaten. 24 ¹ But in the fourth		
m' Judg 9 ²⁷ †	year all the fruit thereof shall be 'holy, for "giving praise unto Yahweh.		
n' Ex 23 ¹⁰	25 ¹ And in the fifth year shall ye eat of the fruit thereof, that it may yield		
o' Cp 17 ¹⁰	unto you the "increase thereof: 'I am Yahweh your God. 26 ¹ Ye shall		
p' Gen 30 ²⁷ 44 ⁵	not 'eat any thing "with the blood: 'neither shall ye 'use enchantments,		
q' Deut 18 ¹⁰ 18 ¹⁰	nor 'practise augury. 27 ¹ Ye shall not "round the corners of your heads,		
r' Is 2 ⁴	neither shalt thou mar the corners of thy beard. 28 ¹ Ye shall not make any		
s' Ct Josh 6 ³ 11 ¹	'cuttings in your flesh for the "dead, nor print any 'marks upon you:		a' 198
t' 15 ²¹	'I am Yahweh. 29 ¹ Profane not thy daughter, to make her a harlot; lest		b' 210
u' 15 ²²	the "land fall to "whoredom, and the land become full of "wickedness.		
v' 15 ²³	30 ¹ Ye shall 'keep my 'sabbaths, 'and 'reverence my sanctuary: 'I am		
w' 15 ²⁴	Yahweh. 31 ¹ Turn ye not unto them that have "familiar spirits, nor		
x' 15 ²⁵	unto the "wizards; seek them not out, to be 'defiled by them: 'I am		
y' 15 ²⁶	Yahweh your God. 32 ¹ Thou shalt "rise up before the hoary head, and		
z' 15 ²⁷	"honour the face of the old man, and thou shalt 'fear thy God: 'I am		
aa' 15 ²⁸	Yahweh. 33 ¹ And if a stranger sojourn with thee in your land, ye shall		
ab' 15 ²⁹	not do him "wrong. 34 ¹ The "stranger that sojourneth with you shall be		
ac' 15 ³⁰	unto you as the "homeborn among you, and thou shalt 'love him as		
ad' 15 ³¹	thyself; 'for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt: 'I am Yahweh your		
ae' 15 ³²	God. 35 ¹ Ye shall do no "unrighteousness in judgement, in "meteyard, in		
af' 15 ³³	"weight, or in "measure. 36 ¹ Just "balances, just "weights, a just "ephah,		
ag' 15 ³⁴	and a just "hin, shall ye have: 'I am Yahweh your God, "which brought		
ah' 15 ³⁵	you out of the land of Egypt. 37 ¹ And ye shall "observe all my statutes,		
ai' 15 ³⁶	and all my judgements, and do them: 'I am Yahweh.		
aj' 15 ³⁷	20 ¹ And Yahweh "spake unto Moses, saying, 2 ¹ Moreover, thou shalt say to the children		
ak' 15 ³⁸	of Israel, "Whosoever he be of the children of Israel, "or of the "strangers		
al' 15 ³⁹	that sojourn in Israel, that "giveth of his seed unto Molech; he shall		
am' 15 ⁴⁰	surely be put to death: the "people of the land shall "stone him with		
an' 15 ⁴¹	stones. 3 ¹ I also will 'set my face against that man, and will 'cut him off		
ao' 15 ⁴²	from among his people; because he hath given of his seed unto Molech, to		
ap' 15 ⁴³	'defile my 'sanctuary, and to 'profane my holy name. 4 ¹ And if the 'people		
aq' 15 ⁴⁴	of the land do any ways 'hide their eyes from that man, when he giveth of his seed		
ar' 15 ⁴⁵	unto Molech, and put him 'not to death: 5 ¹ then I will 'set my face against that		
as' 15 ⁴⁶	man, and against his 'family, and will 'cut him off, and all that 'go a whoring		
at' 15 ⁴⁷	after him, to commit whoredom with Molech, from among their people. 6 ¹ And		
au' 15 ⁴⁸	the 'soul that "turneth unto them that have "familiar spirits, and unto the		
av' 15 ⁴⁹			
aw' 15 ⁵⁰			
ax' 15 ⁵¹			
ay' 15 ⁵²			
az' 15 ⁵³			
ba' 15 ⁵⁴			
bb' 15 ⁵⁵			
bc' 15 ⁵⁶			
bd' 15 ⁵⁷			
be' 15 ⁵⁸			
bf' 15 ⁵⁹			
bg' 15 ⁶⁰			
bh' 15 ⁶¹			
bi' 15 ⁶²			
bj' 15 ⁶³			
bk' 15 ⁶⁴			
bl' 15 ⁶⁵			
bm' 15 ⁶⁶			
bn' 15 ⁶⁷			
bo' 15 ⁶⁸			
bp' 15 ⁶⁹			
bq' 15 ⁷⁰			
br' 15 ⁷¹			
bs' 15 ⁷²			
bt' 15 ⁷³			
bu' 15 ⁷⁴			
bv' 15 ⁷⁵			
bw' 15 ⁷⁶			
bx' 15 ⁷⁷			
by' 15 ⁷⁸			
bz' 15 ⁷⁹			
ca' 15 ⁸⁰			
cb' 15 ⁸¹			
cc' 15 ⁸²			
cd' 15 ⁸³			
ce' 15 ⁸⁴			
cf' 15 ⁸⁵			
cg' 15 ⁸⁶			
ch' 15 ⁸⁷			
ci' 15 ⁸⁸			
cj' 15 ⁸⁹			
ck' 15 ⁹⁰			
cl' 15 ⁹¹			
cm' 15 ⁹²			
cn' 15 ⁹³			
co' 15 ⁹⁴			
cp' 15 ⁹⁵			
cq' 15 ⁹⁶			
cr' 15 ⁹⁷			
cs' 15 ⁹⁸			
ct' 15 ⁹⁹			
cu' 15 ¹⁰⁰			

19²⁰ M. 15 there shall be inquisition.—15†.

21 The incongruity of 21. with the context is obvious. The language is that of 4-6† cp 420 6†; but the source of the insertion cannot be determined.

26 Cp 17¹⁴. In the text 15 reads literally 'on the blood' as in Ezek 33²⁰; cp Ezek 18⁶ 29⁹ as corrected by W R Smith, *Rel of Sem* 324; Smend, *AT Rel Gesch* 313; Bertholet hesitates; Toy, *Ezek* (in Haupt's *SBOT*), concurs. 29 M. Or, enormity.—Cp 220.

20²² A fresh collection of precepts for the laity is here opened. The contents are less varied than those of 19, as they deal only with different forms of spiritual and sexual unchastity 2-7 and 8-21. The order of the opening words 'And to the children of Israel thou shalt say' recalls 17† cp the subsequent formulae with 17¹⁵. The prohibition of the Molech rites 20-5 seems like an expansion of 18^{21a} (which appears out of place in its present context); while 6 finds a supplement in 27 which has been left out of the collection and added afterwards at the close. (The fundamental conception of 27, however, is not quite

identical with that of 6. RV 27 disguises the fact that the 'familiar spirit' is inside the man or woman: Driv-Wh render 'in whom is a ghost or a familiar spirit': and 6 (cp 19³¹) 'if there be any one that regards ghosts or familiar spirits.' The first section closes at 7.

28 Dillmann suggests that the phrase here and in 4 is due to R cp 4^{27a} (Num 14⁹ differently) Ezek 7²⁷ 12¹⁹ 33² 39¹³ 45²² 46⁵ 9.

4 There appears to be a contradiction between 2 and 3, inasmuch as 2 prescribes death by stoning, while 3 implies some form of divine judgement. Is this due to careless expression on the part of a single writer (Wellh) or to diversity of source (Dillm)? It is difficult to decide (a third alternative being that 2 and 4 are independent supplements to 3, here editorially amalgamated), but in 4 it is probably correct to find traces of editorial emphasis and expansion; the doom announced in 3 on the single sinner extending in 4 to his family and all who share his guilt. The style of 4 much resembles that of the editorial work in 17.

	JE P ^b	P ^c	P ^a
	26 And ye shall ^a be holy unto me; for ^b I Yahweh am holy, and have ^c separated you from the peoples, that ye should be mine.		b' 203 ^c
27 L ^g g 1-9 Cp Ex 22 ¹⁸	27 ^a A man also or a ^b woman that hath a ^c familiar spirit, or that is a ^d wizard, shall surely be put to death: they shall ^e stone them with stones: their ^f blood shall be upon them.		
27- L ^g g 1-9 L ^g g 1-4 L ^g g a Ezek 44 ²⁵	21 ¹ ^a And Yahweh said unto Moses, ^b Speak unto the priests the ^c sons of Aaron, and say unto them, ^d There shall none ^e defile himself for the ^f dead among his ^g people; ^h except for his ⁱ kin, that is near unto him, for his mother, and for his father, and for his son, and for his daughter, and for his brother; ^j and for his sister a virgin, that is near unto him, which hath had no husband, for her may he ^k defile himself. ^l He shall not ^m defile himself, ⁿ being a chief man among his ^o people, to ^p profane himself. ^q They shall not make ^r baldness upon their head, neither shall they shave off the ^s corner of their beard, nor ^t make any ^u cuttings in their flesh. ^v They shall ^w be holy unto their God, and not ^x profane the name of their God: for ^y the offerings of Yahweh made by fire, the ^z bread of their God, they do ^{aa} offer: therefore they shall ^{ab} be holy. ^{ac} They shall not take a woman that is a harlot, or ^{ad} profane; neither shall they take a woman ^{ae} put away from her husband: for he is holy ^{af} unto his God. ^{ag} Thou shalt sanctify him therefore; for he offereth the ^{ah} bread of thy God: he shall ^{ai} be holy unto thee: for ^{aj} I Yahweh, which sanctify you, am holy. ^{ak} And the daughter of any priest, if she ^{al} profane herself by playing the harlot, she ^{am} profaneth her father: she shall be ^{an} burnt with fire.		a 130 ^c b 187 ^a c 198 d 208 e 204 f 210 ¹ g 202 ^a h 210 ^a i 118 ^a j 196 k 118 ^a l 203 ^d m 38 n 128 o 69 ^a p 91 q 210 ^a r 203 ^a s 185 ^a t 76 ^b u 194
5- L ^g g b Cp Deut 14 ¹ Ezek 44 ²⁰ c 19 ²⁷ d Zech 12 ³⁴ e Cp 19 ²⁸ 7 L ^g g f 14 22 ¹³ Num 30 ⁹ Ezek 44 ²³ g Num 6 ⁸ cp Deut 7 ⁶ 14 ² 21 26 ¹⁹ 9 L ^g g 10-15 L ^g g 10 L ^g g A Num 35 ²⁵ 28 Josh 20 ⁹ cp 2 Kings 12 ¹⁰ 22 ⁴ 23 ⁴ i Cp Ex 29 ⁷ j 10 ⁹ 11 L ^g g 13- L ^g g k Deut 22 ¹⁴ .. Judg 11 ³⁷ .. Ezek 23 ⁸ 8 ⁴	10 ^a And he that is the ^b high priest among his brethren, ^c upon whose head the ^d anointing oil is ^e poured, and ^f that is ^g consecrated to put on the garments, shall not let the hair of his head ^h go loose, nor rend his clothes; ⁱ neither shall he go in to any ^j dead body, nor ^k defile himself for his father, or for his mother; ^l neither shall he go out of the ^m sanctuary, nor ⁿ profane the sanctuary of his God; for the ^o crown of the anointing oil of his God is upon him: ^p I am Yahweh. ^q And he shall take a wife in her ^r virginity. ^s A widow, or one ^t divorced, or a ^u profane woman, an harlot, these shall he not take: but a virgin of his own ^v people shall he take to wife. ^w And he shall not ^x profane his seed among his ^y people: for ^z I am Yahweh which sanctify him.		
17-23 L ^g g	16 ^a And Yahweh ^b spoke unto Moses, saying, ^c Speak unto Aaron, saying, ^d Whosoever he be of ^e thy seed ^f throughout their ^g generations that hath a ^h blemish, let him not approach to offer the ⁱ bread of his God. ^j For whatsoever man		

20²⁷ Cp 22¹⁸. This fragment has apparently been detached from its original connexion and attached loosely to the close of a section containing cognate material.

21¹ The general legislation in 18-20 is followed in 21-22 by a group of laws concerning the maintenance of priestly holiness, and the nature of the sacred gifts. This short code presents many of the phenomena already noticed. Thus (1) the hand of the later editor acquainted with the requirements and institutions of P^a is often traced in allusions such as those in 21¹⁰ 12³². And (2) diversity of original materials may be partially inferred from frequent alternations in form, in the use of the second and third persons, the singular and the plural, &c. The hortatory element characteristic of P^b is less prominent, and the brief close 22³¹⁻³³ sounds rather like an imitation of earlier phraseology in 18-20 which has lost the ring of direct address to the nation characteristic of such passages as 18²⁴.. 20²².. The ritual regulations appear to belong to a less developed stage than P^c cp *Introd* i 149, and occasional points of contact occur with the laws of J and E. Peculiarities of phrase may be noticed in the expressions 'bread of God' and 'I am Yahweh which hallow you' 21⁸ 15²³ 23⁹ 16³² (also 20⁸ Ex 31¹³). The little corpus has doubtless undergone successive revisions: the more obvious additions are indicated in small type. The frequency of these may partly result from the similarity of subject to the bulk of P^a. The superscription in 21¹ implies that the laws are addressed to the priests, but cp 8.

⁴ M Or, as a husband. G has, on a sudden.

⁶ The term 'fire offerings of Yahweh' occurs sixty times in P cp Deut 18¹ Josh 13¹⁴. But they are mentioned in P^b only in passages otherwise proved to have received editorial additions, and they are not necessary to the context. Cp 21²² 22²³ 27²³.

⁷ M Or, polluted.—Cp Ezek 21²² G, cp Ges-Brown, *Heb Lex*.

⁸ This verse interrupts the transition from the character of the priest's wife to the conduct of his daughter. It is not clear who is addressed as 'thou'; the pronoun can really only designate Israel, but cp 1. The first half of the verse is perhaps to be regarded as introduced by the compiler from an older source to reinforce the sanctity of the priesthood. In 20⁸ G Sam read 'which sanctify them.'

^{10a} The references to the unction and vestments are sometimes supposed to be derived from Ex 29, and to have been added by R^p cp 23. But the 'great priest' in the Solomonic temple no doubt had his special robe, and may quite possibly have been anointed, the ceremonies enjoined in Ex 29 being only a late literary reproduction of an earlier use.

^{10b} M G whose hand is filled.—G^a.

¹² M Or, consecration.

¹⁷ It must be doubtful whether P^b regarded the priests as the posterity of Aaron cp *Introd* XIII 8a i 144: and the formulae here and in 21²² (cp 2) may be derived from R^p. If the passage stood thus originally it can hardly be older than Ezekiel. Driv-Wh (like H^a... 22) suggest that the primary phase

	JE P ^h	P ^e	P ^r
1 5† m 222†		he be that hath a blemish, he shall not approach : a blind man, or a lame, or he that hath a flat nose, or any thing superfluous, ¹⁹ or a man that is brokenfooted, or brokenhanded, ²⁰ or crookbackt, or a dwarf, or that hath a blemish in his eye, or is scurvy, or scabbed, or hath his stones broken ; ²¹ no man ²² of the seed of Aaron the priest, that hath a blemish, shall come nigh to offer the offerings of Yahweh made by fire : he hath a blemish ; he shall not come nigh to offer the bread of his God. ²³ He shall eat the bread of his God, both of the most holy, and of the holy. ²⁴ Only he shall not go in unto the veil, nor come nigh unto the altar, because he hath a blemish ; that he profane not my sanctuaries : for I am Yahweh which sanctify them. ²⁵ And Moses spake unto Aaron, and to his sons, and unto all the children of Israel.	v 12 ^a
2 11† a Cp 15 ³¹ Hos 910 Ezek 14 ⁷ b 16 Num 5 ⁹ c 18 ²² d 7 11† f 6kb e Cp 21 ¹⁷		²² And Yahweh spake unto Moses, saying, ²³ Speak unto Aaron and to his sons, that they separate themselves from the holy things of the children of Israel, which they hallow unto me, and that they profane not my holy name : I am Yahweh. ²⁴ Say unto them, Whosoever he be of all your seed throughout your generations, that approacheth unto the holy things, which the children of Israel hallow unto Yahweh, having his uncleanness upon him, that soul shall be cut off from before me : I am Yahweh.	w 85 ^a x 171
4 10hhabj d Cp 21 ¹⁷ e 11 13 Ex 12 ⁴³ f f 11 13 15 ¹⁶		²⁴ What man soever of the seed of Aaron is a leper, or hath an issue ; he shall not eat of the holy things, until he be clean. And whoso toucheth any thing that is unclean by the dead, or a man whose seed goeth from him ; ²⁵ or whosoever toucheth any creeping thing, whereby he may be made unclean, or a man of whom he may take uncleanness, whatsoever uncleanness he hath ; ²⁶ the soul which toucheth any such shall be unclean until the even, and shall not eat of the holy things, unless he bathe his flesh in water. ²⁷ And when the sun is down, he shall be clean ; and afterward he shall eat of the holy things, because it is his bread.	y 22 ^a a 185 ^a b 19 ^a c 86 ^a d 210 ^b e 203 ^a f 76 ^b g 88 ^a h 107 ^a i 50 ^a
g 5 ³		²⁸ That which dieth of itself, or is torn of beasts, he shall not eat to defile himself therewith : I am Yahweh. ²⁹ They shall therefore keep my charge, lest they bear sin for it, and die therein, if they profane it. I am Yahweh which sanctify them. ³⁰ There shall no stranger eat of the holy thing : a sojourner of the priest's, or an hired servant, shall not eat of the holy thing. ³¹ But if a priest buy any soul, the purchase of his money, he shall eat of it ; and such as are born in his house, they shall eat of his bread. ³² And if a priest's daughter be married unto a stranger, she shall not eat of the heave offering of the holy things. ³³ But if a priest's daughter be a widow, or divorced, and have no child, and is returned unto her father's house, as in her youth, she shall eat of her father's bread : but there shall no stranger eat thereof. ³⁴ And if a man eat of the holy thing unwittingly, then he shall put the fifth part thereof unto it, and shall give unto the priest the holy thing. ³⁵ And they shall not profane the holy things of the children of Israel, which they offer unto Yahweh ; ³⁶ and [so] cause them to bear the iniquity that bringeth guilt, when they eat their holy things : for I am Yahweh which sanctify them.	j 218 k 43 ^a l 198 m 157 ^b n 146 ^a o 174 ^a
8-16 11† s 160d A 1716 Ezek 44 ³¹ t Ezek 41 ⁴		³⁷ And Yahweh spake unto Moses, saying, ³⁸ Speak unto Aaron, and to his sons, and unto	p 39 ^b q 193 r 210 ^d s 203 ^d t 153 ^a u 144 v 78
10 120d 11 120d j Gen 17 ¹²			w 118 ^c
k 211 ⁴			x 190 ^c
l 4 ² m 15 ¹⁶			y 81 ^b
n Cp 4 ³			

21¹⁸ M Or, *sil*.

²² This distinction is not recognized in 22, and is therefore regarded by many critics as an insertion.

²³ These words seem to involve the structure of Ex 25-27, cp 26³¹, and are therefore regarded here as an editorial addition, cp Lev 17⁴. The terms 'dwelling' and 'tent of meeting' are not employed in 21-22, where the place of cultus is called the 'sanctuary' 21¹², and can even be designated in the plural 21²³ (with reference to the altar and other sacred objects or places, Dillm, *Driv-Wh*), though (9) reads 'sanctuary of his God' as in 12.

²⁴ So (9). T so. The passage is peculiar for this formula is usually elsewhere introductory. In 23⁴⁴ the word 'spake' (so (9)) is followed by an object, the set feasts.

²⁵ This clause stands in (9) after 'my holy name,' and the awkward order points to an interpolation. As the law does not really begin till 5, and the words 'say unto them' look back to 1-2a, there is some reason for regarding the whole of 2 as part

of the introductory formulae: but it does not seem after the manner of the editor who combined P^h with P^e thus to reproduce the phrases of the shorter code.

²⁶ With 4-7 cp 11-15 both for style and contents. Opinion is divided as to whether the passage is continuous with 3, or is to be regarded as early P^e on a basis of P^h.

²⁷ M Or, *any one*.

²⁸ Kuenen finds in this verse, as in 1-7 and 17-25, indications of imitation or revision after P^e.

²⁹ This title, like that in 17¹, may perhaps point to an amalgamation of laws in the following section designed on the one hand for the priesthood e.g. 25, and on the other for the laity. The materials of the section 17-25 have sometimes been assigned to a later stage of P than P^h, and some of the characteristic phrases of P^h do not occur. But various reasons both of style and substance plead on the whole against this view. The passage seems itself composite, 18²⁵⁻³⁰ has a complete

JE P ¹	P ²	P ³
18-25 L 2a, pq 61 <i>l</i> 8g 18-25 L 7bi o 17 ³	all the children of Israel, and say unto them, ¹⁸ Whosoever he be of the house of Israel, or of the strangers in Israel, that offereth his 'oblation, whether it be any of their vows, or any of their freewill offerings, which they offer unto Yahweh for a burnt offering; ¹⁹ that ye may be 'accepted, [ye shall offer] a male 'without blemish, 'of the beeves, of the sheep, or of the goats. ²⁰ But whatsoever hath a 'blemish, that shall ye not offer: for it shall not be 'acceptable for you.	z 118 ^b a' 17 ^b b' 193 c' 35 d' 194
21-25 L 7p/ p 21:18-20 q 21 ⁶ r 21:18† s 5† t 5 ⁺	²¹ And 'whosoever offereth a sacrifice of peace offerings unto Yahweh to 'accomplish a vow, or for a freewill offering, 'of the herd or of the flock, it shall be 'perfect to be 'accepted; there shall be no 'blemish therein. ²² 'Blind, or broken, or maimed, or having 'a wen, or scurvy, or scabbed, ye shall not offer these unto Yahweh, nor make an 'offering by fire of them upon the altar unto Yahweh. ²³ Either a bullock or a lamb that hath anything 'superfluous or 'lacking in his parts, that mayest thou offer for a free-will offering; but for a vow it shall not be 'accepted. ²⁴ That which hath its stones 'bruised, or crushed, or 'broken, or cut, ye shall not offer unto Yahweh; neither shall ye 'do [thus] in your land. ²⁵ Neither from the hand of a 'foreigner shall ye offer the 'bread of your God of any of these; because their 'corruption is in them, there is a 'blemish in them: they shall not be 'accepted for you.	e' 154 f' 196
26-28 L 61c u 5 cp 177 v Ex 22:30 w Num 15:22 32:19	²⁶ And Yahweh 'spake unto Moses, saying, ²⁷ 'When a bullock, or a sheep, or a goat, is brought forth, then it shall be 'seven days under the dam; and from the eighth day and 'thenceforth it shall be 'accepted for the oblation of an offering made by fire unto Yahweh. ²⁸ And whether it be cow or ewe, ye shall not 'kill it and her young both in one day. ²⁹ 'And when ye 'sacrifice a sacrifice of thanksgiving unto Yahweh, ye shall sacrifice it that ye may be 'accepted. ³⁰ On the 'same day it shall be eaten; ye shall leave none of it until the morning: 'I am Yahweh. ³¹ 'Therefore shall ye 'keep my commandments, and do them: 'I am Yahweh. ³² And ye shall not 'profane my holy name; but I will be 'hallowed among the children of Israel: 'I am Yahweh which hallow you, ³³ that 'brought you out of the land of Egypt, to 'be your God: 'I am Yahweh.	g' 100 h' 199 i' 86 ^b j' 26 k' 185 ^a
29 L 7c-p:12 x 19 ⁶ ct 715 y 715 ct 196 31-33 L 111c 32 L 50/ z 19 ³⁶ 1-44 L 9a: 70c	²³ 'And Yahweh 'spake unto Moses, saying, ²⁴ Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them,	

parallel in ²¹, marked, however, by curious differences of phraseology. Thus each is concerned to secure victims for sacrifice free from any defect. But instead of a general principle covering all cases, the precept is distributed over two groups, (1) burnt offering, (2) peace offerings, yet each of these comprises the same subdivisions, viz vows and freewill offerings. The terminology of the two regulations shows marked differences within the parallelism; cp the opening formulae ^{18b} ... אשר יקריב and ²¹ אשר כי יקריב; ¹⁹ 'that ye may be accepted' ²⁰ 'acceptable for you' and ²¹ 'to be accepted'; ²⁰ 'herd, sheep, and goats' and ²¹ 'herd or flock'; ²⁰ 'whatsoever hath a blemish ye shall not offer' and ²¹ 'there shall be no blemish therein.' It may be further noted that the changes in number and person in ^{18b-20} are unusually frequent, being due, apparently, to successive redactions. The affinities of ^{18b-20} are with 17; those of ²¹⁻²⁴ with 21:17-20. Neither passage seems adequate to the later ritual standard. (1) makes no reference to other classes of burnt offering such as the sin and guilt offerings, or the daily and seasonal sacrifices; while (2) ignores the thanksgiving cp ²⁹ which in ³¹... constitutes a third division of the peace offerings.

²² M Or, make a special vow. — 17a.

²² M Or, sores.

²⁴ M Or, sacrifice them. — 117.

²⁹ The law in ²⁹ has sometimes been refused to P^h as being a supplement to ^{19b} to make it accord with ⁷¹⁵⁻¹⁶. But the phraseology agrees with the rest of P^h and the verb 'to sacrifice' ²⁹ ^{19b} is not common elsewhere in the laws of P² or P³ (only Lev 9^d), while it is characteristic of JED and P^h 17^b 7. The proximity of ²⁰ to ²⁷ which is obviously related to E's demand Ex 22:30, led Wellh to compare the regulation for the consumption of the thanksgiving sacrifice with another rule in E Ex 23:18. Baentsch, *Heil Ges* 102, suggests that the triple

division in Num 15³ corresponds to that in Lev 7, so that the technical 'thanksgivings' are equated with the sacrifices at the set feasts, and thus Wellh's identification is justified. In this view ²⁹ is founded on an early ritual, and the classification of ⁷¹¹⁻¹⁸ represents the amalgamation of ordinances represented at a prior stage by 22:18-24 ²⁹. 19³⁻⁵.

²³ The compiler of the *Hex* here takes up again the main document P², with a calendar of sacred seasons. This calendar, strictly speaking, begins at ⁴; the form of ^{2b} is awkwardly framed in view of the subsequent announcement; in ³⁰ the sabbaths are not included among the 'set feasts'; and it is probable that ^{2b-3} is a redactional addition, by which the sabbath with its 'holy convocation' was incorporated among the series of the yearly festivals cp ³². But this series is set forth in terms that are obviously not homogeneous. The paragraphs introducing the successive regulations begin with a common formula ¹ ²³ ²⁶ ³³, to which an addition is made in four out of the five cases (ct ²⁶) instructing Moses to convey the divine command to the people. But the contents of the calendar are not set forth with the same uniformity. It has been largely interpolated from P^h, the passages inserted having in their turn undergone more or less modification and addition to suit their new setting. The Passover and Feast of Unleavened Bread ⁵⁻⁶, and the Feast of Trumpets or New Year's Day ²³⁻²⁵, belong wholly to P², to which are further referred ²¹ closing the ordinances for Pentecost, and ³³⁻³⁵ regulating the Feast of Booths. These are assigned to fixed days; 'holy convocations' are appointed, and 'servile work' prohibited, while an 'offering made by fire' is usually prescribed. Similar characteristics are found in ²⁶⁻²⁷ (with the formula 'do no manner of work' ²⁸ cp ²); but cp ^{27^h}. The extracts from P^h are identified by various marks: (1) they do not fit the title in ⁴ (cp ^{2b}) — see the

	JE P ^b	P ^a	P ^a	
19b1		2 ^b The 'set feasts of Yahweh, which ye shall proclaim to be 'holy convocations, even these are my set feasts. 3 2Six days shall 'work be done: but on the seventh day is a sabbath of 'solemn rest, an 'holy convocation; ye shall do no manner of 'work: it is a sabbath unto Yahweh in all your 'dwellings.		b 89 ^a c 177 ^a d 137 ^a
19d1 19e1		4 'These are the set feasts of Yahweh, even 'holy convocations, which ye shall proclaim in their appointed season. 5 2In the 'first month, on the fourteenth day of the month 'at 'even, is Yahweh's passover. 6 2And on the 'fifteenth day of the same month is the feast of unleavened bread unto Yahweh: seven days ye shall eat unleavened bread. 7 In the first day ye shall have an 'holy convocation: ye shall 'do no 'servile work. 8 But ye shall offer an offering made by fire unto Yahweh seven days: in the seventh day is an 'holy convocation; ye shall do no 'servile work. 9 2And Yahweh 'spake unto Moses, saying, 10 2Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them,		e 55 ^a f 128 ^a g 123 h 28
19-21 19a1 10-14 19a1 80v		10 ^b 1When ye be 'come into the land 'which I give unto you, and shall 'reap the harvest thereof, then ye shall bring the sheaf of the 'firstfruits of your harvest unto 'the priest: 11 and he shall 'wave the sheaf before Yahweh, to be 'accepted for you: on the 'morrow after the sabbath the priest shall wave it. 12 2And in the day when ye wave the sheaf, ye shall 'offer a he-lamb 'without blemish 'of the first year for a burnt offering unto Yahweh. 13 And the 'meal offering thereof shall be two 'tenth parts [of an ephah] of fine flour mingled with oil, an offering made by fire unto Yahweh for a sweet savour: and the drink offering thereof shall be of wine, the 'fourth part of an hin. 14 And ye shall eat neither bread, nor 'parched corn, nor 'fresh ears, until this 'selfsame day, until ye have brought the oblation of your God: it is a 'statute for ever 'throughout your generations in all your 'dwellings.		i 140 ^a
10b 19ed a 10 ²⁵ cp Deut 261 b 14 ²⁴ c 19 ⁹ d 213 Ex 2319 e 15 ²⁸ cp Num 33 ³ f 13 ²⁸ Josh 511 ^a g 21 ⁴ h Num 15 ⁶ i 19 ⁹ j 214 10-20 19a1 80v		15 2And ye shall count unto you from the 'morrow after the sabbath, from the day that ye brought the sheaf of the wave offering; 'seven sabbaths shall there be 'complete: 16 even unto the morrow after the seventh sabbath shall ye number fifty days; and ye shall offer a new meal offering unto Yahweh. 17 2Ye shall bring out of your 'habitations two wave loaves of two 'tenth parts [of an ephah]: they shall be of 'fine flour, they shall be baked with leaven, for 'firstfruits unto Yahweh. 18 And ye shall present with the bread 'seven lambs 'without blemish 'of the first year, and one young bullock, and two rams: they shall be a burnt offering unto Yahweh, with their meal offering, and their drink offerings, even an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto Yahweh. 19 And ye shall offer one he-goat for a sin offering, and two he-lambs of the first year for a sacrifice of peace offerings. 20 And the 'priest shall wave them with the bread of the firstfruits for a wave offering before Yahweh, 'with the two lambs: they shall be holy to Yahweh for the priest.		j 191 k 94 ^a l 209 m 175 n 17 ⁹ o 123 p 129 ^b q 160 ^a
17 19ed k 21 l 214		21 2And ye shall make proclamation on the 'selfsame day; there shall be an 'holy convocation unto you: ye shall 'do no servile work: it is a 'statute for ever in all your 'dwellings 'throughout your generations. 22 2And 'when ye reap the harvest of your land, thou shalt not wholly reap the corners of thy		r 138 s 62 ^a t 76 ^b
21 19e 22 19i m 19 ^a				

colophon 27, which only refer to 'holy convocations': (2) they do not (in their original form) fix precise dates: (3) they contain phrases characteristic of P^b, which they resemble in general style, P^a being only approached in clauses which may well have been expanded later. Cp Num 28 and Table of Laws.

23^a M Or, appointed seasons.—P¹¹¹.

5 M 2 between the two evenings.

7 M 2 work of labour.—Cp 21 25 35. 14c.

9 The compiler here introduces an account of an agricultural ceremony to which there is no exact parallel elsewhere. The firstfruits in Deut 26³ are not connected with any special day: in Deut 16⁷ the seven weeks at the close of which the second festival is to be kept, are reckoned vaguely from the first day of cutting the corn: in the text the firstfruits are to be presented on the curious 'morrow after the sabbath,' which is also taken as the starting-point for the calculation of Pentecost.

12 The ritual language of 13 corresponds so closely to that of the later P as to suggest that these verses have been expanded by the compiler. In 12 he seems only to have added 'without blemish,' cp 19.

15 This clause, with P's favourite word *קציר*, seems to interrupt the reckoning which is only completed in 16. Possibly the original text was simpler, and has been enriched with extra detail to give greater apparent precision.

18 In 18, some later scribe seems to have supplemented the inadequate requirements of P^b with an incorrect quotation from Num 28²⁷⁻²⁹, the numbers of bullocks and rams being interchanged. P^b does not elsewhere prescribe definite animal sacrifices: nor even does P^a enumerate them in this calendar, for in 25 27 36 nothing more specific is named than 'a fire offering.' The interpolation therefore must be later than the union of the two documents. But why did the annotator content himself with this single addition? When the animals of the sacrificial list are withdrawn, two he-lambs are left as probably original.

20 Added after the expansion of 18, rendered the application of 'wave them' uncertain.

22 An insertion from 19^a, suggested perhaps by the phraseology of 10, but obviously out of place.

JE	P ^h	P ^a	P ^a
		<i>field, neither shall thou gather the gleanings of thy harvest: thou shalt leave them for the poor, and for the stranger: I am Yahweh your God.</i>	
22-25 Lgga		²³ ^L And Yahweh ^a spake unto Moses, saying, ²⁴ Speak unto the children of Israel, saying, In the ^a seventh month, in the first day of the month, shall be a ^a solemn rest unto you, a ^a memorial of ^a blowing of trumpets, an ^a holy convocation. ²⁵ Ye shall do no ^a servile work: and ye shall offer an offering made by fire unto Yahweh.	a 113
n 25 ⁹ Num 10 ⁶ 29 ¹		²⁶ ^L And Yahweh ^a spake unto Moses, saying, ²⁷ Howbeit on the ^a tenth day of this ^a seventh month is the day of ^a atonement: it shall be an ^a holy convocation unto you, and ye ^a shall ^a afflict your souls; and ye shall offer an offering made by fire unto Yahweh. ²⁸ And ye shall do no manner of ^a work in that ^a same day: for it is a day of atonement, to ^a make atonement for you before Yahweh your God. ²⁹ For whatsoever soul it be that shall not be ^a afflicted in that ^a same day, he shall be ^a cut off from his people. ³⁰ And whatsoever soul it be that doeth any manner of ^a work in that ^a same day, that soul will I destroy from among his people. ³¹ Ye shall do no manner of ^a work: it is a ^a statute for ever ^a throughout your generations in all your ^a dwellings. ³² It shall be unto you a sabbath of ^a solemn rest, and ye shall afflict your souls: in the ^a ninth day of the month at even, from even unto even, shall ye ^a keep your sabbath.	v 20 w 25 ^a x 50 ^a
26-32 Lghc o 1629 p 1630 q 1631		³³ ^L And Yahweh ^a spake unto Moses, saying, ³⁴ Speak unto the children of Israel, saying, On the ^a fifteenth day of this seventh month is the feast of ^a booths for seven days unto Yahweh. ³⁵ On the first day shall be an ^a holy convocation: ye shall do no ^a servile work. ³⁶ Seven days ye shall offer an offering made by fire unto Yahweh: on the eighth day shall be an ^a holy convocation unto you; and ye shall offer an offering made by fire unto Yahweh: it is a ^a solemn assembly; ye shall do no ^a servile work.	
r 25 ² 26 ³⁴ Num 28-30 Lgi/		³⁷ These are the set feasts of Yahweh, which ye shall proclaim to be ^a holy convocations, to offer an offering made by fire unto Yahweh, a burnt offering, and a meal offering, a sacrifice, and drink offerings, each on its own day: ³⁸ beside the sabbaths of Yahweh, and beside your gifts, and beside all your vows, and beside all your freewill offerings, which ye give unto Yahweh.	y 31
39-45 Lgic s Cp 34 t Ex 23 ¹⁶ Deut 16 ¹³ u Ex 23 ¹⁴ Deut 16 ¹⁵ Ex 12 ¹⁴ v Ezek 6 ¹³ 20 ²⁸ Neh 8 ¹⁴ w Deut 16 ¹⁴		³⁹ ^L Howbeit on the ^a fifteenth day of the seventh month, when ye have ^a gathered in the fruits of the land, ye shall ^a keep the feast of Yahweh seven days: ^a on the first day shall be a solemn rest, and on the eighth day shall be a solemn rest. ⁴⁰ And ye shall take you on the first day the fruit of goodly trees, branches of palm trees, and boughs of ^a thick trees, and willows of the brook; and ye shall ^a rejoice before Yahweh your God seven days. ⁴¹ And ye shall keep it a feast unto Yahweh seven days in the year: it is a ^a statute for ever ^a in your generations: ye shall keep it in the ^a seventh month. ⁴² Ye shall ^a dwell in booths seven days; all that are ^a homeborn in Israel shall dwell in booths: ⁴³ that your generations may know that I made the children of Israel to dwell in ^a booths, when I brought them out of the land of Egypt: ^a I am Yahweh your God.	z 34 a' 203 ^b
x Neh 8 ¹⁴ 17		⁴⁴ And Moses declared unto the children of Israel the set feasts of Yahweh.	
1-4 Ljoen a 69 Num 5 ² 28 ² 34 ² 35 ² et Deut 2 ¹⁶		²⁴ ^L And Yahweh ^a spake unto Moses, saying, ² Command the children	a 185 ^a

²³²⁷ In accordance with the view adopted in 16 in which the day of atonement as a recurrent sacred season is regarded as a later development, this section is ascribed to P^a: and it may be noticed that the formula in ²³ is briefer than those in ²³ ²⁴ and ³³ ³⁴, while the opening ^ahowbeit resembles that in ³⁹ cp Ex 12¹⁵ ('even') ³¹ Num 1⁴⁹ (cp Driv-Wh).

³⁴ So M. ^aT. tabernacles. Cp Deut 16¹³.
³⁶ M Or, closing festival.—Num 29³⁰ Deut 16²⁴. Driv-Wh regard the use of the word in 2 Kings 10²⁰ Am 5²¹ Jer 9² as decisive against this meaning.

³⁹ The date in ³⁹ seems added by the harmonist in introducing the regulations for Booths from P^h, which are founded on a shifting date according to the progress of the vintage and ingathering. Cp E and D, Table of Laws vol i.

³⁹^b This clause seems designed to provide the seven days' feast of P^h cp 40^b 41. (Deut 16¹³⁻¹⁵) with the holy convocation on the eighth day according to P^a 36. Cp Introd i 131.

⁴³ The historical reminiscence agrees ill with the purely agricultural nature of the festival just ordained, and there is no trace of this clause in Neh 8. It may possibly be suggested by the identical name Succoth Ex 12³⁷ 13²⁰ Num 33⁴.

²⁴ M See Ex 27²⁰.—Cp also Num 8¹⁻⁴. The passage in Ex appeared to be out of place, and this may be the more original (notice 'Aaron' alone ³ for 'Aaron and his sons' Ex 27²¹). But the context here is not very suitable, and the repetition in ⁴ after the close in ³ has rather the air of a later addition to make the directions quite plain.

JE P ^a	P ^a	P ^a
	of Israel, that they bring unto thee pure olive oil beaten for the light, ² to cause a lamp to burn continually. ³ Without the veil of the testimony, in the tent of meeting, shall Aaron order it from evening to morning before Yahweh continually: it shall be a statute for ever throughout your generations. ⁴ He shall order the lamps upon the 'pure candlestick before Yahweh continually.	b 124 c 42 ^b
b Ex 25 ³¹	⁵ ^{2L} And thou shalt take fine flour, and bake twelve 'cakes thereof: two 'tenth parts [of an ephah] shall be in one cake. ⁶ And thou shalt set them in 'two 'rows, six on a row, upon the pure 'table before Yahweh. ⁷ ^{2L} And thou shalt put 'pure 'frankincense upon each 'row, that it may be to the bread for a 'memorial, even an offering made by fire unto Yahweh. ⁸ ^{2L} Every sabbath day he shall set it in order before Yahweh continually; it is 'on the behalf of the children of Israel, an 'everlasting covenant. ⁹ ^{2L} And it shall be for Aaron and his 'sons; and they shall 'eat it in a 'holy place: for it is 'most holy unto him of the offerings of Yahweh made by fire by a 'perpetual statute.	d 150 ^a e 72 f 122 g 60 ^a h 12 ^a i 90 ^a j 62 ^a
5-9 L 7h b c Ex 29 ²	¹⁰ ^{2L} And the son of an Israelitish woman, whose father was an Egyptian, went out among the children of Israel: and the son of the Israelitish woman and a man of Israel strove together in the camp; ¹¹ and the son of the Israelitish woman blasphemed 'the 'Name, and 'cursed: and they brought him unto Moses. And his mother's name was Shelomith, the daughter of Dibri, of the 'tribe of Dan. ¹² And they put him in ward, that it might be 'declared unto them at the 'mouth of Yahweh.	k 165 l 19 ^c
d 7 Neh 10 ³³ § Chron (6) e Ex 25 ³⁰ 30 f Cp 2 Ex 27 ²⁰ g 30 ³⁴ h L 9b m i L 11 f j 61 ⁶	¹³ And Yahweh 'spake unto Moses, saying, ¹⁴ Bring forth him that hath cursed 'without the camp; and let all that heard him 'lay their hands upon his head, and let all the 'congregation 'stone him. ¹⁵ And thou shalt 'speak unto the children of Israel, saying,	m 120 ^a n 102 o 45 p 153 q 218 r 193
10-21 L 50 j	^{15b} ^{2L} ^{2L} Whosoever 'curseth his God shall 'bear his sin. ¹⁶ And he that 'blasphemeth the name' of Yahweh, he shall surely be put to death; <i>all the 'congregation shall certainly 'stone him: 'L^m as well the stranger, as the 'homeborn,</i> when he blasphemeth the name [of Yahweh], shall be put to death. ¹⁷ ^{2L} And 'he that 'smiteth any 'man mortally shall surely be put to death, ¹⁸ ^{2L} and he that 'smiteth a beast mortally shall make it good: life for life. ¹⁹ ^{2L} And 'if a man cause a 'blemish in his 'neighbour; as he hath done, so shall it be 'done to him; ²⁰ 'breach for breach, 'eye for eye, tooth for tooth: as he hath caused a 'blemish in a man, so shall it be rendered unto him. ²¹ ^{2L} And he that 'killeth a beast shall make it good: 'and he that 'killeth a man shall be put to death. ²² ^{2L} Ye shall have 'one manner of law, as well for the stranger, as for the 'homeborn: for 'I am Yahweh your God.	s 34 t 190 ^c u 194 v 203
A Ct 16 i Cp 156	²³ And Moses spake to the children of Israel, and they brought forth him	w 203 ^b
j Num 15 ³⁴ cp Neh 8 ⁶		
15b-16 L 50 g k § = revile Ex 22 ²⁸		
l Cp 11 § [†] 15b L 2a, i m Cp 22 ²⁸ 17 L 2a, j n 18 cp 21 Ex 21 ¹²		
o Cp Num 19 ¹¹ 31 ³⁵ 40 40 §		
18 L 3d, d 19. L 4c, 21c p Cp Ex 21 ²¹		
q 21 ¹⁹ § r Ex 21 ²⁴ 21a L 3d, e s Cp 18 §		
= smiteth 21b L 2a, j t Cp 17 §		
= smiteth 22 L 4d, d u Ex 12 ⁴⁹		

24² M Or, to set up a lamp continually.

⁵ Another disconnected fragment, concerning the 'shewbread.' The lack of clear sequence has led many critics to give this and the preceding section to P^a; but the phraseology is that of P^a. Conjecture is at fault concerning the reasons for incorporating these regulations here, immediately after the calendar of the feasts. If it be surmised that they are appended to the greater festivals as part of the daily service, then it is natural to inquire why the morning and evening offerings should be omitted cp Ex 29³⁸. The analogy of the compound structure of 23 points in the direction of the hypothesis that P^a contained some similar ordinances, here replaced by the fuller form in P^a.

⁶ M Or, two piles, six in a pile.

⁷ M Or, pile.—For the incense-rite cp 21¹⁵.

⁸ M Or, from.

⁹ This direction, recalling similar ordinances apparently older than P^a, confirms the suggestion ⁵⁸ that earlier material has here been recast. The known antiquity of the offering of shewbread, eg 1 Sam 21⁶, renders this still more probable. The frankincense is probably an added element.

¹⁰ The narrative here introduced illustrates the law against blasphemy. But the group of laws in 15b-22 contains several

other enactments 17-21 on injuries to man and beast which are wholly unrelated to the particular offence previously described. The passage is evidently composite; and 15b-22 is in the style of P^a. The story is probably a *midrash* framed to bring out what seemed the salient point. Ct 11^a and 16b §.

¹¹ Geiger, *Urchr* 274, Dillm-Ryss, Driv-Wh, think 'the Name' a very late substitute for 'Yahweh.'

¹⁵ The series of laws in 15b-22 seems chiefly due to P^a (cp 'whosoever' 15, 'bear his sin' 15, 'blemish' 18, 'neighbour' 19, and the closing formula 22b). But it is hardly itself homogeneous: 21 reproduces 17, in simpler style, 17, showing affinities with other passages in P. Moreover 16 has certainly received an addition in the clause ^b concerning the 'congregation,' a term which P^a does not employ cp 22²⁸. The parallels of the original nucleus are, as elsewhere in P^a, with the 'Judgements' of E.

²² The stranger and the native Israelite are repeatedly associated in P^a for legislative purposes cp 134; but the emphatic assertions that they are subject to a common law seem to belong to a later stage of P cp Ex 12⁴⁹ Num 9¹⁴ 15¹⁵, 22. As these are nowhere else accompanied by the formula 'I am Yahweh' &c, the editorial addition may be regarded as closing with 'for.'

	JE P ^b	P ^a	P ^a	
		that had cursed ^m out of the camp, and ⁿ stoned him with stones. And the children of Israel ^o did as Yahweh commanded Moses.		x 189 ^b
1-7 L ^{91c}		25 ¹ ^{nz} And Yahweh ^a spake unto Moses in mount ^b Sinai, saying, 2 ^a Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them,		a 185 ^a b 7
a 23 ¹⁰		2 ^b ^c When ye come into the land ^d which ^e I give you, then shall the land ^f keep a sabbath unto Yahweh. 3 Six years thou shalt sow thy field, and six years thou shalt ^g prune thy vineyard, and ^h gather in the fruits thereof; 4 but in the seventh year shall be a ⁱ sabbath of solemn rest for the land, a sabbath unto Yahweh: thou shalt neither sow thy field, nor prune thy vineyard. 5 That which ^j groweth of itself of thy harvest thou shalt not reap, and the grapes of thy ^k undressed vine thou shalt not ^l gather: it shall be a year of ^m solemn rest for the land. 6 ⁿ And the sabbath of the land shall be for ^o food for you; for ^p thee, and for thy servant and for thy ^q maid, and for thy hired servant and for thy ^r stranger that sojourn with thee; 7 and for thy cattle, and for the beasts that are in thy land, shall all the ^s increase thereof be for food.		c 191 d 94 e 137 ^c f 110 g 144
b 23 ³²		8 ^{nz} And thou shalt ^a number seven sabbaths of years unto thee, seven times seven years; and there shall be unto thee the days of seven sabbaths of years, even forty and nine years. 9 Then shalt thou send abroad the ^b loud trumpet on the ^c tenth day of the ^d seventh month; in the day of ^e atonement shall ye send abroad the trumpet throughout all your land. 10 And ye shall ^f hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim ^g liberty throughout the land unto all the inhabitants thereof: it shall be a ^h jubile unto you; and ye shall return every man unto his ⁱ possession, and ye shall return every man unto his ^j family. 11 A ^k jubile shall that fiftieth year be unto you: ye shall not ^l sow, neither reap that which ^m groweth of itself in it, nor gather [the grapes] in it of the ⁿ undressed vines. 12 For it is a ^o jubile; it shall be ^p holy unto you: ye shall eat the ^q increase thereof out of the field. 13 In this year of jubile ye shall return every man unto his ^r possession. 14 ^a And if thou sell ^b aught unto thy ^c neighbour, or buy of thy ^d neighbour's hand, ye shall not ^e wrong ^f one another. 15 According to the number of years after the ^g jubile thou shalt buy of thy ^h neighbour, [and] according unto the number of years of the ⁱ crops he shall sell unto thee. 16 ^a According to the multitude of the years thou shalt increase the ^b price thereof, and ^c according to the ^d fewness of the years thou		h 183 i 86 ^c j 98 k 127 ^b l 65 ^a m 90 ^a n 206 o 184 p 19 ^b q 36 r 105
c 5 Qal [†] d 20 23 ³⁹				
e 11 5 ^a				
f Cp Num 62 5 g 11 Deut 24 ²¹ h L ^{20c} i Cp Ex 20 ¹⁰ j Ct 19 ²⁰ cp J ²⁹⁹				
j 12 19 ²⁵				
k 18 L ^{91c} l 23 ¹⁵ 5=count				
m 23 ³⁴ n 23 ³⁷ o 10 ³⁰ p Ezek 46 ¹⁷ cp q Jer 34 ¹⁸ - Is 61 ¹ r Ex 30 ³³ †				
q Cp 4 ^b				
r 5 25 27-29 33 10 s Ezek 7 ¹³ Neh t 13 ²⁰ ct Deut u 18 ^{8†} v 17 19 ³³				

25¹ Three separate themes are embraced in 25 and their interweaving renders analysis difficult: (1) the sabbath year 25-7 19-22; (2) the principle of redemption applied (a) to the land 25 and (b) to the persons of the Israelites 35-40^a 47; (3) the application of the jubile alike to the sale and tenure of land, and the ownership of Israelite slaves. The regulations for the sabbath year are seen at once to belong to P^b, but the allotment of the remaining passages is by no means easy. Apart from the general probability that the series of laws has been again and again revised, the legislation respecting both land and slavery presents so many resemblances on the one hand to P^b and on the other to P^a or P^a as to show that materials from both sources here lie side by side. The chief problem concerns the jubile. The analysis adopted regards the jubile in its present form as a sign of distinct and later authorship. The introduction of it 8-13 interrupts the account of the sabbatical year, and the institution is nowhere mentioned in writings earlier than P^a. But at the same time the context in which it first appears presents many affinities with P^b cp 8^a, so as to render it possible that the idea of a period of seven sabbaths of years was an early development out of the original sabbath year, which was then adapted and expanded by the later religious jurists into the jubile system. The whole complex of laws would then have passed through three main stages: (1) the sabbath year of P^b; (2) the seven sabbaths of years of P^b; (3) the jubile of P^a with its applications to the previous regulations of P^b concerning sale and purchase of land and slaves; the product, represented by P^{ab}, has received some additions 32-35 of a still later kind.

^a The number of doublets in 8-13 suggests that the passage is not altogether homogeneous, and this is confirmed by other

indications, for while some phrases clearly presuppose P^a, others are plainly modelled on the basis of P^b. Thus 8^b more formally repeats 8^a; 9^b doubles 9^a; 15 recalls 10^b. But 8^a starts from 23¹⁵; 11^b and 12^b are not unrelated to 4^b 5 7; and a presumption is thus established that P^b once contained a secondary or imitative institution carrying the sabbath year a step further. It may be conjectured that this was the hallowing of the fiftieth year, with a proclamation of liberty 10^a. This term was applied by Jeremiah to the manumission of slaves 34¹, and by Ezekiel to the reversion of land to its original owner 46¹⁷; in the text it includes both. If the further conjecture be adopted that the tenth of the seventh month was the old new year's day, the distinction between 9^a and 9^b is somewhat heightened. The original law would then be discovered in 8^a 9^a 10 (except 'it shall be a jubile unto you') 11^b 12^b, the rest being jubile additions, together with the identification of the date with the day of atonement in P^a. Cp the section in Bantseh's *Heil-Ges*, the notes of Addis and Driv-Wh (the latter treating the jubile for the land as original in P^b but ascribing to a later hand the extension to persons), together with the archaeological treatises of Benzinger and Nowack, and Harford-Battersby in Hastings' *DB* art 'Sabbatical and Jubile years.'

¹⁴ The marks of complex authorship in this verse are clear, but the base seems to be P^b. The opening words 'if ye sell 5 . . . to thy neighbour' show a neglected incongruity arising from careless editorial handling; the words 'neighbour' and 'wrong' point to P^b, but 'one another' to P^a or P^a et 17. Perhaps the final clause serves to introduce 15^a, in which the style of later P is apparent cp 50. The whole passage 8-18 interrupts the connexion of 25-7 and 1-22.

JE P ^h	P ^a	P ^a
	shalt 'diminish the price of it; for the number of the 'crops doth he sell unto thee.	
s 26 ⁵ Deut 33 ¹² Ezek 28 ²⁶ &c (9) 19-22 Lq1/ t 26 ⁵ Ex 16 ³ u Cp Ex 4 ¹ § v Cp § 26 ³⁴ Gen 33 ¹¹ w 26 ¹⁰ *	17 And ye shall not 'wrong one 'another; but thou shalt 'fear thy God: for 'I am Yahweh your God. 18 Wherefore ye shall 'do my statutes, and keep my judgements and do them; and ye shall dwell 'in the land 'in safety. 19 And the land shall yield her fruit, and ye shall 'eat your fill, and dwell therein 'in safety. 20 And if ye shall say, What shall we eat the seventh year? 'behold, we shall not sow, nor 'gather in our 'increase: 21 then I will command my blessing upon you in the sixth year, and it shall 'bring forth fruit for the three years. 22 And ye shall sow the eighth year, and eat of the fruits, the 'old store; until the ninth year, until her 'fruits come in, ye shall eat the old store.	s 200 t 203 ³ u 199
23 Lgh x 30 §† y Cp 42 14-28 Lqk1 3gh z 24-28 Jer 32 ⁷ Ezek 11 ¹² Ruth 4 ¹ † a' 19 ¹⁷ cp 26 ³ . 29 47 ct 26 § U 21 ² Ex 12 ⁴ Num 27 ¹¹	23 21 And the land shall not be sold in 'perpetuity; for the land is 'mine: for ye are strangers and 'sojourners with me.	
c' § = recton 50 52 27 ¹² -23 ³ ct 2 d' Cp 10 e' 12 ³ §	21 21 And in all the land of your 'possession ye shall grant a 'redemption for the land.	
f' 30. 41 cp Ex 21 ² 29-34 Lqkd	25 If thy 'brother be 'waxen poor, and sell some of his 'possession, then shall his 'kinsman that is 'next unto him come, and shall 'redeem 'that which his brother hath sold.	v 126 w 135 ³ x 132 ³
g' Gen 23 ¹⁷	26 26 And 'if a man have no one to 'redeem it, and he be 'waxen rich and find 'sufficient to redeem it; 27 then let him 'count the years of the sale thereof, and restore the 'overplus unto the man to whom he sold it; and he shall 'return unto his possession. 28 But if he 'be not 'able to get it back for himself, then 'that which he hath sold shall remain in the hand of him that hath bought it until the year of 'jubile: and in the jubile it shall 'go out, and he shall 'return unto his possession.	y 190 ³ z 109 ³ a' 58 b' 134
h' Num 35 ¹⁻⁸	29 29 And 'if a man sell a dwelling house in a walled city, then he may 'redeem it within a whole year after it is 'sold; for a full year shall he have the right of 'redemption. 30 And if it be not 'redeemed within the space of a 'full year, then the house that is in the walled city shall be 'made sure in 'perpetuity to him that bought it, 'throughout his generations: it shall not 'go out in the jubile. 31 But the houses of the villages which have no wall round about them shall be reckoned with the fields of the country: they may be 'redeemed, and they shall 'go out in the jubile.	c' 123 d' 76 ³
i' Cp Deut 32 ³⁵ * j' Kx 22 ²³ Deut 23 ²⁰ k' Ezek 18 ⁸ 13 17 22 ¹² Prov 28 ⁸ † l' § 1 Sam 23 ⁸	32 32 Nevertheless the 'cities of the Levites, the houses of the cities of their 'possession, may the Levites 'redeem 'at any time. 33 And if 'one of the Levites 'redeem, then the house that was sold, and the city of his 'possession, shall 'go out in the jubile: for the houses of the cities of the Levites are their possession among the children of Israel. 34 But the field of the 'suburbs of their cities may not be sold; for it is their 'perpetual possession.	e' 62 ³ f' 62 ¹
	35 35 And if thy 'brother be 'waxen poor, and his hand 'fail with thee; then thou shalt 'uphold him; 'as a stranger and a 'sojourner shall he live with thee. 36 Take thou no 'usury of him or 'increase; but 'fear thy God: that thy brother may live with thee. 37 Thou shalt not give him thy money upon 'usury, nor give him thy victuals for 'increase. 38 'I am Yahweh	

25¹⁸ § up:n 26³³ Num 13¹⁸ cp Jer 23⁸ Ezek 28²⁶ 37²⁵.
 23 This verse is assigned to the jubile legislation, partly phraseologically cp 30, partly by analogy with the case of the Israelite slave 41. For 'stranger and sojourner' cp Gen 23⁴ Num 35¹⁵. The theological idea involved in the declaration that the land is Yahweh's and could not therefore be permanently alienated, is somewhat different from that expressed in the gift of the land to Abraham and his descendants 'for an everlasting possession' Gen 17⁸ 48¹ cp Lev 14³⁴ Deut 32¹⁸: it probably, therefore, belongs to an advanced stage of priestly law. 'Sojourner' is properly 'dweller' or 'settler' and has nothing to do with the 'sojourning' of Israel in Egypt 19³⁴ (= 'strangers' and so often). The 'stranger' (§ 'sojourner') here is Yahweh's 'guest,' as in Ps 15¹ 61⁴ §.

24 Assigned to P^h, as stating the principle governing the case introduced in 23; but it may be the legal generalization of P^a. The plural number occurs more frequently in P^a than P^h

cp 3-7 25 35-37 39 40a 43 47.

26 The appearance of the legal formula 'and if a man' here and in 29 contrasted with 25 35 points again to the later jubile law. But as in 8-13 the provision may have a basis in P^h.

29 The distinction here introduced affecting city property has the air of a legal refinement resting on no earlier material.

32 The latest addition of all: the Levites have not yet been mentioned, still less has anything been said about their endowment with separate cities cp Num 35¹⁻⁸.

33a M Or, a man redeem from the Levites.

33b M Or, after §, redeem not.

34 M Or, pasture lands.—156.

35a M Or, relieve.

35b The form of the phrase is peculiar 'a stranger and sojourner and he shall live . . .'; (§ † render 'shall uphold him as a stranger and a sojourner,' and (§ adds 'and thy brother shall live with thee' as in 36b. Dillm suggested that the words 'stranger and sojourner' are a gloss, with which Driv-Wh concur.

JE P ^a	P ^a	P ^a
m ¹ 19 ³⁶ n ¹ 20 ³⁴ Ex 68	your God, ^m which brought you forth out of the land of Egypt, to ⁿ give you the ⁿ land of Canaan, to ^h be your God.	g ¹ 4 ^a h ¹ 26 ^a
30-55 L ^{ad} mo o ¹ Cp Ex 21 ³	39 ¹ And if thy ^a brother be ^w waxen poor with thee, and ^o sell himself unto thee; thou shalt not make him to serve as a bondservant: 40 ^a as an hired servant, and as a ^s sojourner, he shall be with thee.	
40b-42 L ^g kc	40 ^b ¹ He shall serve with thee unto the year of jubile: 41 then shall he ^s go out from thee, ^h he and his children with him, and shall ^r return unto his own family, and unto the possessions of his fathers shall he return. 42 For they are my servants, which I ^s brought forth out of the land of Egypt: they shall not be sold ^q as bondmen.	i ¹ 17 ⁶
j ¹ 55 2645 q ¹ 51 cp 39 43 r ¹ 46 53 2617 Gen s ¹ Ex 113 Ezek 34 ⁴⁴ t ¹ Deut 614 137 Ezek 57 1113 3636	43 Thou shalt not ^r rule over him with ^r rigour; but shalt ^f fear thy God. 44 And as for thy bondmen, and thy ^b bondmaids, which thou shalt have; of the nations that are ^r round about you, of them shall ye buy bondmen and bondmaids. 45 Moreover of the children of the ^s strangers that do sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy, and of their ^f families that are with you, which they have ^b begotten in your land: and they shall ^h be your possession. 46 And ye shall ^m make them an inheritance for your children after you, to ^h hold for a ^p possession; of them shall ye take your bondmen for ever: but over your brethren the children of Israel ye shall not ^r rule, ^o one over another, with ^r rigour.	j ¹ 30 k ¹ 27 l ¹ 127 ^b
u ¹ Num 32 ¹⁸ 33 ⁵⁴ 34 ¹³ Ezek 47 ¹³ Is 14 ³⁴ v ¹ 20 ³⁴ Num 33 ⁵³ 27 ¹¹ 36 ⁸ ct 38 ⁸	47 ¹ And if a stranger or ^s sojourner with thee be ^w waxen rich, and thy ^a brother be ^w waxen poor beside him, and sell himself unto the stranger [or] ^s sojourner with thee, or to the ^w stock of the stranger's ^f family: 48 after that he is sold he may be ^r redeemed; one of his brethren may ^r redeem him: 49 or his uncle, or his uncle's son, may redeem him, or any that is nigh of ^w kin unto him of his family may redeem him; or if he be ^w waxen rich, he may redeem himself. 50 And he shall ^r reckon with him that bought him from the year that he sold himself to him unto the year of jubile: and the price of his ^s sale shall be ^a according unto the number of years; according to the time of an hired servant shall he be with him. 51 If there be yet many years, ^a according unto them he shall give back the ^p price of his redemption ^a out of the money ^t that he was bought for. 52 And if there remain but few years unto the year of jubile, then he shall ^r reckon with him; ^a according unto his years shall he give back the ^p price of his redemption.	m ¹ 204 n ¹ 19 ^a
47-55 L ^g ky 47. L ² 244	53 as a servant hired year by year shall he be with him: he shall not ^r rule with ^r rigour over him in thy sight.	
w ¹ 51	54 And if he be not redeemed ^b by these [means], then he shall ^s go out in the year of jubile, ^h he, and his children with him. 55 ^a ¹ For unto me the children of Israel are servants; they are my servants whom I brought forth out of the land of Egypt: 55 ^b ¹ I am Yahweh your God.	
x ¹ Cp 15 5	26 ¹ ¹ Ye shall make you no ⁱ idols, neither shall ye ^r rear you up a ^b graven image, ^o or ^a a pillar, neither shall ye place any ^f figured stone in your land, to bow down ^u unto it: for ¹ I am Yahweh your God. 2 ¹ Ye shall ^k keep ^b my sabbaths, ^l and ^r reverence my sanctuary: ¹ I am Yahweh.	
y ¹ Cp 42 1a L ⁵ 5b4 a Deut 1622 b Ex 204 1b L ⁵ 5g4 c Num 3353 ^a Ezek 812 2a L ⁹ 9b9 d 193 30 2b L ¹⁰ 10ap e Ezek 3426 cp Jer 544 f 20 Deut 1117 cp 3232 ^a Ezek 3427 Zech 812 g Ex 935b cp Deut 2018 h 51 i 51 Judg 82 at j 2519 k 2518 l Deut 2828 ^a Is 172 Jer 783 Ezek 3428 3926 al m Ezek 3428 n Ezek 1417 o Cp Deut 3280 Josh 2310 Is 3017 p 51	a 203 ^b b 211 c 200 ^b d 203 ^a e 217 f 199	

25⁵⁴ M Or, in these years.26^{1a} M See 19⁴.1b M Or, an obelisk.—Ex 23²⁴ 34¹³.

1c M Or, thereon.

3 A concluding exhortation cp Ex 23²⁰.. Deut 28.On the question of date and authorship cp *Introd* i 150.

JE P^hP^eP^r

g Cp Dent 32⁸⁰
 7 Ezek 36³
 8 25²²
 9 1¹¹
 10 15 30 43 Jer
 11 14¹⁹ Ezek 16⁵
 12 44⁴
 13 Dent 23¹⁴ cp
 14 2 Sam 7⁶
 15 Ezek 34³⁴ 36²⁸
 16 37²⁸ 37²⁷
 17 Ez 6⁷ Ezek
 18 11²⁰
 19 19²⁸
 20 Ezek 34²⁷ cp
 21 30¹⁸
 22 5¹
 23 Cp 2 Dent 28¹⁵
 24 Ezek 20³⁴ (cp
 25 5²⁰ 15 16)
 26 2 Kings 17¹⁵
 27 18⁹⁰
 28 44 Gen 17¹⁴
 29 Ezek 16⁵⁰ 17¹⁵
 30 18 44⁷ Jer 11¹⁰
 31 al
 32 Cp 34⁶
 33 Jer 15⁴ Is 65²³
 34 Ps 78¹³
 35 Dent 28²⁴
 36 1 Sam 28³⁸ Job
 37 31¹⁸
 38 5¹
 39 Is 49⁴ 65²³ Job
 40 39¹⁸ 5¹
 41 m' Ezek 14⁸ 15⁷
 42 n' Num 14⁴³ cp
 43 Dent 28²⁸
 44 o' Gen 24⁶⁰
 45 p' 25⁴³
 46 q' Prov 28¹
 47 28 28 Dent 4³⁸
 48 Jer 10³⁴ al
 49 Ezek (o)
 50 Cp 32¹³
 51 Ezek 24¹¹ 30⁶
 52 18 33²⁴
 53 u' Dent 28²⁸
 54 5¹
 55 23 27 5¹
 56 z' Cp Ezek 5¹⁶
 57 y' Cp Ez 23³⁰
 58 Dent 28²⁸ Ezek
 59 51⁷ 14¹⁵ 21 34²⁸
 60 5¹ = bereave
 61 Ezek 14¹⁵
 62 a' Ezek 14¹³
 63 5¹ = cut off (14)
 64 b' Ezek 29¹⁵
 65 c' Ezek 64³² 15
 66 33²⁸
 67 d' Cp 18 5¹ Jer
 68 64 31¹⁸
 69 e' Ezek 51⁷ 63
 70 11⁸ 14¹⁷ 29⁶
 71 33²⁴
 72 f' Cp Ezek 24⁸
 73 25¹² 15
 74 g' Jer 4⁵ 814
 75 h' Am 41¹⁰ Jer
 76 24¹⁰ Ezek 14¹³
 77 28²⁸
 78 i' Ezek 41⁶ 516
 79 14¹³ Ps 105¹⁰
 80 j' Ezek 41⁶
 81 k' Dent 28²⁸
 82 Jer 19⁹ Ezek
 83 51¹⁰
 84 80 L¹⁰ 7
 85 80 L⁵⁰ 7

sword. ⁸ And five of you shall chase an hundred, and an hundred of you shall chase ⁹ten thousand: and your enemies shall ¹⁰fall before you⁷ by the sword. ⁹ And I will ¹¹have ¹²respect unto you, and make you ¹³fruitful, and ¹⁴multiply you; and will ¹⁵establish my covenant with you. ¹⁰ And ye shall eat ¹¹old store ¹²long kept, and ye shall bring forth the old ¹³because of the new. ¹¹ And I will set my ¹²dwelling among you: and my soul shall not ¹³abhor you. ¹² And I will ¹⁴walk among you, and will ¹⁵be ¹⁶your God, and ye shall be my ¹⁷people. ¹³ ¹⁴I am Yahweh your God, which ¹⁵brought you forth out of the land of Egypt, that ye should not be their bondmen; and I have broken the ¹⁶bars of your yoke, and made you go ¹⁷upright.

¹⁴ But if ye will not hearken unto me, and will not ¹⁵do all these commandments; ¹⁶and if ye shall ¹⁷reject my statutes⁷, and if your soul ¹⁸abhor my judgements, so that ye will ¹⁹not do all my commandments, but ²⁰break my ²¹covenant; ¹⁶ I also will ¹⁷do this unto you; I will appoint ¹⁸terror over you, even ¹⁹consumption and ²⁰fever, that shall ²¹consume the eyes, and make the soul to ²²pine away: and ye shall sow your seed in ²³vain, for your enemies shall eat it. ¹⁷ And I will ¹⁸set my face against you, and ye shall be ¹⁹smitten before your enemies: they that ²⁰hate you shall ²¹rule over you; and ye shall flee ²²when none pursueth you. ¹⁸ And if ye will not yet for these things hearken unto me, then I will ¹⁹chastise you seven times ²⁰more for your sins. ¹⁹ And I will break the ²⁰pride of your power; and I will make your ²¹heaven as iron, and your earth as ²²brass: ²⁰ and your strength shall be spent in ²¹vain: for your land shall not ²²yield her increase, neither shall the trees of the land yield their fruit. ²¹ And if ye walk ²²contrary unto me, and will not hearken unto me; I will ²³bring seven times ²⁴more plagues upon you according to your sins. ²² And I will ²³send the beast of the field among you, which shall ²⁴rob you of your children, and ²⁵destroy your cattle, and ²⁶make you ²⁷few in number; and your ways shall become ²⁸desolate. ²³ And if by these things ye will not be ²⁴reformed ²⁵unto me, but will walk ²⁶contrary unto me; ²⁴ then will ²⁵I also walk ²⁶contrary unto you; and I will smite you, even ²⁷I, seven times for your sins. ²⁵ And I will ²⁶bring a sword⁷ upon you, that shall ²⁷execute the vengeance of the covenant; and ye shall be ²⁸gathered together within your cities: and I will send the ²⁹pestilence among you; and ye shall be delivered into the hand of the enemy. ²⁶ When I ²⁷break your staff of bread⁷, ten women shall bake your bread in one oven, and they shall deliver your ²⁸bread again by weight⁷: and ye shall eat, and not be satisfied.

²⁷ And if ye will not for all this hearken unto me, but walk ²⁸contrary unto me; ²⁸ then I will walk ²⁹contrary unto you in fury; and ²⁹I also will ³⁰chastise you seven times for your sins. ²⁹ And ye shall ³¹eat the flesh of your sons, and the flesh of your daughters shall ye eat. ³⁰ ³¹And I will ³²destroy your high places, and ³³cut down your ³⁴sun-images, and cast your ³⁵carcasses upon the carcasses of your ³⁶idols; and my soul shall ³⁷abhor you. ³¹ And I will ³²make your cities a waste, and will bring your ³³sanctuaries unto ³⁴desolation, and I will not ³⁵smell the savour of your ³⁶sweet odours. ³² And I will bring the land into desolation: and your enemies which dwell therein shall be ³³astonished at it. ³³ And you will I ³⁴scatter among the nations, and I will ³⁵draw out the sword after you: and your land shall be a ³⁶desolation, and your cities shall be a waste. ³⁴ ³⁵Then shall the land ³⁶enjoy her sabbaths, as long as it ³⁷lieth

g 214
h 73
i 60

j 20

k 40
l 94

m 105

n 91
o 158

l' Num 33⁵² 5¹ = demolish cp 24⁸ n' 5¹ Is 17⁸ 27⁹ Ezek 64⁶ n' Ezek 65 o' Dent 29¹⁷ Ezek 64¹ (39) y' Ezek 514 2513 3012 354 Jer 2514 al
 q' Ezek 148 2028 3012 14 5 11 Gen 821 Am 521 s' Ezek 2616 3210 t' Ezek 1215 2023 2215 2912 3023 26 u' Ezek 52 12 1214
 v' Ezek 2912 3215 3328 357 cp Is 17 Jer 427 al 34 LgJ w' Cp 41 43 Is 402 2 Chron 3621 5 z' Cp 35 43 2 Chron 3621 5

JE P ^a	P ^r	P ^r
y ^r 25 ¹⁸ 6	desolate, and ye be in your enemies' land; even then shall the land rest, and enjoy her sabbaths. ³⁶ As long as it "lieth desolate it shall have rest; even the rest which it had not in your sabbaths, when ye dwelt upon it. ³⁶ And as for them that are left of you, I will send a "faintness into their heart in the "lands of their enemies""; and the sound of a "driven leaf shall chase them; and they shall flee, "as one fleeth from the sword; and they shall fall "when none pursueth. ³⁷ And they shall stumble "one upon another, as it were before the sword, "when none pursueth: and ye shall have no "power to stand before your enemies. ³⁸ And ye shall perish among the nations, and the land of your enemies shall "eat you up. ³⁹ And they that are left of you shall "pine away in their iniquity in your "enemies' lands; and also in the iniquities of their fathers shall they pine away with them. ⁴⁰ And they shall "confess their iniquity, and the iniquity of their fathers, in their "trespass which they "trespassed against me, and also that because they have walked "contrary unto me, ⁴¹ I also walked "contrary unto them, and brought them into the land of their enemies: if then their "uncircumcised heart be "humbled, and they then "accept of the punishment of their iniquity; ⁴² then will I "remember my covenant with Jacob; and also my covenant with Isaac, and also my covenant with Abraham will I remember; and I will remember the land. ⁴³ The land also shall be left of them, "and shall "enjoy her sabbaths, while she "lieth desolate without them; and they shall accept of the punishment of their iniquity: "because, even because"" they "rejected my judgements, and their soul "abhorred my statutes. ⁴⁴ And "yet for all that"" when they be in the land of their enemies, I will not "reject them, neither will I "abhor them, to ""destroy them utterly, and to "break my covenant with them: for "I am Yahweh their God: ⁴⁵ but I will for their sakes "remember the covenant of their "ancestors, whom I "brought forth out of the land of Egypt in the "sight of the nations, that I might "be their God: "I am Yahweh.	p 184
e ^m Num 13 ³² Ezek 36 ¹³ f ^m Ezek 41 ⁷ 24 ²³ 33 ¹⁰ 1s 34 ⁴ Zech 14 ¹²		q 45 r 164 ^a
g ^m Cp 166 Ezek 44 ⁷ 9 cp Deut 10 ¹⁶ 30 ⁸ Jer 4 ⁴ 9 ²⁸ h ^m Ct Deut 9 ³⁰		s 135
43 1 93g		
i ^m Ezek 13 ¹⁰ 36 ²¹ j ^m Ezek 5 ⁶ 20 ¹⁸ 18 k ^m 6 ¹ l ^m Hos 4 ⁶ al m ^m Ex 32 ¹² Ezek 20 ¹³ n ^m Deut 19 ¹⁴ 1s 61 ⁴ o ^m 25 ⁴² p ^m Ezek 20 ⁹ 14 ²²		t 188 ^a u 7 v 180 ^c a 185 ^a b 190 ^c c 172 ^a d 146 ^a e 61 f 107 g 119 ^a h 88 ^c i 107 ^d
1-13 18fc		
a 515	27 ¹ "And Yahweh "spake unto Moses, saying, ² Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, "When a man shall "accomplish a 'vow, "the "persons shall be for Yahweh by "thy "estimation. ³ And "thy estimation shall be of the 'male from twenty years 'old even unto sixty years old, even "thy estimation shall be fifty shekels of silver, after the shekel of the "sanctuary. ⁴ And if it be a 'female, then "thy estimation shall be thirty shekels. ⁵ And if it be from five years old even unto twenty years old, then "thy estimation shall be of the male twenty shekels, and for the female ten shekels. ⁶ And if it be from a month old even unto five years old, then "thy estimation shall be of the male five shekels of silver, and for the female "thy estimation shall be three shekels of silver. ⁷ And if it be from sixty years old and 'upward; if it be a male, then "thy estimation shall be fifteen shekels, and for the female ten shekels. ⁸ But if	j 169 ^b

26⁴⁶ The close of the Holiness-legislation, probably due to the compiler of P^b, though possibly from a later hand. But the form is not that of the colophons of collections apparently subsequent to P^r e.g. 7³⁷. 27³⁴ Num 36¹³.

27¹ The law for the discharge of vows 2-25 with supplemental limitations 26-29 and the appendix on tithes 30-33 plainly belong to the general collection of P, as the familiar terminology shows. It is here assigned to P^r, as it recognizes the institution of the jubile 17 cp 25¹⁰, and in the regulations about tithe it appears to include live stock as well as the agricultural produce specified in Num 18²⁷. But it would further seem that the whole series of cases has undergone a very curious revision. The introductory formula describes the law as addressed to the children of Israel. The recurring phrase 'thy estimation' implies, however, a more specific restriction. It is commonly supposed that the pronoun designates Moses: but (i) it can

hardly be imagined that Moses would use this form in communicating instructions to the people, and (2) the person addressed is identified with 'the priest' 12^b, where 6 reads 'according to thy estimation the priest (or O priest) so shall it be.' Yet in 23 'thy' has again a different meaning, and the matter is complicated by the unusual appearance of the definite article as well as the pronominal suffix, ^{וְהָיָה}. These facts, compared with 6 which throughout omits the pronoun, suggest that the original reading was 'the estimation,' and that the insertion of the pronoun is of later date to harmonize with 51⁵ (addressed to Moses alone), the scribe having failed in 23 to remove the last trace of the impersonal form.

^{2a} M Or, make a special vow.

^{2b} M Or, according to thy estimation of persons unto Yahweh, then thy estimation etc.

JE P ^a	P ^a	P ^a
b Ct 25 ²⁵	he be ^b poorer than <i>thy</i> estimation, then he shall be ^k set before the priest, and the priest shall ^l value him; ^m according to the ⁿ ability of him that vowed shall the priest value him.	k 141 l 61 m 20 ^a n 109
c 1 ²	⁹ And if it be a beast, whereof men ^o offer an oblation unto Yahweh, all that any man giveth of such unto Yahweh shall be ^o holy. ¹⁰ He shall not alter it, nor ^o change it, a good for a bad, or a bad for a good: and if he shall at all change beast for beast, then both it and that for which it is changed shall be holy. ¹¹ ¹² And if it be any unclean beast, of which they do not offer an oblation unto Yahweh, then he shall ^o set the beast before the priest: ¹² and the priest shall ^l value it, whether it be good or bad: as <i>thou</i> the priest valuest it, so shall it be. ¹³ But if he will indeed ^p redeem it, then he shall ^q add the ^r fifth part thereof unto <i>thy</i> estimation.	o 90 ^a p 132 ^a q 68 ^a r 86 ^a
d 38 6 ^a	¹⁴ ¹⁵ And ¹⁶ when a man shall ^r sanctify his house to be holy unto Yahweh, then the priest shall estimate it, whether it be good or bad: as the priest shall estimate it, so shall it ^r stand. ¹⁵ And if he that sanctified it will redeem his house, then he shall add the fifth part of the money of <i>thy</i> estimation unto it, and it shall be his.	r 86 ^a
11 16aj	¹⁶ And if a man shall sanctify unto Yahweh part of the field of his ^p possession, then <i>thy</i> estimation shall be ^q according to the sowing thereof: the sowing of a homer of barley [shall be valued] at fifty shekels of silver. ¹⁷ ¹⁸ If he sanctify his field from the year of ^t jubile, ¹⁸ according to <i>thy</i> estimation it shall stand. ¹⁸ But if he sanctify his field after the jubile, then the priest shall ^u reckon unto him the money ^u according to the years that remain unto the year of jubile, and an abatement shall be made from <i>thy</i> estimation. ¹⁹ And if he that sanctified the field will indeed redeem it, then he shall add the fifth part of the money of <i>thy</i> estimation unto it, and it shall ^u be assured to him. ²⁰ And if he will not redeem the field, or if he have sold the field to another man, it shall not be redeemed any more: ²¹ but the field, when it ^u goeth out in the jubile, shall be holy unto Yahweh, as a field ^u devoted; the possession thereof shall be the priest's. ²² And if he sanctify unto Yahweh a field which he hath ^u bought, which is not of the field of his possession; ²³ then the priest shall reckon unto him the ^u worth of <i>thy</i> estimation unto the year of jubile: and he shall give ^u his estimation in that day, as a holy thing unto Yahweh. ²⁴ In the year of jubile the field shall ^u return unto him of whom it was bought, even to him to whom the possession of the land belongeth. ²⁵ And all <i>thy</i> estimations shall be according to the shekel of the ^u sanctuary: twenty gerahs shall be the shekel.	u 36
17-24 19akg g 25 ¹⁰	²⁶ ²⁷ Only the firstling among beasts, which is ^u made a firstling to Yahweh, no man shall sanctify it; whether it be ox or sheep, it is Yahweh's. ²⁷ And if it be of an unclean beast, then he shall ^u ransom it according to ^u his estimation, and shall add unto it the fifth part thereof: or if it be not redeemed, then it shall be sold according to <i>thy</i> estimation.	u 36
h 25 ²⁷	²⁸ ²⁹ Notwithstanding, no devoted thing, that a man shall ^u devote unto Yahweh of all that he hath, whether of man or beast, or of the field of his possession, shall be sold or redeemed: every devoted thing is ^u most holy unto Yahweh. ²³ None devoted, which shall be devoted of men, shall be ransomed; he shall surely be put to death.	u 36
i 25 ²⁷	³⁰ ³¹ And all the tithe of the land, whether of the seed of the land, or of the fruit of the tree, is Yahweh's: it is holy unto Yahweh. ³¹ And if a man will redeem aught of his tithe, he shall add unto it the fifth part thereof. ³² And all the tithe of the herd or the flock, whatsoever ^u passeth under the rod ^o , the tenth shall be holy unto Yahweh. ³³ He shall not search whether it be good or bad, neither shall he ^u change it: and if he change it at all, then both it and that for which it is changed shall be holy; it shall not be redeemed.	u 36
j Cp Num 18 ¹⁴	³⁴ ³⁵ These are the commandments, which Yahweh commanded Moses for the children of Israel in mount ^u Sinai.	u 36
k Ex 12 ⁴¹		
l Cp 25 ¹⁰ 12 27.		
m 18ba n Pu ¹ cp Dent 21 ¹⁶ Jer 43 ¹ Ezek 47 ¹³ o =redeem Ex 13 ¹³ 34 ²⁰		
28-18ba		
30-33 18d		
o Ezek 20 ²⁷		

NUMBERS*

	JE P ^h	P ^a	P ⁱ
1-15 140 ^a		1 ¹ ¹ And Yahweh ^a spake unto Moses in the wilderness of ^b Sinai, in the	a 185 ^a
a Cp Ex 40 ¹⁷		tent of meeting, on the 'first day of the second month, in the "second year	b 7
		after they were come out of the land of Egypt, saying, ² ^a Take ye the sum of all	c 183
		the 'congregation of the children of Israel, by their 'families, by their	d 84 ^c
		'fathers' houses, according to the number of the names, ^b every male, by	e 45 ^a
		their 'polls; ³ from twenty years 'old and ^c upward, all that are 'able to go	f 65 ^b
		forth to war in Israel, thou and Aaron shall ^m number them by their 'hosts.	g 18
b Cp 190 ¹		⁴ And with you there shall be a man of ^b every 'tribe; every one 'head of his	h 107 ^b
		fathers' house. ⁵ And ^c these are the names of the men that shall stand	i 83
		with you: of Reuben; Elizur the son of Shedeur. ⁶ Of Simeon; Shelumiel	j 119 ^a
		the son of Zurishaddai. ⁷ Of Judah; Nahshon the son of Amminadab.	k 160 ^b
		⁸ Of Issachar; Nethanel the son of Zuar. ⁹ Of Zebulun; Eliab the son of	l 18
		Helon. ¹⁰ Of the children of Joseph: of Ephraim; Elishama the son of	m 115
		Ammihud: of Manasseh; Gamaliel the son of Pedahzur. ¹¹ Of Benjamin;	n 90
		Abidan the son of Gideoni. ¹² Of Dan; Ahiezer the son of Ammishaddai.	o 105
		¹³ Of Asher; Pagiel the son of Ochran. ¹⁴ Of Gad; Eliasaph the son of	p 84
		'Deuel. ¹⁵ Of Naphtali; Ahira the son of Enan. ¹⁶ ^a These are they that	q 188 ^a
c 162 26 ⁹		were 'called of the congregation, the 'princes of the 'tribes of their fathers;	r 131
		they were the 'heads of the 'thousands of Israel.	s 84 ^b
d Cp 44 ct 19b		¹⁷ And ^a Moses and Aaron took these men which are 'expressed by name:	t 45 ^b
e Ex 320 1 Chron 1231 1641		¹⁸ and they 'assembled all the congregation together on the first day of the	
2 Chron 2815		second month, and they 'declared their pedigrees' after their families, by	
3119 ^a		their fathers' houses, according to the number of the names, from twenty	
f 5 ^a		years old and upward, by their polls, ^{19a} ^a as Yahweh commanded Moses.	
		^{19b} ^a And he numbered them in the wilderness of Sinai.	
		²⁰ ^a And the children of Reuben, Israel's firstborn, their "generations, by	u 77 ^b

The Book of Numbers starts from the situation described at the close of Ex, and assumed throughout Lev. This is maintained as far as Num 10¹⁰. In 10¹¹ the narrative of the March to Canaan is resumed and the story is carried forward till Israel is victoriously encamped beside the Jordan. The later narrative will be found to be combined from the same sources as Ex, JE and P. A cursory examination of the materials comprised in the earlier section 1¹-10¹⁰ shows that they are not all of the same class, though it will be seen that they belong to the general collection of P. The section opens with a census of the tribes, and a description of their organization in the camp 1-2. In 3-4 the appointment of the Levites (hitherto unnamed in the priestly legislation save in Lev 25³²) is recorded, and their functions in connexion with the portable sanctuary are carefully detailed. The laws of 5-6, though adapted to the camp-scheme of legislation, are really independent of it: on the other hand, the offerings at the dedication of the altar 7, and the account of the consecration of the Levites 8, belong to P's special conception of the sanctuary and the holy tribe called to its service. But these alternating groups of narrative and law will be found to belong to different layers of P, while they are only loosely combined in their present order. For example 7¹ is attached to Ex 40, and ought chronologically to precede 1¹: while 9¹ starts from a date anterior to 1¹, though 9¹¹ carries the passover-celebration of the ritually unclean beyond it. These indications point in the direction of later compilation, for which P^a (whose careful numerical adjustments in other places are thus defied) has served as the general groundwork, into which additions might be from time to time inserted. Cp *Intro* XIII 10.

1¹ The census in 1, and the order of the tribes around the Dwelling so elaborately presented in 2, are obviously in intimate relation. But it may be doubted whether this relation implies unity of authorship. The tribes are enumerated three times, but the series all vary. (1) In 1⁵⁻¹⁵ the order is nearly identical with that of Ex 1²⁻⁴: Levi is omitted, and the number

twelve is completed by the insertion of 'the children of Joseph,' Ephraim and Manasseh, before Benjamin. (2) In 1²⁰⁻⁴² Gad occupies Levi's vacant place. (3) In 2 Judah, Issachar, and Zebulun take the lead. These diversities are most easily explained by the supposition that 1²⁰⁻⁴⁷ and 2 are independent expansions of P^a cp 1^{20^a} and 2¹⁸. (For another explanation see the forthcoming vol on *Numbers* by G Buchanan Gray in *JCC*.)

It is further probable that 1¹⁻¹⁹ has itself undergone amplification. The divine address to Moses 1 begins with the plural ^a 'take ye,' and ² shows that Aaron is now included. But the formula 'take the sum' cp 84^c occurs elsewhere only in passages assigned independently to P^a. The original command probably opened 'Number . . . ' cp 1^{19b} 3¹⁵. The simpler style of the census of Levi may be accepted as the type of P^a, and the supplemental clauses in ² may be plausibly ascribed to a later revision. As in other passages in which Aaron has been subsequently set beside Moses (e.g. 1⁴⁴ 3³⁹ 4¹), his appearance in ^{2b} is probably due to the same desire to associate the head of the ecclesiastical polity with the leader of the nation. But that the original narrative of P^a regarded the census as the act of Moses may be inferred from 1^{19b} cp 3¹⁵, 40⁴², and ct 3³⁹ 4¹⁰. The exact determination of the amount of additions in 1¹⁻¹⁹ is matter of much difficulty; but secondary elements may also be traced in 1^{17-19a}, where the phrases 'expressed by name' 'declared their pedigrees' are unique in P, and the concluding 'as Yahweh commanded Moses' (cp 1^{19a}) recurs continually in P^a.

¹⁴ M In 2¹⁴ Reuel. ¹⁶ M Or, families.

^{19a} The formula 'as Yahweh commanded Moses' completes the statement of 1⁸, so (3) and Dillm. For its use by P^a cp Ex 39 Lev 8 Num 2³³ 3⁵¹ 4⁴⁹ &c

^{19b} T so. 5 has the simple particle 5, commonly rendered 'and,' not the advb 5 as in 84^b. This clause follows 1⁶.

²⁰ P^a no doubt narrated the result of Moses' numbering: but the diffuseness and repetitions in 20-44 make it probable that this lengthy recital of the separate tribal totals has been elaborated from a simpler original. This is confirmed << 183

JE P^aP^aP^a

their families, by their fathers' houses, according to the number of the names, by their polls, every male from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war; ²¹ those that were numbered of them, of the tribe of Reuben, were forty and six thousand and five hundred. v 15^b

²² Of the children of Simeon, their generations, by their families, by their fathers' houses, those that were numbered thereof, according to the number of the names, by the polls, every male from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war; ²³ those that were numbered of them, of the tribe of Simeon, were fifty and nine thousand and three hundred.

²⁴ Of the children of Gad, their generations, by their families, by their fathers' houses, according to the number of the names, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war; ²⁵ those that were numbered of them, of the tribe of Gad, were forty and five thousand six hundred and fifty.

²⁶ Of the children of Judah, their generations, by their families, by their fathers' houses, according to the number of the names, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war; ²⁷ those that were numbered of them, of the tribe of Judah, were threescore and fourteen thousand and six hundred.

²⁸ Of the children of Issachar, their generations, by their families, by their fathers' houses, according to the number of the names, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war; ²⁹ those that were numbered of them, of the tribe of Issachar, were fifty and four thousand and four hundred.

³⁰ Of the children of Zebulun, their generations, by their families, by their fathers' houses, according to the number of the names, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war; ³¹ those that were numbered of them, of the tribe of Zebulun, were fifty and seven thousand and four hundred.

³² Of the children of Joseph, [namely], of the children of Ephraim, their generations, by their families, by their fathers' houses, according to the number of the names, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war; ³³ those that were numbered of them, of the tribe of Ephraim, were forty thousand and five hundred.

³⁴ Of the children of Manasseh, their generations, by their families, by their fathers' houses, according to the number of the names, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war; ³⁵ those that were numbered of them, of the tribe of Manasseh, were thirty and two thousand and two hundred.

³⁶ Of the children of Benjamin, their generations, by their families, by their fathers' houses, according to the number of the names, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war; ³⁷ those that were numbered of them, of the tribe of Benjamin, were thirty and five thousand and four hundred.

³⁸ Of the children of Dan, their generations, by their families, by their fathers' houses, according to the number of the names, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war; ³⁹ those that were numbered of them, of the tribe of Dan, were threescore and two thousand and seven hundred.

⁴⁰ Of the children of Asher, their generations, by their families, by their fathers' houses, according to the number of the names, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war; ⁴¹ those that were numbered of them, of the tribe of Asher, were forty and one thousand and five hundred.

the variation of order in the list already noticed 1^a; (2) by the association of Aaron with Moses ⁴⁴ contrasted with 19^b; (3) by the accumulation of clauses ³⁰ ³² (it may be observed that

'by their polls' occurs only here and ² 1^a, being afterwards dropped), contrasted with 31^b, 22 &c. An additional argument is found in the double close in 45. cp 48^a.

	JE P ^a	P ^a	P ^a
		⁴² Of the children of Naphtali, their generations, by their families, by their fathers' houses, according to the number of the names, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war; ⁴³ those that were numbered of them, of the tribe of Naphtali, were fifty and three thousand and four hundred.	
		⁴⁴ These are they that were numbered, which ^d Moses and Aaron numbered, and the princes of Israel, being twelve men: they were each one for his fathers' house. ⁴⁵ So all they that were numbered of the children of Israel by their fathers' houses, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war in Israel; ⁴⁶ even all they that were numbered were six hundred thousand and three thousand and five hundred and fifty.	
g 2 ³³ 26 ⁶²		⁴⁷ But the Levites after the tribe of their fathers ^e were not numbered among them.	
46-53 LXXA		⁴⁸ ⁷² And Yahweh ^a spake unto Moses, saying, ⁴⁹ Only the tribe of Levi thou shalt not number, neither shalt thou ^a take the sum of them among the children of Israel: ⁵⁰ but appoint thou the Levites over the ^b Dwelling of the testimony, and over all the furniture thereof, and over all that belongeth to it: they shall bear the Dwelling, and all the furniture thereof; and they shall ^b minister unto it, and shall ^c encamp round about the Dwelling. ⁵¹ And when the Dwelling ^d setteth forward, the Levites shall ^d take it down: and when the Dwelling is to be pitched, the Levites shall ^e set it up: and the ^e stranger that cometh nigh shall be put to death.	w 54 ^b
A Ct Ex 24 ¹³ 33 ¹¹ i 2 ³ ^h =pitch j 10 ¹⁷ ^h Gen 12 ⁹ k 4 ⁵ 10 ¹⁷		⁵² And the children of Israel shall pitch their tents, every man by his own camp, and every man by his own ^b standard, according to their ^b hosts. ⁵³ But the Levites shall pitch round about the ^b Dwelling of the testimony, that there be no ^c wrath upon the congregation of the children of Israel: and the Levites shall keep the ^c charge of the Dwelling of the testimony.	x 60 ^b y 153 ^b z 151
		⁵⁴ Thus did the children of Israel; according to all that Yahweh commanded Moses, so did they.	a' 178 ^a b' 39 ^b c' 189 ^a
1-34 LXXA		²¹ ⁷² And Yahweh ^a spake unto Moses and unto Aaron, saying, ² The children of Israel shall pitch every man by his own ^b standard, with the ensigns of their ^b fathers' houses: over against the tent of meeting shall they pitch round about. ³ And those that pitch on the ^c east side toward the sunrising shall be they of the standard of the camp of Judah, ^d according to their hosts: and the ^d prince of the children of Judah shall be ^d Nahshon the son of Amminadab. ⁴ And his host, and those that were ^e numbered of them, were threescore and fourteen thousand and six hundred. ⁵ And those that pitch next unto him shall be the ^e tribe of Issachar: and the prince of the children of Issachar shall be Nethanel the son of Zuar: ⁶ and	a 185 ^a b 151 c 66 d 56 ^a e 181 f 131 g 115 ^b h 165
a 17 7 ¹²			

¹⁴⁵ In ⁴⁵, there are traces of two conclusions which have been imperfectly amalgamated, and which our version cannot properly display. Each verse begins with the same formula ^h 'and all they that were numbered (⁴⁵ of the children of Israel) were . . .'. The repeated ^h shows that in ⁴⁶ a fresh start is made. ⁴⁶ is complete in itself, and (with ⁵⁴) may have summed up the account in P^a cp ^{19b}. The somewhat ampler phrasing of ⁴⁵ suggests its attachment to ⁵⁰⁻⁴⁴; its union with ⁴⁶ stripped it of its numerical predicate, and left the first ^h void of contents, so that the translators ignored it.

⁴⁸ So ^h cp ^{19b} ⁴⁵. T ^{for}. The familiar formula 'And Yahweh spake unto Moses, saying . . .' obviously introduces a new paragraph, designed to explain the little supplemental note of ⁴⁷ on the omission of Levi from the census. Logically the prohibition to number Levi should have preceded the reckoning of the tribes. But the prohibition immediately gives way ⁵⁰, to a summary of the Levitical functions at the removal and erection of the Dwelling; and the whole passage is at once connected ⁵², with the order of the tribes in camp exhibited in 2. There is no apparent reason in the duties specified in ⁵⁰, for the exemption in ⁴⁹, and it is possible that ⁴⁹ has been transposed from its original context (could it have originally followed 2.?): for ^h at the opening of a speech cp Gen 17⁹ Ex 30²³ 31¹³. The correspondence between ⁵⁰⁻⁵³ and 2 implies that they proceed from the same hand, or that ⁵⁰⁻⁵³,

which contains the rare phrase 'Dwelling of the Testimony' (belonging elsewhere to P^a), is at least not earlier than 2.

²¹ As P^a doubtless stated the result of the census, so a description of the arrangements of the camp may be attributed to him with practical security. But it seems to have been replaced by the organization presented in 2, which enumerates the tribes in a fresh series compared with 1. The present delineation is evidently composite cp ⁴⁸. The centre of the whole on the march as in the camp is the sanctuary ¹⁷; and the entire passage is in close relation with ¹⁰¹²⁻²⁸. ^{33a} reproduces ⁴⁷ with the addition of the secondary formula 'as Yahweh commanded Moses': while ³⁴ shows the hand of the expander, beside the simpler closes of ¹⁵⁴ Gen 6²² Ex 7⁶ 12²⁸ ⁵⁰. It may be conjectured, accordingly, that 2 is founded on materials derived from P^a: the princes' names agree with ¹⁵. . . and the numbers with ¹³⁰. . . but the data have been thrown into fresh combinations.

⁴ The directions for the order of the tribes in camp and on the march are curiously interrupted in 4 5 6 9a 11 13 15 16a 19 21 23 24a 26 28 30 31a by statements embodying the results of the census, and inserted as so many parentheses. The writer has really forgotten that he is professedly reporting a divine instruction to Moses, and the combined presentation is probably the result of later aggregation of materials. In the second census 26, the numbers all occur in their natural places.

	JE P ^a	P ^a	P ^a
		<p>his host, and those that were numbered thereof, were fifty and four thousand and four hundred: ⁷ [and] the tribe of Zebulun: and the prince of the children of Zebulun shall be Eliab the son of Helon: ⁸ and his host, and those that were numbered thereof, were fifty and seven thousand and four hundred. ⁹ All that were numbered of the camp of Judah were an hundred thousand and fourscore thousand and six thousand and four hundred, according to their hosts. They shall ^bset forth first.</p>	
b 181		<p>¹⁰ On the 'south side shall be the standard of the camp of Reuben according to their hosts: and the prince of the children of Reuben shall be Elizur the son of Shedeur. ¹¹ And his host, and those that were numbered thereof, were forty and six thousand and five hundred. ¹² And those that pitch next unto him shall be the tribe of Simeon: and the prince of the children of Simeon shall be Shelumiel the son of Zurishaddai: ¹³ and his host, and those that were numbered of them, were fifty and nine thousand and three hundred: ¹⁴ and the tribe of Gad: and the prince of the children of Gad shall be Eliasaph the son of 'Reuel: ¹⁵ and his host, and those that were numbered of them, were forty and five thousand and six hundred and fifty. ¹⁶ All that were numbered of the camp of Reuben were an hundred thousand and fifty and one thousand and four hundred and fifty, according to their hosts. And they shall set forth second.</p>	i 56 ^b
17 141 ^o		<p>¹⁷ ¹⁷Then the tent of meeting shall ^bset forward, with the camp of the Levites in the midst of the camps: as they encamp, so shall they set forward, every man in his place ^bby their standards.</p>	j 18 ^b
		<p>¹⁸ On the west side shall be the standard of the camp of Ephraim according to their hosts: and the prince of the children of Ephraim shall be Elishama the son of Ammihud. ¹⁹ And his host, and those that were numbered of them, were forty thousand and five hundred. ²⁰ And next unto him shall be the tribe of Manasseh: and the prince of the children of Manasseh shall be Gamaliel the son of Pedahzur: ²¹ and his host, and those that were numbered of them, were thirty and two thousand and two hundred: ²² and the tribe of Benjamin: and the prince of the children of Benjamin shall be Abidan the son of Gideoni: ²³ and his host, and those that were numbered of them, were thirty and five thousand and four hundred. ²⁴ All that were numbered of the camp of Ephraim were an hundred thousand and eight thousand and an hundred, according to their hosts. And they shall set forth third.</p>	
		<p>²⁵ On the north side shall be the standard of the camp of Dan according to their hosts: and the prince of the children of Dan shall be Ahiezer the son of Ammishaddai. ²⁶ And his host, and those that were numbered of them, were threescore and two thousand and seven hundred. ²⁷ And those that pitch next unto him shall be the tribe of Asher: and the prince of the children of Asher shall be Pagiel the son of Ochran: ²⁸ and his host, and those that were numbered of them, were forty and one thousand and five hundred: ²⁹ and the tribe of Naphtali: and the prince of the children of Naphtali shall be Ahira the son of Enan: ³⁰ and his host, and those that were numbered of them, were fifty and three thousand and four hundred. ³¹ All that were numbered of the camp of Dan were an hundred thousand and fifty and seven thousand and six hundred. They shall set forth hindmost by their standards.</p>	
c 146 d 147 e 149 f Ct 154		<p>³² ^kThese are they that were numbered of the children of Israel ^bby their fathers' houses: 'all that were numbered of the camps according to their hosts were six hundred thousand and three thousand and five hundred and fifty. ³³ But the ^dLevites ^mwere not numbered among the children of Israel; 'as Yahweh commanded Moses. ³⁴ ⁿThus did the children of Israel; according to all that Yahweh commanded Moses, 'so they pitched by their standards, and so they set forward, every one ^oby their families, according to their fathers' houses.</p>	k 188 ^a l 184 m 115 ^c n 189 o 65 ^b

JE P ^b	P ^c	P ^a
<i>a</i> Gen 5 ¹ Ex 6 ²⁸	3 ¹ "Now "these are the generations of Aaron and Moses "in the day that Yahweh spake with Moses in mount "Sinai. 2 And "these are the names of the 'sons of Aaron; Nadab the firstborn, and Abihu, Eleazar, and Ithamar. 3 "These are the names of the sons of Aaron, "the 'priests which were 'anointed, whom he 'consecrated to 'minister in the priest's office. 4 And Nadab and Abihu 'died before Yahweh, when they 'offered 'strange fire before Yahweh, in the wilderness of "Sinai, and they had no children: and Eleazar and Ithamar 'ministered in the priest's office 'in the presence of Aaron their father.	<i>a</i> 188 ^a <i>b</i> 7 <i>c</i> 12 <i>d</i> 130 <i>e</i> 23 <i>f</i> 69 ^a <i>g</i> 129 ^a <i>h</i> 118 ^a <i>i</i> 64
<i>b</i> Lev 10 ² <i>c</i> Lev 10 ¹	5 "And Yahweh 'spake unto Moses, saying, 6 "Bring the 'tribe of Levi 'near, and 'set them before "Aaron the priest, that they may 'minister unto him. 7 And they shall "keep his charge, and the charge of the whole 'congregation before the tent of meeting, to 'do the service of the 'Dwelling. 8 "And they shall keep all the furniture of the tent of meeting, and the charge of the children of Israel, to do the service of the Dwelling. 9 And thou shalt give the Levites unto Aaron and to his sons: they are 'wholly 'given unto him "on the behalf of the children of Israel. 10 And thou shalt 'appoint 'Aaron and his sons, and they shall keep their 'priesthood: and the 'stranger that cometh nigh shall be 'put to death.	<i>j</i> 185 ^a <i>k</i> 165 <i>l</i> 141 <i>m</i> 12 ^a <i>n</i> 39 ^b <i>o</i> 45 ^a <i>p</i> 140 ^b <i>q</i> 54 ^b
<i>d</i> 182	11 And Yahweh 'spake unto Moses, saying, 12 "And "I, behold, I have taken the Levites from among the children of Israel instead of all the firstborn that 'openeth the womb among the children of Israel; and the Levites shall be mine: 13 for all the firstborn are mine; 'on the day that I smote all the firstborn in the land of Egypt I 'hallowed unto me all the firstborn in Israel 'both "man and beast: 'mine they shall be; "I am Yahweh.	<i>r</i> 12 ^f <i>s</i> 129 ^b <i>t</i> 153 ^b <i>u</i> 94 ^b
<i>e</i> 816 19 186 ⁺	14 "And Yahweh 'spake unto Moses in the wilderness of "Sinai, saying, 15 'Number the children of Levi 'by their fathers' houses, by their families: every male from a month old and upward shalt thou number them. 16 And Moses numbered them 'according to the word of Yahweh, as he "was commanded. 17 And "these were the sons of Levi by their names; Gershon, and Kohath, and Merari. 18 And "these are the names of the sons of Gershon "by their families; "Libni And Shimei. 19 And the sons of Kohath by their families; "Amram, and Izhar, Hebron, and Uzziel. 20 And the sons of Merari by their families; "Mahli and Mushi. "These are the families of the Levites "according to their fathers' houses.	<i>v</i> 86 ^d <i>w</i> 108 ^c <i>x</i> 179 ^a
<i>f</i> 151 12. L ¹¹ ij <i>g</i> Gen 6 ¹⁷	21 Of Gershon was the family of the Libnites, and the family of the Shimeites: these are the families of the Gershonites. 22 Those that 'were numbered of them 'according to the number of all the males, from a month	<i>y</i> 115 ^a <i>z</i> 19 ^c
<i>A</i> Ex 13 ² <i>i</i> Ex 12 ¹² 13 ²		<i>a'</i> 65 ^b
<i>j</i> Ex 12 ¹² <i>ct</i> 817 5 <i>k</i> Cp 41 45 14. L ⁴ pa <i>l</i> 12.		<i>b'</i> 18 ^d <i>c'</i> 115 ^b
<i>m</i> Ex 34 ³⁴		
<i>n</i> Ex 6 ¹⁷ <i>o</i> Ex 6 ¹⁸ <i>p</i> Ex 6 ¹⁹		

3¹ The *tol'dhoth* form has been so long abandoned by P^c that its reappearance here excites surprise. It is probably secondary for the following reasons: (1) it is not quite in the style of P^c, Moses is included in the title but has no progeny, the section being concerned only with the derivation of the priesthood from Aaron; (2) the material is not new; Aaron's sons are enumerated in Ex 6²³, and the death of Nadab and Abihu is related in Lev 10¹; (3) the inclusion of Aaron's sons in the unctioⁿ was not part of the original scheme of P^c cp Ex 28⁴¹; (4) the passage is evidently placed here as an introduction to the assignment of the Levites to 'Aaron and his sons' in clear subordination to the priesthood.

5 The narrative of the separate institution of the Levitical order, and the definition of their duties in the charge of the Dwelling 3⁵⁻⁴ clearly contains different elements. Thus the functions of the several clans, elaborately described in 4, have been already allotted in 3²³, 31, 36; while 3²¹⁻²⁹ displays phenomena cognate with those of 2 but in inverse order. Instead of weaving the results of the census into directions for the order of the tribes in camp, the passage is based on the enumeration of the Levitical clans but is interrupted by successive instructions concerning their place on encampment and the parts of the sanctuary under their care 23-28 29-32 33-38, which seem to be fragments of a view of the grouping of the Levites round the Dwelling now replaced by the ampler statement of 4. In

the complex structure of 3⁵⁻⁵¹ two layers seem distinguishable.

(1) 5-20 appears to be the work of P^c to whom also may be assigned the numerical framework of 21-39. The intervening passages may possibly belong to the same hand, though now out of place, but the references to the 'cords' 28 37 which are nowhere named in Ex 25-29 while they are specified in the secondary reproduction 35¹⁸ 39⁴⁰, and to the 'altars' 31, point to a later source.

(2) 40-43 and 46-51 appear to be the working out of the principles enunciated in 12. 46, 41 is plainly an enlarged edition of 45; the introductory formula in 40 does not correspond with 5 11 41; the supplemental instruction in 40^b recalls the later use of NW in 12; in 43 the phrase 'as Yahweh commanded him' seems secondary. On the other hand, there is a relative simplicity in 40-43 which is not inharmonious with P^c. But in 46-51 the marks of later origin are clearer: 'the shekel of the sanctuary' 47 50 occurs only in P^c cp Ex 30¹³; 'redemption money' 49 is found nowhere else. On the whole, the present form of 40-51 seems best assigned to P^a, the link being found in P^c 45.

6 On the relation of 5-10 to 18¹⁻⁷ see 18¹³.

8 This verse, concluding with the phrase of 7b may possibly be a later expansion cp Klostermann, *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift* (1897) p 57.

9a M & given, given.

10 M Or, number.

9b M Or, from.

	JE P ^a	P ^a	P ^a
		old and upward, even those that were numbered of them were seven thousand and five hundred.	
22-26 29-32 35-38 Lilp		23 ^L The families of the Gershonites shall pitch behind the Dwelling westward. 24 And the 'prince of the fathers' house of the Gershonites shall be Eliasaph the son of Lael. 25 And the 'charge of the sons of Gershon in the tent of meeting shall be the Dwelling, and the Tent, the 'covering thereof, and the 'screen for the 'door of the tent of meeting, 26 and the 'hangings of the court, and the 'screen for the door of the court, which is by the Dwelling, and by the altar round about, and the 'cords of it for all the service thereof.	d' 131 e' 39 ^a f' 1m ^b
q Ex 26 ¹⁴ r Ex 26 ³⁸ s Ex 27 ⁹ t Ex 27 ¹⁶ u 27 4 ³⁶ 28 Ex 35 ¹⁶ 39 ⁴⁰		27 And of Kohath was the family of the Amramites, and the family of the Izharites, and the family of the Hebronites, and the family of the Uzzielites: these are the families of the Kohathites. 28 According to the number of all the males, from a month old and upward, there were eight thousand and six hundred, keeping the charge of the 'sanctuary.	
		29 The families of the sons of Kohath shall pitch on the side of the Dwelling 'southward. 30 And the prince of the fathers' house of the families of the Kohathites shall be Elizaphan the son of Uzziel. 31 And their charge shall be the 'ark, and the 'table, and the 'candlestick, and the 'altars, and the vessels of the 'sanctuary wherewith they minister, and the screen, and all the service thereof. 32 And Eleazar the son of Aaron the priest shall be prince of the princes of the Levites, [and have] the 'oversight of them that keep the charge of the sanctuary.	s' 88 ^c h' 56 ^b
v Ex 25 ¹⁰ w Ex 25 ²⁸ x Ex 25 ³¹ y Ex 27 ¹ 30 ¹ z 36 4 ¹⁶ ct 16 ²⁹ ^a		33 Of Merari was the family of the Mahlites, and the family of the Mushites: these are the families of Merari. 34 And those that were numbered of them, according to the number of all the males, from a month old and upward, were six thousand and two hundred.	
		35 And the prince of the fathers' house of the families of Merari was Zurriel the son of Abihail: they shall pitch on the side of the Dwelling northward.	
a' Ex 26 ¹⁵ b' Ex 26 ²⁶ c' Ex 26 ³⁷ 27 ¹⁰ d' Ex 26 ¹⁹ e' Ex 27 ¹⁰ f' Ex 27 ¹⁹		36 And 'the 'appointed charge of the sons of Merari shall be the 'boards of the Dwelling, and the 'bars thereof, and the 'pillars thereof, and the 'sockets thereof, and all the instruments thereof, and all the service thereof; 37 and the 'pillars of the court round about, and their sockets, and their 'pins, and their 'cords. 38 And those that pitch before the Dwelling 'eastward, before the tent of meeting toward the sunrising, shall be Moses, and Aaron and his sons, keeping the charge of the 'sanctuary 'for the charge of the children of Israel; and the 'stranger that cometh nigh shall be put to death.	i' 56 ^a j' 91
		39 All that were numbered of the Levites, which Moses 'and Aaron numbered 'at the commandment of Yahweh, by their families, all the males from a month old and upward, were twenty and two thousand.	
40 L4Q g' Cp 12 § 41 46-48 Lilp h' Cp 12 §		40 ^L And Yahweh said unto Moses, 'Number all the firstborn males of the children of Israel from a month old and upward, and 'take the number of their names. 41 ^L And thou shalt 'take the Levites for me ('I am Yahweh) instead of all the firstborn among the children of Israel; and the cattle of the Levites instead of all the firstlings among the cattle of the children of Israel. 42 And Moses numbered, as Yahweh commanded him, all the firstborn among the children of Israel. 43 And all the firstborn males according to the number of names, from a month old and upward, of those that were numbered of them, were twenty and two thousand two hundred and threescore and thirteen.	
45 Lilp i' Cp 41		44 And Yahweh 'spake unto Moses, saying, 45 ^{Lh'} Take the Levites 'instead	

32³ Kautzsch and Addis, 'used to encamp,' and so in 24. and 29. . 35. . On the significance of the imperfect in this sense cp Driver, *Tense* § 30, and Ges-Kautzsch, *Hebr Gram* § 107. In 24. there is no verb at all, nor in the corresponding passages of the following sections 29-32 35-37; but the final verb in 38 'shall be put to death' cannot be treated as descriptive of past usage, and seems to guarantee the general view taken above.

36 M. § the office of the charge.

39 The word 'numbered' in the Hebr text is singular, and the points over 'and Aaron' signify *ad delendum*. Sam © and some § MSS omit it cp 16, but its presence in § implies its early entry into the text. It is one of the marks of the secondary character of 4 that Aaron is there associated with Moses from the beginning cp 1¹⁸.

38 M Or, even.

JE P ^h	P ^e	P ^r
	of all the firstborn among the children of Israel, and the cattle of the Levites instead of their cattle: and the Levites shall be mine; 'I am Yahweh.	
51 5†	⁴⁶ And for 'the redemption of the two hundred and threescore and thirteen of the firstborn of the children of Israel, which are 'over and above [the number of] the Levites, ⁴⁷ thou shalt take five shekels apiece by the 'poll; after the shekel of the 'sanctuary shalt thou take them (the shekel is twenty gerahs): ⁴⁸ and thou shalt give the money wherewith the 'odd number of them is redeemed unto Aaron and to his sons. ⁴⁹ And Moses took the 'redemption-money from them that were 'over and above them that were redeemed by the Levites: ⁵⁰ from the firstborn of the children of Israel took he the money; a thousand three hundred and threescore and five [shekels], after the shekel of the sanctuary: ⁵¹ and Moses gave 'the redemption-money unto Aaron and to his sons, 'according to the word of Yahweh, 'as Yahweh commanded Moses.	k' 134 l' 83
4D ^c	⁴¹ 'And Yahweh 'spake unto Moses and unto Aaron, saying, ² 'Take the sum of the sons of Kohath from among the sons of Levi, 'by their families, by their fathers' houses, ³ 'from thirty years old and upward even until fifty years old, all that 'enter upon the 'service, to 'do the work in the tent of meeting. ⁴ 'This is the 'service of the sons of Kohath in the tent of meeting, [about] the 'most holy things: ⁵ when the camp 'setteth forward, Aaron shall go in, and his sons, and they shall 'take down the 'veil of the screen, and cover the 'ark of the testimony with it: ⁶ and shall put thereon a 'covering of sealskin, and shall spread 'over it a cloth 'all of blue, and shall put in the 'staves thereof. ⁷ And upon the 'table of shewbread' they shall spread a cloth of blue, and put thereon the 'dishes, and the spoons, and the bowls, and the cups to 'pour out withal: and the 'continual bread shall be thereon: ⁸ and they shall spread upon them a cloth of 'scarlet, and cover the same with a covering of sealskin, and shall put in the staves thereof. ⁹ And they shall take a cloth of blue, and cover the 'candlestick of the 'light, and its lamps, and its tongs, and its snuff-dishes, and all the oil vessels thereof, wherewith they 'minister unto it: ¹⁰ and they shall put it and all the vessels thereof within a covering of sealskin, and shall put it upon 'the frame. ¹¹ And upon the 'golden altar they shall spread a cloth of blue, and cover it with a covering of sealskin, and shall put in the staves thereof: ¹² and they shall take all the vessels of 'ministry, wherewith they minister in the 'sanctuary, and put them in a cloth of blue, and cover them with a covering of sealskin, and shall put them on the frame. ¹³ And they shall 'take away the ashes from the altar, and spread a 'purple cloth thereon: ¹⁴ and they shall put upon it all the vessels thereof, wherewith they minister about it, the 'firepans, the fleshhooks, and the shovels, and the basons, all the vessels of the altar; and they shall spread upon it a 'covering of sealskin, and put in the staves thereof. ¹⁵ And when 'Aaron and his sons have made an end of covering the 'sanctuary, and all the furniture of the sanctuary, as the camp is to 'set forward; after that, the sons	a 185 ^a b 84 ^a c 92 ^b d 177 ^a e 188 ^b f 88 ^d g 171 h 161 ^b i 169 ^a j 124 k 104 l 88 ^a m 12 ^a
121h12 12		
51		
5† ct 8 Ex		
25 ⁵		
28 ²¹		
25 ¹⁴		
Ex 25 ²³ 30		
25 ²⁹		
Ex 25 ²⁹ 5†		
25 ⁴		
: 35 ¹⁴		
30 ¹		
hron 24 ^{14†}		
27 ³		
25 ⁴		
27 ³		

⁵ M Or, those that are to be redeemed, the &c.—Cp 48 49 51 181⁶
135¹⁰ 511¹.

M Or, the money of them that were redeemed.

The second Levitical census of all males from thirty years to fifty is entrusted at the outset to Moses and Aaron ¹, the princes of Israel are associated with them in carrying it. Compared with the simpler account of the more active operations of numbering the whole tribe and all the born males of Israel executed by Moses alone in 31⁵. 40-42, betrays the work of the later amplifier, who has combined it more elaborate directions for the 'service' required from three clans 4-15 24-28 31-33, though nothing is said about their in the camp, and they are named in a fresh order. Whether supersedes an earlier and briefer narrative by P^e must be doubtful: some trace may be thought to show itself in 21 29 a shalt number, and in the address to Moses alone 21. But new superscription in 31 has only been required through

the intrusion of 16 which has nothing to do with the arrangements for the removal of the Dwelling, and 17-20 which seems an afterthought; ²² opens exactly like 2, and the plural is resumed in 32. The mention of the 'golden altar' ¹¹ (cp incense 16) at once implies a secondary origin, and this is confirmed by numerous small divergences from the phraseology of other parts of P. Thus ² 22 'take the sum' ct 12 infn for imper; ⁵ 'veil of the screen,' ⁶ 'covering,' ⁷ 'table of the Presence' (5 omits 'bread' ct Ex 35¹³ 39³⁶), ⁷ 'cups of pouring,' ⁷ 'continual bread,' ¹² 'vessels of ministry,' ¹⁵ 'burdens,' ¹⁹ 'approach' followed by accus without a prep—occur nowhere else in P: cp 9 'candlestick of the light' only in Ex 35¹⁴. In 4-15 the writer implicitly corrects the vagueness of 31 which insufficiently protected the sacred objects from the gaze of any but priests; while 25 is enlarged from 32⁵, cp 31. and 33⁶.

⁵ M 5 warfare, or, host (and so in 35 29 43).—Cp 792.

⁴ M Or, work.—Cp 7140.

¹⁰ M Or, a bar.—Cp 132^a.

JE P ^a	P ^a	P ^a
	in the tent of meeting, ⁴⁰ even those that were numbered of them, by their families, by their fathers' houses, were two thousand and six hundred and thirty. ⁴¹ These are they that were numbered of the families of the sons of Gershon, all that did serve in the tent of meeting, whom Moses and Aaron numbered 'according to the commandment of Yahweh.	
	⁴² And those that were numbered of the families of the sons of Merari, by their families, by their fathers' houses, ⁴³ from thirty years old and upward even unto fifty years old, every one that entered upon the service, for work in the tent of meeting, ⁴⁴ even those that were numbered of them by their families, were three thousand and two hundred. ⁴⁵ These are they that were numbered of the families of the sons of Merari, whom Moses and Aaron numbered 'according to the commandment of Yahweh 'by the hand of Moses.	
	⁴⁶ All those that were numbered of the Levites, whom Moses and Aaron and the princes of Israel numbered, by their families, and by their fathers' houses, ⁴⁷ from thirty years old and upward even unto fifty years old, every one that entered in to do the work of service, and the work of bearing burdens in the tent of meeting, ⁴⁸ even those that were numbered of them, were eight thousand and five hundred and fourscore. ⁴⁹ 'According to the commandment of Yahweh they were numbered 'by the hand of Moses, every one according to his service, and 'according to his burden: thus were they numbered of him, 'as Yahweh commanded Moses.	
m' § = which Sam 9 § 2 1-4 16k.d a Lev 24 ³ b Lev 15 ² c Lev 19 ²⁸ d Cp 107 e Ct 19 ¹³ § f Lev 15 ³¹	⁵¹ 'And Yahweh 'spake unto Moses, saying, ² 'Command the children of Israel, that they put out of the camp every 'leper, and every one that hath an 'issue, and whosoever is 'unclean by the 'dead: ³ 'both male and female shall ye put out, 'without the camp shall ye put them; that they 'defile not their camp, 'in the midst whereof 'I 'dwell. ⁴ And the children of Israel did so, and put them out without the camp: 'as Yahweh spake unto Moses, so did the children of Israel.	a 185 ^a b 103 c 107 ^b d 120 ^a e 94 ^a f 54 ^a g 189 ^a
5-8 17g.c 3d/8c	⁵ 'And Yahweh spake unto Moses, saying, ⁶ 'Speak unto the children of Israel, 'When a 'man or woman shall commit any sin that men commit, to do a 'trespass against Yahweh, and that 'soul be 'guilty; ⁷ then they shall 'confess their sin which they have done: and he shall make restitution for his guilt 'in full, and 'add unto it the 'fifth part thereof, and give it unto him in respect of whom he hath been guilty. ⁸ But if the man have no 'kinsman to whom restitution may be made for the guilt, the restitution for guilt which is made unto Yahweh shall be the priest's; besides the 'ram of the atonement, whereby atonement shall be made for him. ⁹ 'And every 'heave offering of all the 'holy things of the children of Israel, which they 'present unto the priest, shall be his. ¹⁰ And every man's hallowed things shall be his: whatsoever any man giveth the priest, it shall be his.	h 190 ^c i 108 ^a j 164 ^{ab} k 146 ^a l 81 ^a m 44 n 68 o 132 ^b
A Lev 68. 9 111j i Lev 22 ³	¹¹ 'And Yahweh spake unto Moses, saying, ¹² 'Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto	p 118 ^a q 118 ^a
-31 11j/7j		

⁴⁰ M Or, according to his burden and his duty, as &c.—Cp Dillm in loc, who compares Ex 38²¹.

⁵¹ This paragraph seems to presuppose the provisions contained in Lev 13-15, though it may conceivably embody in a prior form (cp the parallels with P^b) the principle there worked out. The phrase 'in the midst of which I dwell' ³ recalls Lev 15¹⁸ 26¹¹, and suggests that if this be not a passage inserted from an earlier source, at least the editor has caught the spirit of his older models when he added this supplement to connect their provisions with the camp of Num 1-3.

⁵ The contents of 5-10 fall into two divisions. 5b-8 is an obvious supplement to Lev 5¹⁴-6⁷, and provides for the case where the injured person is absent or dead, and there is no kinsman to receive the compensation, which is therefore assigned to the priest. In 9, a general principle is enunciated concerning the priestly right to the sacred gifts cp Lev 7¹⁻¹⁰ 31-36 and Laws 111j. The rare phrase 'holy things of the children of Israel' points to a possible derivation from P^b.

¹¹ The section which contains the remarkable procedure ordained in case of marital jealousy is supposed by many to be

based upon earlier materials. This view rests rather on a sense of archaic flavour in the rite than on any distinctive marks of style. The phraseology is throughout that of P, and only faint echoes of P^b are to be heard in ¹² and ²⁰. As a whole the law must be placed with other early sections of P^a, which seem to be intrinsically older both in form and matter than P^b. But the further question arises whether the present text is not a combination of two distinct though kindred ordinances. The common phenomena of amalgamation seem clearly present: two inconsistent situations are run together: they are discriminated first by diversities of conception, and these in turn disclose distinctive varieties of diction. The evidence for this view will be best appreciated after a comparison of the two sources (distinguished as A and B) conjecturally rearranged in parallel columns, with analytical notes and references. The separation proposed by Stade (ZATW 1895 166-78) has been followed in the main, but the division set forth here endeavours to avoid some difficulties to which his distribution was exposed. It will be seen by the frequency of the harmonist's phrases that the fusion has been fairly complete.

JE P ^a	P ^a	P ^a
<p>q Lev 21 5¹¹ r Cp 18 20[†] s Cp Lev 14 21</p> <p>t Cp 1 Kings 6 15 20 7⁷ Am 9 2[†]</p> <p>u Lev 10 6</p> <p>v 19 23-† w 19 22 24 Cp Pl Gen 5 29[†]</p> <p>x 28 31 cp Gen 24 8</p> <p>y Lev 18 20</p> <p>z Josh 22 19^a</p> <p>a' adj† 22 27 vb (7 Is 29 7)[†]</p> <p>b' Ex 17 14 c' Ct Gen 6 7</p> <p>d' Lev 23</p> <p>e' Cp†</p> <p>f' Ct 14</p> <p>1-21 Lxxpa 8fc a 5^b b 5. 12 Lev 15 81 c Lev 10 8 d Cp† e Cp† f Cp Gen 30 37^a g Cp† h 87^a</p>	<p>shall "pour no 'oil upon it, nor put 'frankincense thereon; for it is a 'meal offering of jealousy", a meal offering of "memorial, 'bringing iniquity to remembrance. ¹⁶ And the priest shall 'bring her near, and 'set her before Yahweh: ¹⁷ and the priest shall take holy water in an earthen vessel; and of the dust that is on the 'floor of the "Dwelling the priest shall take, and put it into the water: ¹⁸ and the priest shall 'set the woman before Yahweh, and let the "hair of the woman's head go loose, and put the meal offering of "memorial in her hands, which is the "meal offering of jealousy: and the priest shall have in his hand the "water of bitterness" that "causeth the curse: ¹⁹ and the priest shall cause her to swear, and shall say unto the woman, If no man have lien 'with thee, and if thou hast not 'gone aside to 'uncleanness; "being under thy husband, be thou 'free from this "water of bitterness that "causeth the curse: ²⁰ but if thou hast 'gone aside, "being under thy husband, and if thou be "defiled, and some man have 'lien with thee 'besides thine husband: ²¹ then the priest shall cause the woman to swear with the oath of "cursing, and the priest shall say unto the woman, Yahweh make thee a "curse and an oath among thy people, when Yahweh doth make thy thigh to fall away, and thy belly to "swell; ²² and this water that "causeth the curse shall go into thy bowels, and make thy belly to "swell, and thy thigh to fall away: and the woman shall say, Amen, Amen. ²³ And the priest shall 'write these curses in a book, and he shall 'blot them out into the "water of bitterness: ²⁴ and he shall make the woman drink the "water of bitterness that "causeth the curse: and the water that causeth the curse shall enter into her [and become] bitter. ²⁵ And the priest shall take the 'meal offering of jealousy out of the woman's hand, and shall "wave the meal offering before Yahweh, and 'bring it unto the altar: ²⁶ and the priest shall 'take an handful of the meal offering, as the 'memorial thereof, and "burn it upon the altar, and afterward shall make the woman drink the water. ²⁷ And when he hath made her drink the water, then it shall come to pass, if she be defiled, and have 'committed a trespass against her husband, that the water that "causeth the curse shall enter into her [and become] bitter, and her belly shall "swell, and her thigh shall fall away: and the woman shall be a curse among her people. ²⁸ And if the woman be not defiled, but "be clean; then she shall be "free, and shall 'conceive seed. ²⁹ "This is the law of jealousy, when a wife, "being under her husband, 'goeth aside, and is defiled; ³⁰ or when the spirit of jealousy 'cometh upon a man, and he be jealous over his wife; then shall he 'set the woman before Yahweh, and the priest shall execute upon her all this law. ³¹ And the man shall be "free from iniquity, and that woman shall 'bear her iniquity.</p> <p>31 ¹² And Yahweh 'spake unto Moses, saying, ² Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, 'When "either 'man or woman shall make a 'special vow, the vow of "a Nazirite, to "separate himself unto Yahweh: ³ he shall 'separate himself from wine and 'strong drink; he shall drink no "vinegar of wine, or vinegar of strong drink, neither shall he drink any 'liquor of grapes, nor eat 'fresh grapes or dried. ⁴ All the days of his "separation shall he eat nothing that is made of the grape-vine, from the 'kernels even to the 'husk. ⁵ All the days of his vow of separation there shall no 'razor come upon his</p>	<p>u 128 v 72 w 113 x 141</p> <p>y 54^b</p> <p>z 167^a</p> <p>a' 175</p> <p>b' 112 c' 37</p> <p>d' 42^b e' 188^b</p> <p>f' 28^a a 185^a b 190^a c 108^a d 172</p>

5¹⁷ (3) Tent of meeting. As this term is not elsewhere used in the original text of the priestly teaching (cp Ex 25¹⁸) its appearance here is hardly original.

19 20 M. Or, with another *instead of thy husband*. See Ezek 23⁵ Rom 7².

21¹⁶ M. Or, *adjuration*.

29 M. Or, *goeth aside* with another *instead of her husband*.

31 The Law of the Nazirite betrays no special dependence upon P^a except in the thrice repeated allusion to the 'door of the tent of meeting' ¹⁰ ¹³ ¹⁸, which may not be original (or may belong to the older view of the sanctuary cp Ex 25¹⁸), the 'basket of unleavened bread' &c ¹⁵ (only in Ex 29 Lev 8). The ritual terminology ¹⁰ . . . 'offer,' with the various kinds of sacrifices, and the appropriate offerings, conforms closely to the type of

Lev 1-7. Of the three parts into which the law falls 25-5 9-12 13-21 the first may well be earlier still. The phraseology shows some peculiarities arising from the subject, but in other respects it approximates closely to the usage of P^b; thus, with the idea of 'separation' to Yahweh, cp 'holy to Yahweh' ³ Lev 21⁷ &c (for 'separation unto God' ⁷ cp Judg 13⁵ ⁷, 'God' cp Lev 21³⁰); further, 'be holy' ⁵, 'dead body' ⁶ cp Lev 21¹¹, 'make himself unclean' &c ⁷ cp Lev 21³. For the Nazirite elsewhere, cp Judg 13⁵ ⁷ 16¹⁷ Am 2¹¹. Lam 4⁷; the term is also used in other applications Gen 49²⁶ || Deut 33¹⁶ Lev 25⁵ 11[†].

22 M. That is, *one separated or consecrated*.

23 M. Or, *consecrate*.

4 M. Or, *consecration*. Or, *Naziriteship*.

JE	P ^{ss}	P ^r	P ^r
Ex 40 ⁹		<p>*setting up the ^bDwelling, and had ^banointed it and ^bsanctified it, and all the furniture thereof, and the altar and all the vessels thereof, and had anointed them and sanctified them; ² that the 'princes of Israel, the 'heads of their fathers' houses, 'offered; these were the princes of the 'tribes, these are they that 'were over them that were 'numbered: ³ and they brought their 'oblation before Yahweh, six ^dcovered wagons, and twelve oxen; a wagon for every two of the princes, and for each one an ox: and they 'presented them before the Dwelling. ⁴ And Yahweh 'spake unto Moses, saying, ⁵ Take it of them, that they may be to 'do the service of the tent of meeting; and thou shalt give them unto the Levites, to every man 'according to his service. ⁶ And Moses took the wagons and the oxen, and gave them unto the Levites. ⁷ Two wagons and four oxen he gave unto the sons of Gershon, 'according to their service: ⁸ and four wagons and eight oxen he gave unto the sons of Merari, 'according unto their service, 'under the hand of 'Ithamar the son of Aaron the priest. ⁹ But unto the sons of Kohath he gave none: because the service of the "sanctuary belonged unto them; they 'bare it upon their shoulders. ¹⁰ And the princes offered "for the dedication of the 'altar in the day that it was anointed, even the princes offered their oblation before the altar. ¹¹ And Yahweh said unto Moses, They shall offer their oblation, each prince on his day, for the dedication of the altar.</p> <p>¹² And he that offered his oblation the first day was Nahshon the son of Amminadab, of the tribe of Judah: ¹³ and his oblation was one silver ^bcharger, the weight thereof was an hundred and thirty [shekels], one silver 'bowl of seventy shekels, after the 'shekel of the sanctuary; both of them full of ^dfine flour mingled with oil for a meal offering; ¹⁴ one golden 'spoon of ten [shekels], full of "incense; ¹⁵ one young bullock, one ram, one "he-lamb of the first year, for a burnt offering; ¹⁶ one male of the goats for a sin offering; ¹⁷ and for the sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he-goats, five he-lambs of the first year: "this was the oblation of Nahshon the son of Amminadab.</p> <p>¹⁸ On the second day Nethanel the son of Zuar, prince of Issachar, did offer: ¹⁹ he offered for his oblation one silver charger, the weight thereof was an hundred and thirty [shekels], one silver bowl of seventy shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary; both of them full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meal offering; ²⁰ one golden spoon of ten [shekels], full of incense; ²¹ one young bullock, one ram, one he-lamb of the first year, for a burnt offering; ²² one male of the goats for a sin offering; ²³ and for the sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he-goats, five he-lambs of the first year: this was the oblation of Nethanel the son of Zuar.</p> <p>²⁴ On the third day Eliab the son of Helon, prince of the children of Zebulun: ²⁵ his oblation was one silver charger, the weight thereof was an hundred and thirty [shekels], one silver bowl of seventy shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary; both of them full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meal offering; ²⁶ one golden spoon of ten [shekels], full of incense; ²⁷ one young bullock, one ram, one he-lamb of the first year, for a burnt offering; ²⁸ one male of the goats for a sin offering; ²⁹ and for the sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he-goats, five he-lambs of the first year: this was the oblation of Eliab the son of Helon.</p> <p>³⁰ On the fourth day Elizur the son of Shedeur, prince of the children of Reuben: ³¹ his oblation was one silver charger, the weight thereof was an hundred and thirty [shekels], one silver bowl of seventy shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary; both of them full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meal offering; ³² one golden spoon of ten [shekels], full of incense; ³³ one</p>	a 60 ^b b 54 ^b c 131 d 66 e 118 ^a f 165 g 115 ^b h 118 ^b i 185 ^a j 140 ^b k 19 ^a l 12 ^a m 88 ^a n 95 ^a o 188 ^b
2 Chron 7 ⁶ §			
1 Is 66 ^{30†}			
4 ²⁸ 33			
r 4 ¹⁵			
9 Ex 40 ¹⁰			
h 4 ⁷ Ex 25 ³⁹			
i 4 ¹⁴ Ex 27 ³			
j Ex 30 ¹⁵			
k Ex 29 ²			
l Ex 25 ²⁹			
m Ex 29 ³⁸			

variations in the first two sections 12-17 18-23, the same formula, consisting of 118 English words, is repeated for each of the twelve tribes, with the alteration of only six words for the

number of the day and the name and tribe of the prince.

7¹⁰ M Or, the dedication-gift.—Cp Ps 30 (title) 2 Chron 7⁸ Ex 6¹⁶ Neh 12²⁷ Dan 3^{2†}.

JE P^mP^rP^r

young bullock, one ram, one he-lamb of the first year, for a burnt offering ; ³⁴ one male of the goats for a sin offering ; ³⁵ and for the sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he-goats, five he-lambs of the first year : this was the oblation of Elizur the son of Shedeur.

³⁶ On the fifth day Shelumiel the son of Zurishaddai, prince of the children of Simeon : ³⁷ his oblation was one silver charger, the weight thereof was an hundred and thirty [shekels], one silver bowl of seventy shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary ; both of them full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meal offering ; ³⁸ one golden spoon of ten [shekels], full of incense ; ³⁹ one young bullock, one ram, one he-lamb of the first year, for a burnt offering ; ⁴⁰ one male of the goats for a sin offering ; ⁴¹ and for the sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he-goats, five he-lambs of the first year : this was the oblation of Shelumiel the son of Zurishaddai.

⁴² On the sixth day Eliasaph the son of Deuel, prince of the children of Gad : ⁴³ his oblation was one silver charger, the weight thereof was an hundred and thirty [shekels], one silver bowl of seventy shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary ; both of them full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meal offering ; ⁴⁴ one golden spoon of ten [shekels], full of incense ; ⁴⁵ one young bullock, one ram, one he-lamb of the first year, for a burnt offering ; ⁴⁶ one male of the goats for a sin offering ; ⁴⁷ and for the sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he-goats, five he-lambs of the first year : this was the oblation of Eliasaph the son of Deuel.

⁴⁸ On the seventh day Elishama the son of Ammihud, prince of the children of Ephraim : ⁴⁹ his oblation was one silver charger, the weight thereof was an hundred and thirty [shekels], one silver bowl of seventy shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary ; both of them full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meal offering ; ⁵⁰ one golden spoon of ten [shekels], full of incense ; ⁵¹ one young bullock, one ram, one he-lamb of the first year, for a burnt offering ; ⁵² one male of the goats for a sin offering ; ⁵³ and for the sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he-goats, five he-lambs of the first year : this was the oblation of Elishama the son of Ammihud.

⁵⁴ On the eighth day Gamaliel, the son of Pedahzur, prince of the children of Manasseh : ⁵⁵ his oblation was one silver charger, the weight thereof was an hundred and thirty [shekels], one silver bowl of seventy shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary ; both of them full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meal offering ; ⁵⁶ one golden spoon of ten [shekels], full of incense ; ⁵⁷ one young bullock, one ram, one he-lamb of the first year, for a burnt offering ; ⁵⁸ one male of the goats for a sin offering ; ⁵⁹ and for the sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he-goats, five he-lambs of the first year : this was the oblation of Gamaliel the son of Pedahzur.

⁶⁰ On the ninth day Abidan the son of Gideoni, prince of the children of Benjamin : ⁶¹ his oblation was one silver charger, the weight thereof was an hundred and thirty [shekels], one silver bowl of seventy shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary ; both of them full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meal offering ; ⁶² one golden spoon of ten [shekels], full of incense ; ⁶³ one young bullock, one ram, one he-lamb of the first year, for a burnt offering ; ⁶⁴ one male of the goats for a sin offering ; ⁶⁵ and for the sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he-goats, five he-lambs of the first year : this was the oblation of Abidan the son of Gideoni.

⁶⁶ On the tenth day Ahiezer the son of Ammishaddai, prince of the children of Dan : ⁶⁷ his oblation was one silver charger, the weight thereof was an hundred and thirty [shekels], one silver bowl of seventy shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary ; both of them full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meal offering ; ⁶⁸ one golden spoon of ten [shekels], full of incense ; ⁶⁹ one young bullock, one ram, one he-lamb of the first year, for

JE P^aP^aP^a

a burnt offering; ⁷⁰ one male of the goats for a sin offering; ⁷¹ and for the sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he-goats, five he-lambs of the first year: this was the oblation of Ahiezer the son of Ammishaddai.

⁷² On the eleventh day Pagiel the son of Ochran, prince of the children of Asher: ⁷³ his oblation was one silver charger, the weight thereof was an hundred and thirty [shekels], one silver bowl of seventy shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary: both of them full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meal offering; ⁷⁴ one golden spoon of ten shekels, full of incense; ⁷⁵ one young bullock, one ram, one he-lamb of the first year, for a burnt offering; ⁷⁶ one male of the goats for a sin offering; ⁷⁷ and for the sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he-goats, five he-lambs of the first year: this was the oblation of Pagiel the son of Ochran.

⁷⁸ On the twelfth day Ahira the son of Enan, prince of the children of Naphtali: ⁷⁹ his oblation was one silver charger, the weight thereof was an hundred and thirty [shekels], one silver bowl of seventy shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary: both of them full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meal offering; ⁸⁰ one golden spoon of ten shekels, full of incense; ⁸¹ one young bullock, one ram, one he-lamb of the first year, for a burnt offering; ⁸² one male of the goats for a sin offering; ⁸³ and for the sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he-goats, five he-lambs of the first year: this was the oblation of Ahira the son of Enan.

⁸⁴ "This was the "dedication of the altar, in the day when it was anointed "by the princes of Israel: twelve silver chargers, twelve silver bowls, twelve golden spoons: ⁸⁵ each silver charger [weighing] an hundred and thirty [shekels], and each bowl seventy: all the silver of the vessels two thousand and four hundred [shekels], after the shekel of the sanctuary; ⁸⁶ the twelve golden spoons, full of incense, [weighing] ten [shekels] apiece, after the shekel of the sanctuary; all the gold of the spoons an hundred and twenty [shekels]: ⁸⁷ all the oxen for the burnt offering twelve bullocks, the rams twelve, the he-lambs of the first year twelve, and their meal offering: and the males of the goats for a sin offering twelve: ⁸⁸ and all the oxen for the sacrifice of peace-offerings twenty and four bullocks, the rams sixty, the he-goats sixty, the he-lambs of the first year sixty. "This was the "dedication of the altar, after that it was anointed.

⁸⁹ "And when Moses went into the tent of meeting to "speak with him, then he heard the Voice speaking unto him "from above the "covering that was upon the ark of the testimony, from between the two cherubim: and he spake unto him.

⁹¹ "And Yahweh "spake unto Moses, saying, ² Speak unto Aaron, and say unto him, "When thou "lightest the lamps, the seven lamps shall "give light "in front of the "candlestick. ³ And Aaron did so; he "lighted the lamps thereof so as to give light "in front of the candlestick, "as Yahweh commanded Moses. ⁴ And "this was the work of the candlestick, "beaten work of gold; unto the base thereof, [and] unto the flowers thereof, it was beaten work: according unto the "pattern which Yahweh had shewed Moses, so he made the candlestick.

⁵ "And Yahweh spake unto Moses, saying, ⁶ Take the Levites from

x 25²² = com.
unc. 5
c 25²²

L100c
x 27²⁰. Lev
1-4
m 115
c 25³¹
x 39¹

c 25⁹

L111u

p 100^b

a 105^a

b 71

c 100^b

⁸⁴ ⁸⁸ M Or, dedication-gift

^{1b} M Or, at the hands of.

^{7a} This verse is plainly severed from its natural connexion, there is no proper antecedent to 'him.' It appears to be a fragment of P^a, being closely related to Ex 25²¹, left stranded as a boulder, amid alien surroundings.

^{9b} So M Ex 25¹⁷. T mercy-seat.

¹¹ The construction of the 'candlestick' is ordained in Ex -39. Lev 24¹⁻⁴ Ex 27²⁰. and Num 8¹⁻⁴ deal with the oil and setting or 'setting up' of the candlestick, and are here given in order of probable date. This passage seems to define more closely the position of the lamps.

² M Or, settest up.—Cp Ex 27²⁰.

⁴ M Or, turned.—Cp Ex 25¹⁸.

⁵ The appointment of the Aaronic priesthood was followed in Lev 8 by an account of the consecration of Aaron and his sons. In a similar way, the institution of the Levitical order finds its sequel in a narrative of their solemn gift to Yahweh for the service of the sanctuary. The analogy of Lev 8 suggests for this piece also a secondary character. This seems confirmed by marks of redactional extension. Thus the instructions for the purification of the Levites are curiously duplicated. A full close seems to be reached in 100^b; but in 100^b Moses is again directed to cleanse them cp ⁴, and to wave them as a wave offering.

⁷ M Or, set up.

	JE P ^h	P ^r	P ^r
f 7 15 et 21 g 4 ¹⁹ h 5 ¹ cp 19 ⁹ i 6 ⁸		among the children of Israel, and /cleanse them. 7 And /thus shalt thou do unto them, to cleanse them: /sprinkle the /water of expiation ^a upon them, and let them cause a /razor to pass over all their flesh, and let them /wash their clothes, and /cleanse themselves. 8 Then let them /take a young bullock, and its meal offering, fine flour mingled with oil, and another young bullock shalt thou take for a sin offering. 9 And thou shalt /present the Levites before the tent of meeting: and /thou shalt /assemble the whole congregation of the children of Israel: 10 and thou shalt /present the Levites before Yahweh: and the children of Israel shall /lay their hands upon the Levites: 11 and Aaron shall /wave the Levites before Yahweh for a wave offering, /on the behalf of the children of Israel, that they may be to /do the /service of Yahweh ¹ . 12 And the Levites shall /lay their hands upon the /heads of the bullocks: and offer thou the one for a sin offering, and the other for a burnt offering, unto Yahweh, to /make atonement for the Levites. 13 And thou shalt /set the Levites before Aaron, and before his sons, and wave them for a wave offering unto Yahweh. 14 Thus shalt thou /separate the Levites from among the children of Israel: and the Levites shall be /mine. 15 ^a And after that shall the Levites go in to /do the service of the tent of meeting.	d 149 e 173 f 43 ^a g 128 ^a h 45 ^b i 109 j 140 ^b k 141 l 53
k Lev 8 ³		15 ^b And thou shalt /cleanse them, and wave them for a wave offering. 16 For they are /wholly given unto me from among the children of Israel; instead of /all that openeth the womb, even the firstborn of all the children of Israel, have I taken them unto me. 17 /For all the firstborn among the children of Israel are mine, /both man /and beast: on the day that I smote all the firstborn in the land of Egypt I /hallowed them for myself. 18 And I have taken the Levites instead of all the firstborn among the children of Israel. 19 And I have /given the Levites as /a gift to /Aaron and to his sons from among the children of Israel, to /do the service of the children of Israel in the tent of meeting, and to /make atonement for the children of Israel: that there be no /plague among the children of Israel, /when the children of Israel /come nigh unto the /sanctuary. 20 /Thus did Moses, and Aaron, and all the /congregation of the children of Israel, unto the Levites: according unto all that Yahweh commanded Moses touching the Levites, so did the children of Israel unto them. 21 And the Levites /purified themselves from sin, and they /washed their clothes; and Aaron waved them for a wave offering before Yahweh; and Aaron made atonement for them to cleanse them. 22 And after that went the Levites in to do their service in the tent of meeting before Aaron, and before his sons: as Yahweh had commanded Moses concerning the Levites, so did they unto them.	m 35 n 121 o 25 ^a p 125 ^a q 88 ^a r 129 ^a s 45 ^a t 143 ^b
l 5 ¹ m Lev 8 ¹⁴ 18 n Lev 8 ³⁴		23 /And Yahweh spake unto Moses, saying, 24 /This is that which belongeth unto the Levites: from /twenty and five years /old and /upward they shall go in /to wait upon the service in the work of the tent of meeting: 25 and from the age of fifty years they shall /cease waiting upon the work, and shall serve no more; 26 but shall minister with their brethren in the tent of meeting, to /keep the charge, and shall do no service. 27 Thus shalt thou do unto the Levites touching their charges.	u 188 ^b v 190 ^a w 169 ^b x 30 ^b
o 3 ¹³		28 /And Yahweh spake unto Moses in the wilderness of /Sinai, in the /first month of the second year /after they were come out of the land of Egypt, saying, 2 /Moreover let the children of Israel /keep the passover	a 185 ^a b 7 c 183
p 5 ¹ cp 3 ¹² Ex q 3 ¹³ r Ct 3 ¹³ 5			
s Cp 3 ⁹			
t 4 ¹⁹			
23-26 LXX ^v u Ct 4 ³ 23 30			
v Ex 29 ³⁵ 1-14 LXX ^g a Ex 19 ¹ b Ex 31 ¹⁶ 34 ²² Deut 16 ¹ cp 117			

cp 13 further cp 9^a 10^a. 16-19 shows direct dependence on 3⁹ 12, but in 17 the compiler has abandoned the usage of 3¹³ Ex 12¹² . . . 17 . . . 17, in favour of the formula . . . 3 . . . 3 cp 108^c 35. Further, the original draft of the ceremony implies that Moses throughout is the agent of dedication, as in Lev 8 cp 6. 9. Accordingly in 15 Moses is instructed to /wave the Levites symbolically as a wave offering before Yahweh cp 15^b. The allotment of this duty to Aaron 11, belongs apparently to the later revision which set him by the side of Moses in the census cp 11^k. The original form, therefore, would seem to have been comprised in 5-10 12-15^a, with a simple record of the fulfilment of the divine commands, now expanded into 20-22, where Aaron's share becomes more prominent. It is in accordance with this view that the atonement to be made by Moses in 12 is ascribed to Aaron in 21. Dillm suggests that 13^b-14 fell into its present place when 11 was inserted, thus interrupting 15^a and 15^a which may have stood in immediate connexion.

8^{11a} So M. T. offer, and in 13 15 21.

11^b M. Or, from.

17 5 as in 3¹³. T sanctified.

19^a M. 5 Nethunim, given.

16 M. See 3⁹.

19^b M. Or, through the children of Israel coming nigh.

23 According to 4³ the period of Levitical service in the sanctuary was fixed from thirty to fifty years of age. This law, extending the time by five years, from twenty-five to fifty, can only be a later modification.

24 M. 5 to war the warfare in the work.—19^a.

25 M. 5 return from the warfare of the work.

31 The celebration of the passover in the first month of the second year of the Exodus falls in order of time before the census at the opening of the second month 1¹ cp 7¹; the record seems, however, to be introduced here to prepare for the secondary passage in 6-14 providing for a supplemental observance on the fourteenth of the second month, which is thus completed before the start on the twentieth 10¹¹. Cp Ex 12.

3 5 and. Apparently some words have dropped out, so that the text is defective. It seems probable that other material has here been incorporated, for the language is not without affinities to P^b; thus 2-5 /do the passover, cp Ex 31¹⁶ et Ex 11¹⁴ 17, 3 /statutes and judgements' cp 14 23. Some slight variations in (5) 2-5 further indicate diversity of treatment or scribal manipulation.

	JE P ^h	P ^e	P ⁱ
c 37 13 28 ² d Ex 12 ⁶ e ③ the first f ⑤ = judgements cp 213		in 'its appointed season. ³ In the 'fourteenth day of 'this month, 'at even, ye shall 'keep it in 'its appointed season: according to all the statutes of it, and according to all the 'ordinances thereof, shall ye 'keep it. ⁴ And Moses spake unto the children of Israel, that they should 'keep the passover. ⁵ And they 'kept the passover in the first [month], on the fourteenth day of the month, 'at even, in the wilderness of Sinai: 'according to all that Yahweh commanded Moses, so did the children of Israel.	
6-13 126b g 5 ²		⁶ 'And there were certain men, who were 'unclean by the 'dead body of a man, so that they could not 'keep the passover on that day: and they came before Moses and before Aaron on that day: ⁷ and those men said unto him, We are unclean by the 'dead body of a man: wherefore are we 'kept back, that we may 'not 'offer the oblation of Yahweh in 'its appointed season among the children of Israel? ⁸ And Moses said unto them, Stay ye; that I may hear what Yahweh will command concerning you.	d 189 ^c e 198
h 27 ⁴ 36 ³ Lev i Lev 1820		⁹ And Yahweh spake unto Moses, saying, ¹⁰ Speak unto the children of Israel, saying, 'If any man of you or of your 'generations shall be 'unclean by reason of a dead body, or be in a journey afar off, yet he shall 'keep the passover unto Yahweh: ¹¹ in the second month on the fourteenth day 'at even they shall 'keep it; they shall 'eat it with unleavened bread and bitter herbs: ¹² they shall 'leave none of it unto the morning, nor 'break a bone thereof: according to all the statute of the passover they shall 'keep it. ¹³ But the man that is clean, and is not in a journey, and forbeareth to 'keep the passover, that soul shall be 'cut off from his people: because he offered not the oblation of Yahweh in 'its appointed season, that man shall 'bear his sin. ¹⁴ 'And 'if a stranger shall sojourn among you, and will keep the passover unto Yahweh; according to the statute of the passover, and according to the 'ordinance thereof, so shall he do: ye shall have 'one statute, both for the stranger, and for him that is 'born in the land.	f 118 ^a g 190 ^d h 76 ^b
j Ex 12 ⁸ k Ex 1210 l Ex 1246		¹⁵ 'And on the day that the 'Dwelling was 'reared up the cloud 'covered the Dwelling, even the tent of the 'testimony: and at even it was upon the Dwelling 'as it were the appearance of fire, until morning. ¹⁶ So it was 'alway: the cloud covered it, and the appearance of 'fire by night. ¹⁷ And 'whenever the cloud 'was taken up from over the Tent, then after that the children of Israel journeyed: and in the place where the cloud 'abode, there the children of Israel encamped. ¹⁸ 'At the commandment of Yahweh the children of Israel journeyed, and at the commandment of Yahweh they encamped: as long as the cloud 'abode upon the Dwelling they remained encamped. ¹⁹ And when the cloud tarried upon the Dwelling many days, then the children of Israel 'kept the charge of Yahweh, and journeyed not. ²⁰ And 'sometimes the cloud was a few days upon the Dwelling; then 'according to the commandment of Yahweh they remained encamped, and according to the commandment of Yahweh they journeyed. ²¹ And 'sometimes the cloud was from evening until morning; and when the cloud 'was taken up in the morning, they journeyed: or [if it continued] by day and by night, when the cloud 'was taken up, they journeyed. ²² Whether it were two days, or a month, or a year, that the cloud tarried upon the Dwelling, 'abiding thereon, the children of Israel remained encamped, and journeyed not: but when it 'was taken up,	i 50 ^a j 28 ^b k 34 l 54 ^b m 60 ^b n 16 ^c o 124 p 19 ^b q 159 r 54 ^a s 19 ^c
14 126a m Ex 1246			t 39 ^b
n Ex 1249 15-28 120b/ o Ex 4034			
p Ezek 13. 82 101 403 4211 q Ex 4038			
r Cp ⑤ Neh 52†			

9⁸ 5 11 M ⑤ between the two evenings — P²².

⁶ An exceptional case giving rise to a law placed in narrative setting (for other instances in P^e cp Lev 10¹², 24¹⁰, Num 31²¹). The law, however, takes cognizance of other circumstances beside those which suggest it, and the reference to travellers ¹⁰ may have led the compilers to place the section immediately before the account of the resumption of the march cp 1¹⁴. The peculiarities of phrase noted in 2-5 are not wanting in 6.; for *nephesh* 6. 10 'soul' = 'dead body' cp 198; 'if any man' 10 cp 190^d; 'bear his sin' 13 cp 28^b 193; 'not' 7 Lev 18²⁰ 20⁴ 26¹⁵ cp Josh 22²⁰ P^e; with 8 cp Lev 24¹², 'stay' cp Ex 9²². On the whole, therefore, 1-14 may be regarded as in one piece P^e, showing acquaintance

with the usage of both P^h and P^e.

¹⁵ This passage attaches itself to Ex 40. The general impression of its secondary character suggested by this reference as well as by its numerous repetitions, is further confirmed by some unusual expressions not found elsewhere in P^e; thus 16 'as it were the appearance of fire,' 19 23 'kept the charge of Yahweh' Lev 8³⁵† (cf 'charge of the Dwelling, the congregation' &c), 20, 'and sometimes' נָשָׂא וְנָשָׂא Neh 5²†. In 21-23 ⑤ either follows a shorter text or curtails its original. The present form is probably expanded from a simpler base in P^e. On the contrast of the representation with that of JE Num 10³⁵, cp *Introd* VIII ii 28 i 59.

JE P ^a	P ^a	P ^a
	they journeyed. ²³ 'At the commandment of Yahweh they encamped, and at the commandment of Yahweh they journeyed: they 'kept the charge of Yahweh, at the commandment of Yahweh "by the hand of Moses.	a 120 ^b a 185 ^a
1-8 L48 I a Gen 614 b 8-10 31 ⁶ Hos 5 ⁸ al c 8 = conuoc- tion Ex 12 ¹⁸ Lev 23 ² . Num 28 29 ^a	¹⁰ ¹¹ And Yahweh 'spake unto Moses, saying, ² "Make thee two 'trumpets of silver; of 'beaten work shalt thou make them: and thou shalt use them for the 'calling of the 'congregation, and for the 'journeying of the camps. ³ And when they shall blow with them, all the 'congregation shall 'gather themselves unto thee at the 'door of the tent of meeting. ⁴ And if they blow but with one, then the 'princes, the 'heads of the thousands of Israel, shall 'gather themselves unto thee. ⁵ And when ye blow an 'alarm, the camps that lie on the 'east side shall take their journey. ⁶ And when ye blow an alarm the second time, the camps that lie on the 'south side shall take their journey: they shall blow an alarm for their 'journeys'. ⁷ But when the assembly is to be 'gathered together, ye shall blow, but ye shall not sound an alarm. ⁸ And the 'sons of Aaron, the priests, shall blow with the trumpets; and they shall 'be to you for a 'statute for ever 'throughout your generations.	b 45 ^a c 97 ^b d 111 ^a e 111 ^b f 121 ^a g 64 ^b
d Lev 23 ²⁴ e 2 ⁸ f 210	⁹ ¹² And when ye 'go to war in your land against the adversary that oppresseseth you, then ye shall sound an alarm with the 'trumpets; and ye shall be 'remembered before Yahweh your God, and ye shall be 'saved from your enemies. ¹⁰ Also in the day of your gladness, and in your 'set feasts, and in the 'beginnings of your months ^t , ye shall blow with the trumpets over your burnt offerings, and over the sacrifices of your peace offerings; and they shall 'be to you for a 'memorial before your God: 'I am Yahweh your God.	h 24 ^a i 130 ^a j 27 k 69 ^a l 76 ^b
g. L4menc g Ct 31 ²¹ 32 ⁶ Deut 20 ¹ h 31 ⁶ i Cp 1s 62 ⁶ j Ex 14 ⁹⁰ k L90 ¹ l 281 ¹	¹¹ And it came to pass in the 'second year, in the 'second month, on the twentieth day of the month, that the "cloud 'was taken up from over the 'Dwelling of the testimony. ¹² And the children of Israel 'set forward according to their 'journeys out of the wilderness of 'Sinai; and the cloud 'abode in the wilderness of "Paran.	m 111 ^c
l 1 ¹ m 91 ⁷	¹³ And they first took their journey "according to the commandment of Yahweh by the hand of Moses. ¹⁴ And in the 'first [place] the 'standard of the camp of the children of Judah set forward 'according to their hosts: and over his host was 'Nahshon the son of Amminadab. ¹⁵ And over the host of the 'tribe of the children of Issachar was Nethanel the son of Zuar. ¹⁶ And over the host of the tribe of the children of Zebulun was Eliab the son of Helon. ¹⁷ And the Dwelling was 'taken down; and the sons of 'Gershon and the sons of 'Merari, who bare the Dwelling, set forward. ¹⁸ And the standard of the camp of Reuben set forward according to their hosts: and over his host was Elizur the son of Shedeur. ¹⁹ And over the host of the tribe of the children of Simeon was Shelumiel the son of Zurishaddai. ²⁰ And over the host of the tribe of the children of Gad was Eliasaph the son of Deuel. ²¹ And the 'Kohathites set forward, bearing the 'sanctuary: and [the other] did 'set up the Dwelling against they came. ²² And the standard of the camp of the children of Ephraim set forward according to their hosts: and over his host was Elishama the son of Ammihud. ²³ And over the host of the tribe of the children of Manasseh was Gamaliel the son of Pedahzur. ²⁴ And over the host of the tribe	n 27 o 113 p 203 ^b q 183 r 150 s 54 ^b t 97 ^a u 7 v 54 ^a w 180 ^b x 151 y 181 z 165
n 12 ¹⁶ 13 ³ 28 Deut 11 Gen 21 ²¹ 18-25 147 ^b o 2 ⁸		a' 91 b' 60 ^b
p 2 ³		
q 151 r 325 s 326		
t 331		

¹⁰ If 1-8 be rightly ascribed to P^a, the suggestion that P^a contained a brief account of the order of encampment cp 21¹⁸ gains additional strength. But the manner is not quite uniform, a transition occurring at 5 to 'ye,' while the duty of blowing is finally limited 8 to the priests. After the close in 8 the editor appends a passage in a rather different style cp 9^a.

² M Or, turned.--Ex 25¹⁸.

⁶ (Y adds similar signals for the west and north divisions.

⁹ The instructions for the use of the trumpets 1-8 are confined to the march. In 9, however, the situation changes to the promised land cp Lev 19²³ 23¹⁰ 25³ (cp 'your land' Lev 19⁹ 33 21²⁴ 23²² 25⁹ 45 26¹) P^b: other peculiarities point in this direction.

'before Yahweh your God' 9 Lev 23⁴⁰ P^a ((Y omits 'your God'), 'gladness (rejoicing)' cp Lev 23⁴⁰, 'sacrifices of your peace offerings' Lev 17⁶, but cp 118⁶, 'I am Yahweh your God,' 203^b ((Y omits 'your God')). Either therefore P^a has utilized other material, or R has attached 9 to the other trumpet arrangements.

¹¹ At this point P^a begins the itinerary from Sinai cp 31. Sam inserts between 10 and 11 some excerpts from Deut 1⁶⁻⁸. The description of the order of the march in 13-28 is obviously dependent on the arrangements of the camp detailed in 2, and belongs to the same secondary series of additions to the main narrative of P^a: its conclusion is probably to be found in 26.

	J E P ^a	P ^a	P ^a
u Josh 69 13 ^a Is 52 ¹³		of the children of Benjamin was Abidan the son of Gideoni. ²⁵ And the standard of the camp of the children of Dan, which was the "rearward of all the camps, set forward according to their hosts: and over his host was Ahiezer the son of Ammishaddai. ²⁶ And over the host of the tribe of the children of Asher was Pagiel the son of Ochran. ²⁷ And over the host of the tribe of the children of Naphtali was Ahira the son of Enan. ²⁸ Thus were the 'journeyings of the children of Israel 'according to their hosts; and they set forward.	c' 188 ^a
v Judg 411 ⁺ w Ex 218 x Cp Judg 116 y Cp Ex 1410 z 1440 cp Ex 331 a' Gen 123		²⁹ "And Moses said unto 'Hobab, the son of "Reuel the Midianite, Moses' 'father in law, We are 'journeying unto the 'place of which Yahweh said, I will give it you: come thou with us, and we will 'do thee good: for Yahweh hath spoken good concerning Israel. ³⁰ And he said unto him, I will not go; but I will depart to mine own 'land, and to my 'kindred. ³¹ And he said, "Leave us not, "I pray thee; 'forasmuch as thou knowest how we are to encamp in the wilderness, and thou shalt be to us instead of eyes. ³² And it shall be, if thou go with us, yea, it shall be, that what good soever Yahweh shall 'do unto us, the same will we 'do unto thee. ³³ "And they set forward from the mount of Yahweh 'three days' journey; and the 'ark of the covenant of Yahweh 'went before them three days' journey, to 'seek out a resting place for them.	d' 38 e' 60 f' 160 g' 186 h' 35 i' 86
v Cp 219 c' Cp 250		³⁴ "And the 'cloud of Yahweh was over them by day, when they set forward from the camp.	
d' Ex 4038 ⁺ cp Num 1414		³⁵ "And it came to pass, 'when the ark set forward, that Moses said, Rise up, O Yahweh, and let thine enemies be 'scattered; And let them that 'hate thee flee before thee.	j' 127 ^b
e' Gen 114 6 Qal ^a		And when it rested, he said,	k' 167
f' Gen 2460 Deut 3317 a Lam 339 ⁺ ct Ex 1534 and 7114 b Ex 32 ^a		Return, O Yahweh, unto the 'ten thousands of the thousands of Israel. ¹¹ "And the people were as 'murmurers, ["speaking] evil in the ears of Yahweh: and when Yahweh heard it, his anger was kindled; and the fire of Yahweh 'burnt among them, and devoured in the uttermost part of the camp. ² And the people 'cried unto Moses; and Moses 'prayed	a 141 b 123

10²⁹ With this paragraph ³⁰⁻³² the narrative of JE is at last resumed (from Ex 34²⁶). The margins prove that it is derived from J, but the abruptness of both opening and close indicates that it is only a fragment. Its beginning has probably been omitted in view of the duplicate narrative of E in Ex 18 (cp 1¹⁷), where some portion of it seems to have been preserved. The conclusion, on the other hand, which told of Hobab's aid (cp Judg 11⁶ 4¹¹, Moore's *Judges* in ICC, Sayce, *Early Hist* 213), has probably been dropped as inconsistent with P's representations 9¹⁷.

33 The basis of this passage is J's account of the start, but the language has undergone some editorial manipulation. On the designation 'ark of the covenant' cp Couard, *ZATW* (1892) 62: the repetition of the phrase 'three days' journey' is probably due to a corrupted text; but it does not seem necessary to ascribe the rest to E². The verb 'seek out' is used by P, but in the meaning 'to reconnoitre.' It occurs also in Deut 1³³ and may quite well have stood in the older narrative, though Couard thinks that priority here belongs to D, and that the passage in the text is founded upon it. For 'resting place' cp Gen 49¹⁶.

31 The description of the cloud as 'over' the advancing Israelites at once separates this statement from the narrative of J in which it is conceived as going before them 14^{14b} Ex 13²¹ as a pillar. In P, on the other hand, it is always above them without definite form cp 9¹⁷. The peculiar phrase 'cloud of Yahweh' occurs only elsewhere in P^a Ex 40³⁸ (cp Num 14¹⁴ R), and this verse which in 6 follows ³⁶ may be regarded as the natural conclusion of 13-28 where a reference to the protecting presence of the cloud might be expected.

35 This pair of poetical invocations is here ascribed to a setting in J, and may have been derived from the Book of the Wars of Yahweh or some other similar collection. For Yahweh's 'enemies' cp Judg 5³¹.

11¹⁴ The narratives in 11-12 are obviously derived from JE. Familiar phrases like the 'kindling' of Yahweh's anger 11¹ 10, the style of Moses' expostulation with Yahweh, the description of Yahweh's descent in the cloud 11²⁵ 12⁸, the place of the sanctuary outside the camp 11²⁶ 12⁴, and the account of the prophesying 11²⁵., are conclusive. The Taberah incident is difficult to locate. The place is not named in P's itinerary which makes Kibroth-hattaavah ³⁴ the first place after the departure from Sinai 33¹⁶. The solitary reference to it elsewhere in Deut ³² associates it with Massah and Kibroth-hattaavah, but it does not follow that this was the order of the three stories in D's sources. It is plausibly attributed to E, negatively because it shows no special connexion with adjoining J passages, while positively a link is found in Moses' prayer 2 cp 21⁷ and Gen 20⁷ 17. No cause is assigned for the murmurs of the people. If they originated in the dissatisfaction with the desert food, E's narrative may have contained an account of the manna, the general disgust at the monotony of the diet, and a plague in punishment, somewhat similar to J's. On this view, E in combining the two documents, retained one and dropped the other, but left the skeleton of E side by side with the full form of J. So, substantially, Dillm. Bacon conjectures that 1-3 originally followed the narrative of the contest with Amalek Ex 17²⁻¹⁶, which he inserts after the departure from Horeb, in sequence on Num 12.

1b M Or, which was evil.

	J E	JE	J E P
c 5*		unto Yahweh, and the fire 'abated. ³ And the 'name of that place was	
d 54 21 ³ Josh 5 ⁹		called "Taberah: because the fire of Yahweh burnt among them.	
e 5† cp Ex 12 ³⁸		... ⁴ "And the 'mixed multitude that was among them 'fell a lusting:	
f Ct 34 ¹⁰ 5 cp		and the children of Israel also wept 'again, and said, Who shall give us	
g Deut 5 ³¹		flesh to eat? ⁵ We remember the fish, which we did eat in Egypt for	
h Gen 26 ¹⁸ 30 ³¹		'nought; the 'cucumbers, and the 'melons, and the 'leeks, and the	
i 5†		'onions, and the 'garlick: ⁶ but now our soul is dried away; there is	
j 5*		nothing at all: we have nought 'save this manna to look to. ⁷ And the	c 138
k Ex 16 ³¹ †		manna was like 'coriander seed, and the 'appearance thereof as the	
l Gen 2 ¹²		appearance of 'bdellium. ⁸ The people "went about, and "gathered it, and	
m 5*		'ground it in 'mills, or 'beat it in 'mortars, and 'seethed it in 'pots,	
n Ex 16 ⁴		and made 'cakes of it: and the taste of it was as the taste of "fresh oil.	
o Ex 32 ²⁰ Deut		⁹ And when the 'dew fell upon the camp in the night, the manna fell	
p 9 ²¹		'upon it. ¹⁰ And Moses heard the people weeping "throughout their	
q Ex 11 ⁵		'families, every man at the door of his tent: and the anger of Yahweh	
r 5†		was kindled greatly.	
s Ex 16 ³¹		^{10b} "And Moses was displeased. ¹¹ And Moses said unto Yahweh,	
t Gen 18 ⁶ Ex		"Wherefore hast thou "evil entreated 'thy servant? and wherefore have	d 73
u 12 ³⁰ ct Ex 29 ²		I not 'found favour in thy sight, that thou layest the "burden of all this	e 31*
v Ex 16 ⁴		people upon me? ¹² Have I 'conceived all this people? have I brought	f 21
w Ct 7 ⁶ 5b		them forth, that thou shouldest say unto me, Carry them in thy bosom,	
x Ex 5 ²²		as a 'nursing-father carrieth the sucking child, unto the 'land which	g 27
y Gen 19 ⁷		thou 'swarest unto their fathers?	
z Ct 17		¹³ Whence should I have flesh to give unto all this people? for they	
		weep unto me, saying, Give us flesh, that we may eat.	
		... ¹⁴ "I am not able to 'bear all this people alone, because it is too	
		heavy for me.	
		¹⁵ And if thou deal thus with me, kill me, I pray thee, out of hand,	
		if I have 'found favour in thy sight; and let me not see my wretchedness.	
		¹⁶ "And Yahweh said unto Moses, 'Gather unto me 'seventy men of the 'elders	h 151
		of Israel, whom thou knowest to be the elders of the people, and 'officers over them;	
		and bring them unto the 'tent of meeting, that they may stand there with thee.	
		¹⁷ And I will 'come down and talk with thee there: and I will 'take of the spirit	i 19
		which is upon thee, and will put it upon them; and they shall 'bear the burden of	
		the people with thee, that thou bear it not thyself alone.	
		... ¹⁸ And say thou unto the people, "Sanctify yourselves 'against	

11³ M That is, *Burning*.

⁴ The narrative in 4-38 reveals a dual origin. The communication of the spirit to the seventy elders in 16. 24b-30 is plainly independent of the demand for flesh meat and the plague which punished the voracity of the people on the advent of the quails cp 16^x. The margins vindicate the main story for J, but it is possible that some passages have undergone later expansion eg 16. 31., and it is also conceivable that other elements have been incorporated into it, causing additional dislocation cp 10b^x. It does not seem necessary (with Cornill) to treat 7-9 as an interpolation by RP. In 10 some critics have seen traces of his hand in the phrase 'throughout their families' (in this form only in Num 24^x); but it is hardly used in legal fashion here, and it occurs independently 1 Sam 10²¹.

⁷ M 5 eye.—Cp Lev 13⁵⁵ 5.

⁸ M Or, *cakes baked with oil*.—'Fresh' 5 Ps 34[†].

⁹ M Or, *with*.

^{10a} A phrase so common in P that some critics have ascribed its occurrence here to RP (but the sing suff 'his families' is not favourable to this suggestion cp 24^x). On the other hand, if viewed as original, it supplies one of the numerous links between the phraseology of J and that of P.

^{10b} The expostulation of Moses 10b-12 16 does not seem in harmony with the cause implied in the context. His 'displeasure' is plainly directed, not like the anger of Yahweh against the people, but against Yahweh himself. The language of 12 suggests that he repudiates a responsibility which really lies upon the God of Israel. But that responsibility has not here been thrown upon him, except by remote implication. On the other hand it is formally laid on him in Ex 33¹². Now

in the original document of JE the Horeb section Ex 32-34 immediately preceded the departure in Num 10²⁹..., and stood consequently in near proximity to the manna scene. Bacon accordingly conjectures that this passage once stood after Ex 33² and before 33¹² (see 12^x). In the combination of J and E these verses were displaced by the insertion of the account of the Tent of Meeting, and were woven into the nearest appropriate situation, where (on this view) they have displaced the connexion of 13 with 4-10a.

¹⁴ May be a fragment of E cp 17b, or it is perhaps due to E, who has caught up the phrase 'bear (5 = carry) all this people' (ct 17b 'bear the burden of the people') from 12a.

¹⁶ The prophesying of the seventy elders is in no way related to the adjacent gift of quails. The scene is laid outside the camp, away from the people, at the Tent of Meeting, where Yahweh descends in the cloud as in Ex 33⁷... Joshua, the minister of Moses, is in attendance on his master, and remains in the sanctuary when Moses returns with the elders to the camp 30 cp Ex 33¹¹. But the new associates of Moses in bearing the burden of the people 17 have no concern with Israel's subsequent conduct, and their selection at this precise moment in no way mitigates either the popular greed or the divine wrath. On the other hand the story deals with prophetic conceptions peculiar to E cp 12^x. It has, however, in part the same motive as another narrative in E (with 17b cp Ex 18¹⁸ 22, 17b, however, may be itself due to E), and seems to belong to a small secondary group cp 12, marked by advanced reflexion on the phases of prophetic activity. (Gray, on the other hand, considers that its affinities are with the stories of Saul's frenzy in Samuel.) By the side of the secular judges over the 'small matters,' the coadjutor-prophets must be assigned to RP.

	J E	JE	J E P
i' 14 ³ Ex 14 ¹²	to-morrow, and ye shall eat flesh: for ye have wept in the ears of Yahweh, saying, Who shall give us flesh to eat? for it was 'well with us in Egypt: therefore Yahweh will give you flesh, and ye shall eat.		
j' 21 Gen 29 ¹⁴ §	19 Ye shall not eat one day, nor two days, nor five days, neither ten days, nor twenty days; 20 but a 'whole month, until it come out at your nostrils, and it be 'loathsome unto you: because that ye have 'rejected Yahweh which is 'among you, and have wept before him, saying, 'Why came we forth out of Egypt? 21 And Moses said, The people, among whom I am, are 'six hundred thousand footmen; and thou hast said, I will give them flesh, that they may eat a 'whole month. 22 Shall 'flocks and herds be 'slain for them, to 'suffice them? or shall all the fish of the sea be gathered together for them, to suffice them?		j 58 k 89 ^b
k' 5† l' 14 ³¹ Lev 26 ¹⁵ 43 ^a	23 And Yahweh said unto Moses, Is Yahweh's hand waxed 'short? now 'shalt thou see whether my 'word shall come to pass unto thee 'or not. 24 And Moses went out, and told the people the words of Yahweh.		l 33
m' Ex 12 ³⁷	24b And he 'gathered seventy men of the 'elders of the people, and set them round about the 'Tent. 25 And Yahweh 'came down in the 'cloud, and spake unto him, and 'took of the spirit that was upon him, and put it upon the seventy elders: and it came to pass, that, when the spirit rested upon them, they 'prophesied, but they did so no more. 26 But there remained two men in the camp, the name of the one was Eldad, and the name of the other Medad: and the spirit rested upon them; and they were of them that were written, but had not 'gone out unto the Tent: and they prophesied in the camp. 27 And there ran a young man, and told Moses, and said, Eldad and Medad do prophesy in the camp. 28 And Joshua the son of Nun, the 'minister of Moses, 'one of his chosen men, answered and said, My 'lord Moses, 'forbid them. 29 And Moses said unto him, Art thou 'jealous for my sake? would God that all Yahweh's people were prophets, that Yahweh would put his spirit upon them! 30 And Moses 'gat him into the camp, he and the 'elders of Israel.		m 114
n' Ct 100 o' Judg 21 ¹⁴ op Josh 17 ¹⁶	31 And there went forth a 'wind from Yahweh, and 'brought 'quails from the sea, and 'let them fall 'by the camp, about a day's journey on this side, and a day's journey on the other side, round about the camp, and about two cubits above the face of the earth. 32 And the people rose up all that day, and all the night, and all the next day, and gathered the quails: he that gathered 'least gathered ten homers: and they 'spread them all abroad for themselves round about the camp. 33 While the flesh was 'yet between their teeth, 'ere it was chewed, the anger of Yahweh was kindled against the people, and Yahweh 'smote the people with a very great 'plague. 34 And the 'name of that place was called 'Kibroth-hattaavah: because there they buried the people that lusted. 35 From Kibroth-hattaavah 'the people journeyed unto Hazeroth; and they abode at Hazeroth.		n 56 ^a
p' 21 ⁴ §	12 ¹ 12 ² And 'Miriam and Aaron spake 'against Moses 'because of the Cushite woman whom he had married: 'for he had married a Cushite woman.		
q' Ex 61 r' Ex 9 ³⁰ s' Gen 27 ²¹	2 And they said, Hath Yahweh 'indeed spoken 'only 'with Moses? hath he not spoken also 'with us? And Yahweh 'heard it. 3 Now the 'man Moses was very		o 91 p 6
t' Ex 33 ⁹			
u' Ex 33 ^{7b}			
v' Ex 24 ¹³ 33 ¹¹ w' Gen 8 ^{2b} § = restrain x' Gen 30 ¹ y' 12 ¹⁴ Ct 22 § z' Cp Ex 10 ^{15b} 14 ^{21b} a' 1 ⁸ 90 ^{10†} b' Ex 16 ¹⁸ c' Gen 31 ²⁸ §			
d' Cp Ex 16 ¹⁷ e' §			
f' Josh 10 ¹⁰ 20 §			
g' Cp 12 ¹⁶ 1-15 L ^{111b} 1 L ^{116d} a Ex 15 ²⁰ b 8 21 ⁶ 7 ^a c §† cp 18 ⁹ d 11 ¹ e Ex 17 ⁸			a 111

11²⁸ M Or, *from his youth*.—If this rendering be adopted, the phrase can hardly proceed from the author of Ex 33¹¹ where Joshua is described as a young man, as it implies a much greater lapse of time, and seems based on a general retrospective view of the whole relations of Joshua to Moses. It is consistent with this discrimination of different strata in E that while in Ex 33⁹ the pillar of cloud itself descends, and is so far identified with Yahweh that it can speak with Moses, in 25 12³ it is Yahweh who comes down, in the cloud, by a later religious differentiation.

31 M Or, *over*.

34 M That is, *The graves of lust*.

12¹⁸ The narrative in 1-18 is closely allied with the institution of the Tent of Meeting Ex 33⁷ and the gift of the spirit to the seventy elders 11¹⁶. 24b-30. The sanctuary is outside the camp 4, and Yahweh's presence is marked by the descent of the cloud 6 which stands at the door. The importance attached to prophecy, visions, and dreams, is throughout characteristic of E cp 101, 114, and the marginal references amply confirm this ascription. The mention of Miriam also supports it. Dillm has, indeed, found traces of the amalgamation of two docu-

ments; but the apparent doublet 'and they three came out' 4, 'and they two came out' 5, admits of another explanation. In 4 the three are summoned together from the camp; in 5 the two are called forth from Moses' side to hear the divine vindication of his authority. The phraseological affinities with J, registered in the margins, are not more numerous or decisive than in other E passages, and belong to the common stock of the vocabulary of JE. Whether 2-10 was originally continuous with 1 is more doubtful, as it is founded on a quite different motive. The general reflexions on the nature of prophetic activity and the eminence of Moses as the recipient of direct revelation 6-8 suggest that this narrative is among the later additions of E; with this view the representation of 5 harmonizes cp 11²⁸. But the sequel in 9-10 may be part of the original story, 2-8 having been elaborated out of earlier material.

1b This explanation is obviously derived from the text itself, and is omitted (presumably as a gloss) by Q. The wife of Moses in J is Zipporah, a Midianite; but in E she is not named. Cp Ex 18² 5. 2ab M Or, *by*.

J E	P	
a 15 ³ Ex 6 ⁸ Lev 14 ³⁴	may ^b spy out the 'land of Canaan, which ^d I 'give unto the children of Israel: of every 'tribe of their fathers shall ye send a man, every one a 'prince among them. ³ And Moses sent them from the ^b wilderness of Paran 'according to the commandment of Yahweh: all of them men who were 'heads of the children of Israel. ⁴ And ^b these were their names: of the tribe of Reuben, Shammua the son of Zaccur. ⁵ Of the tribe of Simeon, Shaphat the son of Hori. ⁶ Of the tribe of Judah, ^d Caleb the son of Jephunneh. ⁷ Of the tribe of Issachar, Igal the son of Joseph. ⁸ Of the tribe of Ephraim, 'Hoshea the son of Nun. ⁹ Of the tribe of Benjamin, Palti the son of Raphu. ¹⁰ Of the tribe of Zebulun, Gaddiel the son of Sodi. ¹¹ Of the tribe of Joseph, [namely], of the tribe of Manasseh, Gaddi the son of Susi. ¹² Of the tribe of Dan, Ammiel the son of Gemalli. ¹³ Of the tribe of Asher, Sethur the son of Michael. ¹⁴ Of the tribe of Naphtali, Nahbi the son of Vophsi. ¹⁵ Of the tribe of Gad, Geuel the son of Machi. ¹⁶ ^b These are the names of the men which Moses sent to ^b spy out the land. And Moses called Hoshea the son of Nun Joshua. ^{17a} And Moses sent them to ^b spy out the 'land of Canaan,	b 150 c 4 d 94 e 185 f 131 g 190 h 188
b 10 ¹² 12 ¹⁶ c Cp 84		
d Ct Josh 14 ⁶ 14 e Cp 16b ct Ex 17 ⁹		
f \S = go up	... ^{17b} And he said unto them, 'Get you up this way "by the South, ... ^{17c} and go up into 'the mountains: ^{18a} and ^b see the land what it is; ^{18b} and the people that dwelleth therein, 'whether they be 'strong or 'weak, ^{18c} whether they be few or many; ¹⁹ and what the land is that they dwell in, whether it be 'good or bad; and what "cities they be that they dwell in, whether in camps, or in "strong holds; ²⁰ and what the land is, whether it be 'fat or 'lean, whether 'there be wood therein, or not. And 'be ye of good courage, and bring of the 'fruit of the land. Now the time was the time of the firstripe grapes. ^{21a} "So they 'went up,	i 185
g \S = the moun- tain cp 29 14 ⁴⁰ 44 Deut 1 ²⁴ A Gen 42 ⁹ Josh 21 i \S thereon Lev 25 ¹⁸⁻²⁶ Deut 30 ³⁰ j Gen 27 ²¹ k Cp (28) 31 l \S *		
m 28 28 Deut 1 ²⁸ Josh 14 ¹²		
n Cp fence \S 28 Num 32 ¹⁷ 36 Josh 10 ²⁰ o Gen 40 ²⁰ * p Ezek 24 ²⁰ † q Gen 48 ³⁴ *		j 84
r Cp 23 26b 27b		
s Cp 17c		
t 34 ⁸ Josh 13 ⁵ u Cp 17b		
v Gen 13 ¹⁸ w Josh 15 ¹⁴ Judg 1 ¹⁰	22 And they "went up "by the South, and came unto 'Hebron; and "Ahi- man, Sheshai, and Talmai, the children of Anak, were there. (Now Hebron was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt.) ²³ and they came unto the valley of 'Eshcol, and cut down from thence a 'branch with one 'cluster of grapes, and they bare it upon a staff between two; [they brought] also of the 'pomegranates, and of the figs. ²⁴ "That place was called the valley	k 9
x 32 ⁹ Deut 1 ³⁴ ct Gen 14 ¹³ y \S * Is 17 ¹⁰ al z Eshcol Gen 40 ¹⁰ Deut 32 ³² *		
a' Num 20 ⁵		

13^{17b} 22 M Or, into.

^{21a} \S and they went up as in 22, an obvious doublet. As P does not contain any instructions to 'go up,' these two passages seem best treated as the issues of the twofold command 'go up' 17^b. One, therefore, belongs to E, the other to J. The continuation of E's narrative is found in 23, ct 'they went up and came to the valley of Eshcol' with 22 'they went up ... and

came to Hebron.' With both these ct 21^b which sends them right through the land to its northernmost verge.

^{21b} The sequel of 17^a. The pronoun involved in the \S verb has been inserted in the text.

^{24a} This verse may possibly be an editorial annotation, explaining the name 'valley of Eshcol' 23. But the peculiar word 'because' pleads for E.

J	JE	E	P	
	of 'Eshcol, 'because of the cluster which the children of Israel cut down from thence.			I III
b' 14 ³⁴				
c' Ct 27 30 cp 14 ³ 5 28				m 45
d' 22 ^a Deut 1 ¹⁹ Josh 14 ⁶ e' 22 ^a Gen 37 ¹⁴ Josh 14 ⁷ Deut 1 ²²	... ^{26b} to 'Kadesh; and they 'brought back word unto them, "and unto all the congregation, and shewed them the 'fruit of the land.			
f' Cp 19 14 ⁶	... ^{27a} "And they "told him, and said, We came unto the 'land whither thou sentest us, and 'surely it 'floweth with milk and honey; ... ^{27b} and this is the 'fruit of it.			n 219 o 126 p 34
g' 22 ³⁵ 23 ¹³ h' Cp 18 i' Cp 19 § Deut 1 ²² j' Cp 22	28 'Howbeit the people that dwell in the land are 'strong, and the cities are 'fenced, [and] very great: and 'moreover we saw the 'children of Anak there.			
k' 14 ²⁵ 43 45 l' Gen 20 ¹ ct 17 ^b	23 'k' Amalek dwelleth in the 'land of the South: and the Hittite, and the Jebusite, and the 'Amorite, dwell in the 'mountains: and the "Canaanite dwelleth by the sea, and along by the "side of Jordan.			q 96 ct 17
m' Ct 14 ⁴⁸ 45 cp Josh 11 ³ n' Ex 25 o' 14 ³⁴ p' §† q' Gen 15 ⁷ 22 ¹⁷ 24 ⁶⁰ r' 22 ³⁸	30 "And 'Caleb 'stilled the people before Moses, and said, Let us go up at once, and 'possess it; for we are 'well able to overcome it. ³¹ But the men that went up with him said, We be not able to go up against the people; for they are 'stronger than we.			
s' 14 ³⁶ . cp Gen 37 ²⁴				
t' 14 ⁷ u' Lev 26 ³⁸ Ezek 36 ¹³ v' Cp Jer 22 ¹⁴ Is 45 ¹⁴ §				
	33 And there we saw the "Nephilim,		32 And they 'brought up an evil report of the land which they had 'spied out unto the children of Israel, saying, The land, "through which we have gone to spy it out, is a land that "eateth up the inhabitants thereof; and all the people that we saw in it are men "of great stature.	

13^{24b} M That is, a cluster.26^b A harmonist's insertion from 26^a.27^a Cp 16¹³.

29 The authorship of this short catalogue of peoples (which differs in style from the lists named in Ex 3³⁰) has been much discussed; it is here assigned to E for the following reasons: (1) 'the land of the South' ct 17 22 cp Gen 20¹ E; (2) the reference to the Amorite as dwelling in the hill-country (§ 'mountain') seems best to fit E cp 12⁹⁶ Deut 1²⁷ 44; (3) the location of the Canaanite in the Jordan valley on the east and the maritime lowlands on the west is in direct opposition to 14⁴³ J; (4) a further phraseological coincidence with E occurs in the phrase 'hand of the Jordan' cp Ex 2⁵ 'hand' of the Nile. The verse can hardly belong to J on the ground of (3), and the only alternative would be to regard either the whole or part of it as redactional.

30 The intervention of Caleb seems here introduced prematurely, for the people have as yet given no signs of agitation or resistance. The passage probably followed 14¹⁶ and 3, but was displaced by the incorporation of P's version in which Joshua and Caleb endeavour to quell the murmurs of the congregation 14¹⁶. The sequel of 13³⁰, doubtless included 14⁸ 9^b.

33 M Or, giants.—Gen 6⁴†. The harmonist endeavours to identify these with the 'children of Anak' 22^{28b}. Three representations of the tradition are thus traceable: at Hebron dwelt the 'children of Anak' 22²⁸ a race of mighty size, J; 'there' (query in the 'mountain' 17^c) among the numerous races named in 29 were the Nephilim or 'giants,' E; 'all the people' from end to end were of great stature, P. In this last statement the antiquarian detail has been dropped, and the idea generalised.

	J	JE	E	P	
1 ^a Ct 22 28 \S		the ^w sons of Anak, which come of the Nephilim: and we were in our own sight as grasshoppers, and so we were in their sight.			
α Gen 45 ²		... ^{1b} and they ^a gave forth their voice.		14 ^{1a} And all the ^a congregation lifted up	a 45
b 11 ¹⁰ 18		... ^{1c} And the ^b people ^b wept ^c that night.			b 226 c 142 d 114
c 5 26 13 ²⁶				² And all the children of Israel ^a murmured against Moses and against ^a Aaron: and the whole ^a congregation said unto them, ^a Would God that we had died in the land of Egypt! or would God we had died in this wilderness!	
d 20 ⁵ Gen 17 ¹⁸ = Oh that					
e Cp 4 ³		... ³ And wherefore doth Yahweh bring us unto this land, to ^a fall by the sword? Our ^a wives and our ^a little ones shall be a ^a prey: were it not ^a better for us to return into Egypt?			e 52 ^b
f 31 Deut 1 ³⁹		⁴ And they said 'one to another, Let us make a captain, and let us return into Egypt.			f 112 ^a
g Ex 14 ¹²					
h Ex 12 ⁶ \S om				⁵ Then Moses and ^a Aaron ^a fell on their faces before all the ^a assembly of the ^a congregation of the children of Israel. ⁶ And ^a Joshua the son of Nun and ^a Caleb the son of Jephunneh, which were of ^a them that ^a spied out the land, rent their clothes: ⁷ and they spake unto all the ^a congregation of the children of Israel, saying, The land, ^a which we passed through to ^a spy it out, is an ^a exceeding good land.	g 67 h 150
i 13 ^{16b} ct 13 ³⁰					i 63
j 13 ⁶					
k 13 ^{16a}					
l \S as in 13 ³³					
m Gen 34 ¹⁹		... ⁸ If Yahweh ^a delight in us, then he will bring us into this land, and give it unto us; a ^a land which ^a floweth with milk and honey.			j 34
n 13 ²⁷				... ^{9a} Only ^a rebel not against Yahweh, ...	k 154
o Josh 22 ¹⁶ 18. Gen 14 ⁴ Ezek 23 17 ¹⁶ 20 ³⁸ al		^{9b} But as for you ^a fear ye not the people of the land; for they are bread for us: their ^a defence is ^a removed from over them, and Yahweh is ^a with us: ^a fear them not.			l 224
p Ct 26. q 21 16 ³⁰ Deut 31 ³⁰				¹⁰ But all the ^a congregation bade ^a stone them with stones. And the ^a glory of Yahweh appeared in the tent of meeting unto all the children of Israel.	m 130 n 152 o 79
r Cp Ex 4 ³⁰ .					p 134
		11 And Yahweh said unto ^a Moses, How long will this people ^a despise me? and how long will they not ^a believe in me, for all the ^a signs which I have			

14^{1a} The opening verse presents a curiously mixed text. \S runs, 'And all the congregation lifted up' (fem sing) 'and they gave forth their voice' (masc pl). The introduction of the 'congregation' shows the hand of P, whose formula elsewhere enables us to reconstruct his text, 'and all the congregation of the children of Israel murmured ...' cp Ex 16². The phrase 'gave forth the voice' finds a counterpart in E Gen 45²: for 'the people wept' cp 11¹⁰ 18 J. It is possible that J's narrative ran originally 'lifted up their voice and wept' cp 17^{16b}, the first verb being transferred in the amalgamation from the

'people' to the 'congregation,' and 'their voice' being suppressed as needless in view of the other clause.

^{1b} So \S Gen 45². T *their voice and cried*. The subject may have been 'all the children of Israel' ².

³ Probably a part of Caleb's speech cp 13³⁰.

^{9b} \S as in 32. T *neither fear ye*. When the clause in 9^a is removed (the margin indicates its place in P) the order of the words in \S becomes more impressive and significant; standing as the second term in a contrast, of which ⁸ supplies the opening.

^{9b} M \S shadow.

	J E	JE	J E P
s Ct 57 cp Ex 5 ³		wrought 'among them? ¹² I will smite them with the 'pestilence, and	q 53
t Cp Ex 15 ⁹		'disinherit them, and will "make of thee a nation greater and 'mightier than	r 59
=destroy		they. ¹³ "And Moses said unto Yahweh, Then the Egyptians shall hear it ;	s 136
w Gen 12 ² Ex 32 ¹⁰		for thou 'broughtest up this people in thy might from among them ; ¹⁴ and	
v Gen 50 ¹¹		they will tell it to the "inhabitants of this land : they have heard that thou	
		Yahweh art 'in the midst of this people ; for thou Yahweh art seen "face	
w Ct 12 ⁸ Ex 33 ¹¹		to "face, "and thy cloud standeth over them, and thou goest 'before them, in a pillar	
x 10 ³⁵ Ex 13 ²¹		of cloud by day, and in a pillar of fire by night. ¹⁵ Now if thou shalt kill	
y Gen 29 ¹³ Deut 2 ²⁵		this people as one man, then the nations which have 'heard the fame" of thee	
		will speak, saying, ¹⁶ Because Yahweh was not able to bring this people into	t 217
z Ex 34 ⁶		the land which he 'sware unto them, therefore he hath slain them in the	u 56
		wilderness. ¹⁷ And now, I pray thee, let the power of "the Lord 'be great,	v 166
		"according as thou hast "spoken, saying, ¹⁸ Yahweh is slow to anger, and	
a' Ex 34 ⁹		plenteous in mercy, forgiving iniquity and transgression, and that will by no	
b' Deut 32 ⁴		means clear [the guilty ; visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children,	
c' S = sparel		upon the third and upon the fourth generation. ¹⁹ "Pardon, I pray thee, the	w 171
Gen 18 ²⁴		iniquity of this people according unto the 'greatness of thy mercy, and	x 2
d' Ex 9 ¹⁶		according as thou hast "forgiven this people, from Egypt even "until now.	
e' Jer 22 ²⁴ Ezek 5 ¹¹ Is 40 ¹⁸		²⁰ And Yahweh said, I have pardoned 'according to thy word : ²¹ "but in very	
f' Cp Is 65 ¹¹ 11 ⁹		deed, 'as I live, and as all the 'earth shall be filled with the glory of Yahweh ;	y 44 ^b
g' Ex 17 ²⁵ Deut 6 ¹⁶		²² because all those men which have seen my glory, and my 'signs, which	z 207 ^b
		I wrought in Egypt and in the wilderness, yet have 'tempted me these ten	
		times, and have not 'hearkened to my voice ; ²³ surely they shall not see the	
		land which I 'sware unto their fathers, neither shall any of them that	
		'despised me see it : ²⁴ but my 'servant "Caleb, 'because he had another spirit	
		with him, and hath followed me fully, him will I bring into the land where-	
		into he went ; and his seed shall 'possess it.	
		... ²⁵ "Now the 'Amalekite and the	
		Canaanite dwell in the valley : to-	
		morrow 'turn ye, and get you into	
		the wilderness by the "way to the	
		Red Sea.	
		²⁶ And Yahweh 'spake unto Moses and	a' 185
		unto 'Aaron, saying, ²⁷ How long [shall	
		I bear] with this evil 'congregation, which	
		'murmur against me? I have "heard	
		the murmurings of the children of Israel,	
		which they murmur against me. ²⁸ Say	
		unto them, 'As I live, saith Yahweh',	
		surely as ye have spoken in mine ears,	
		so will I do to you : ²⁹ your 'carcasses	
		shall fall in 'this wilderness ; and all	
		'that were numbered of you, according	b' 115 ^b
		to your whole number, 'from twenty	
		years old and upward, which have 'mur-	
		mured against me, ³⁰ surely ye shall not	

14¹³ The S text in 13 is much confused, cp Dillm and the versions.

14^b This clause seems due to a reminiscence of the account of the Dwelling in the midst of the camp and the cloud above it cp 10³⁴.

17 The following quotation from Ex 34⁶ may be an annotator's addition, but the whole passage has reminiscences of the scenes at Sinai. The affinities with later prophetic language (cp 21), the peculiar appeals to Yahweh's sense of his own fame among the nations ¹⁵ (cp 32¹² Ezek 36²⁰.), the reference to the ten disobediences by which Israel had 'tried' Yahweh ²² (apparently a number belonging to a systematized tradition), all render it probable that this passage belongs to the most recent of the expansions in J. The parallels with Ex 32⁷⁻¹⁴ suggest its kinship

with B¹⁰. On the affinity of J² and B¹⁰ cp *Introd* i 109.

25 The elements of this verse are highly perplexing. 25^b is reproduced in Deut 1⁴⁰ as the close of the divine condemnation following a passage in which phrases of J and E seem blended, and the parallels on the whole point to E. But 25^a is inconsistent with 13²², as well as with 14⁴³ 45. What is 'the valley'? In Gen 14³ 8 10 the word is applied to the Vale of Siddim, in Gen 37^{14b} to the Vale of Hebron, and in Joshua to other localities; but it is nowhere used without further definition. S reads 'in the mountain' cp 45; this may be only a correction yet it may preserve a genuine trace, for Deut 1⁴⁴ suggests that the original may have run 'Now the Amorite dwells in the mountain'; the entry of the Amalekite and the Canaanite would in that case be due to the harmonist cp 43 45.

	J	JE	E	P ^r	
^r Ex 6 ^a				come into the land, concerning which I ^r lifted up my hand that I would make you dwell therein, save ^r Caleb the son of Jephunneh, and ^r Joshua the son of Nun.	
^r 11 ²⁰		31 ^r But your ^r little ones, which ye said should be a ^r prey, them will I bring in, and they shall know the land which ye have ^r rejected.		32 But as for you, your ^r carcases shall fall in this wilderness. 33 And your children shall be ^r wanderers in the wilderness forty years, and shall ^r bear your ^r whoredoms, until your carcases be consumed in the wilderness. 34 After the number of the days in which ye ^r spied out the land, even ^r forty days, for every day a year, shall ye ^r bear your iniquities, even forty years, and ye shall know ^r my alienation. 35 ^r I Yahweh have spoken, surely this will I do unto all this evil ^r congregation, that are ^r gathered together against me: in ^r this wilderness they shall be consumed, and there they shall die. 36 ^r And the men, which Moses sent to ^r spy out the land, who returned, and made all the ^r congregation to ^r murmur against him, by ^r bringing up an evil report against the land, 37 even those men that did bring up an evil report of the land, died by the ^r plague before Yahweh. 38 But Joshua the son of Nun, and Caleb the son of Jephunneh, remained alive of those men that went to ^r spy out the land. 39 ^a And Moses told these words unto all the children of Israel.	^r 28 ^r 91 ^r 125 ^b
^r Cp 34 ^r 5 ^a Hos Jer Ezek					
^r 13 ²⁵					
^r 13 ³²					
^r Gen 37 ²⁴ Ex 33 ^{4a}		39 ^b ^r And the people ^r mourned greatly. 40 And they ^r rose up early in the morning, and ^r gat them up to the top of the mountain, saying, ^r Lo, we be here, and will go up unto the ^r place which Yahweh hath promised ^a : for we have ^r sinned. 41 ^r And Moses said, ^r Wherefore now do ye ^r transgress the commandment of Yahweh, seeing it shall not			^r 200 ^r 104 ^r 89 ^b
^r Cp 13 ^{17c}					
^r Cp Gen 22 ⁹ 5 ^r 12 ¹¹ 21 ⁷ Deut 14 ¹					
^r 22 ¹⁸ 24 ^{13a}					

14³¹ A fragment left over from J as the language suggests cp ^r, and here incorporated with P. Gray, however, considers it the work of E, as the people in J fear to take, but do not reject or despise, the land.

³³ M. 5 *shepherds*.—32¹³ implies נָדָדוּ 'wanderers' for רָעִים.

³⁴ M. Or, *the revoking of my promise*.—Job 33¹⁰⁺.

³⁶ The divine words are not reported to Israel until ³⁰; the announcement of their fulfilment is thus premature, and may be due to editorial annotation.

^{39b} The source of the clause is doubtful. The change from 'children of Israel' to 'people' marks it off from P. The sequel shows decided traces of dual origin. In ⁴⁰ the people went up to the top of the mountain, whereas in ⁴¹. Moses endeavours to restrain them, and they only reach in ⁴⁴ the point already attained in ⁴⁰. The parallels to ⁴⁰ are decisive for E; and the passage joins on fittingly to ³⁸. On the morrow the people endeavour by an early and unauthorized march to evade

the divine command. The language of ⁴¹⁻⁴³ is no less clearly stamped with significant expressions of J, while the mention of the Amalekite and Canaanite as joint occupants of the southern highlands ⁴¹⁻⁴⁶ cannot proceed from the author of 13²⁰. In ⁴⁴ the designation 'ark of the covenant of Yahweh' has probably been enlarged from a simpler phrase 'ark of Yahweh.' The statement that it did not 'depart out of the midst (or, from within) the camp' is conclusive (in spite of the word 'depart') against E in which the sanctuary stood outside the camp 11²⁴⁻³⁰ 12¹ Ex 33⁷. On the other hand, this passage offers a glimpse into the conception of J which seems to have supplied the basis for P's picture of the Dwelling surrounded by the tribes. ⁴⁵ may contain elements of both J and E. For 'Amalekite and Canaanite' Deut 14¹⁴ seems to have read 'Amorite,' as if from E: the final words 'smote them and beat them down' may comprise a doublet, and the reference to Hormah ^{38a} also belong to E cp 21¹⁻³.

	J	JE	E	P ^a	P ^b	P ^c		
		J' prosper ? ⁴² Go not up, for Yahweh is not 'among you ; that ye be not ^{d'} smitten down before your enemies.					J' 66	
^{d''} Lev 26 ¹⁷		⁴³ For there the 'Amalekite and the Canaanite are before you, and ye shall 'fall by the sword: ^{k'} because ye are turned back from J' following Yahweh, therefore Yahweh will not ^{e''} be 'with you. ⁴⁴ But they ^{k'} presumed to go up to the top of the mountain: nevertheless the ark ^{k'} of the covenant of Yahweh, and Moses, ^{e''} departed not out of the camp.					k' 35	
^{e''} Ct 13 ²⁹		⁴⁵ Then the Amalekite came down, and the Canaanite which dwelt in that mountain, and smote them and J' beat them down, even unto ^{k'} Hor-mah.						
^{f''} Cp 24								
^{g''} Cp 9								
^{h''} Cp Hab 2 ⁴								
^{i''} Ex 13 ²²								
^{j''} Deut 1 ⁴⁴								
^{k''} Cp 21 ³								
1-16 27m (w)								
^a Lev 14 ³⁴							a 185 ^a	
^b Lev 12							b 191 ^a	
^c Lev 21							c 55 ^a	
^d Lev 24							d 94 ^a	
^e Ex 29 ⁴⁰							e 117 ^a	
^f Lev 16							f 173 ^a	
^g Ex 29 ³⁵ §							g 111 ^a	
14m 22m							h 160 ^a	
^h Ex 16 ³								
ⁱ Cp 21 ³							i 34	
^j Lev 7 ⁷ §							j 76 ^a	
^k Ex 12 ⁴⁹							k 145 ^a	
							l 65 ^a	
		15 ¹ ^{k'} And Yahweh ^{k'} spake unto Moses, saying, ² Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, ^b When ye be come into the land of your 'habitations, ^c which ^d I give unto you, ³ and will ^e make an offering by fire unto Yahweh, a burnt offering, or a sacrifice, ^f to accomplish a 'vow, or as a freewill offering, or in your ^g set feasts, to make a sweet savour unto Yahweh, of the ^h herd, or of the flock: ⁴ then shall he that offereth his oblation offer unto Yahweh a ⁱ meal offering of a ^j tenth part [of an ephah] of fine flour mingled with the fourth part of an hin of oil: ⁵ and ^k wine for the drink offering, the fourth part of an hin, shalt thou ^l prepare with the burnt offering or for the sacrifice, for each lamb. ⁶ Or for a ram, thou shalt prepare for a meal offering two tenth parts [of an ephah] of fine flour mingled with the third part of an hin of oil: ⁷ and for the drink offering thou shalt offer the third part of an hin of wine, of a sweet savour unto Yahweh. ⁸ And when thou ⁹ preparest a ¹⁰ bullock for a burnt offering, or for a sacrifice, ¹¹ to accomplish a vow, or for peace offerings unto Yahweh: ¹² then shall he offer with the bullock a meal offering of three tenth parts [of an ephah] of fine flour mingled with half an hin of oil. ¹³ And thou shalt offer for the drink offering half an hin of wine, for an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto Yahweh. ¹⁴ Thus shall it be done for each bullock, or for each ram, or for each of the he-lambs, or of the kids. ¹⁵ According to the number that ye shall prepare, ¹⁶ so shall ye do to every one according to their number. ¹⁷ All that are ¹⁸ homeborn shall do these things ¹⁹ after this manner, in offering an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto Yahweh. ²⁰ And if a stranger sojourn with you, or whosoever be among you ²¹ throughout your generations, and will offer an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto Yahweh; as ye do, so he shall do. ²² For the ²³ assembly, there shall be one ²⁴ statute for you, and for the ²⁵ stranger that ²⁶ sojourneth [with you], a statute ²⁷ for ever ²⁸ throughout your generations: ²⁹ as ye are, ³⁰ so shall the stranger be before Yahweh. ³¹ One ³² law and one ³³ ordinance shall be for you, and for the ³⁴ stranger that sojourneth with you.						

14⁴⁴ As in 10³³, probably a redactional expansion. 15¹ The group of regulations in 15 comprises very varied subjects, introduced without reference to time or place. A series of laws concerning offerings 1¹⁻³¹, is followed by a brief narrative illustrating the penalty for working on the sabbath 32-36, and this in its turn makes way for a law of fringes 37-41. The sacrificial and other formulae connect it at once with P, but the want of sequence suggests that the materials may have been drawn from different sources, and may owe their present place to the compiler who collected priestly *toroth* of diverse ages. Thus the opening section 1-16 seems to be supplemental

to Lev 2; details of the drink offering unnamed in Lev 1-7 being added to the directions concerning the meal offering which is to accompany the burnt offering. But it may be expanded from an earlier draft: the opening formula 2² already appears in P^h Lev 19²³ 23¹⁰ 25²; the inclusion of the 'homeborn and the stranger' 15-16 recalls Lev 17⁸ 10¹⁵ 13¹⁶, and with the combination of 'statute' and 'ordinance' (§ = judgement) 14, cp 213. The entry of the second person ⁶ after the third ⁴ may perhaps indicate imperfect assimilation of material.

² ⁸ M. Or, in making a special vow.

JE	P ⁱ	P ⁱ	P ⁱ
17-21 17mg 80i	17 ¹⁷ ¹⁷ And Yahweh ¹⁷ spake unto Moses, saying, ¹⁸ Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, ¹⁹ When ye come into the land ²⁰ whither I bring you, ¹⁹ then it shall be, that, when ye eat of the bread of the land, ye shall ²⁰ offer up an heave offering unto Yahweh. ²⁰ Of the ²¹ first of your ²¹ dough ye shall offer up a ²¹ cake for an heave offering: as ye do the heave offering of the threshing-floor, so shall ye heave it. ²¹ Of the ²¹ first of your dough ye shall give unto Yahweh an heave offering ²¹ throughout your generations.		m 85
l Ct 2 § 17a Lev 18 ³ 20 ²³ n Ezek 44 ³⁰ o Lev 24	22 ²² ²² And when ye shall ²² err, and not observe all these commandments, which Yahweh hath spoken unto Moses, ²³ even all that Yahweh hath commanded you by the ²³ hand of Moses, from the day that Yahweh gave commandment, and ²⁴ onward ²⁴ throughout your generations: ²⁴ then it shall be, if it be done ²⁴ unwittingly, without the ²⁴ knowledge of the ²⁴ congregation, that all the congregation shall offer one young ²⁴ bullock for a burnt offering, for a sweet savour unto Yahweh, with the meal offering thereof, and the drink offering thereof, ²⁴ according to the ordinance, and one ²⁴ he-goat for a sin offering. ²⁵ And the priest shall make ²⁵ atonement for all the ²⁵ congregation of the children of Israel, and they shall be ²⁵ forgiven; for it was an error, and they have brought their oblation, an offering made by fire unto Yahweh, and their sin offering before Yahweh, for their error: ²⁶ and all the ²⁶ congregation of the children of Israel shall be ²⁶ forgiven, and the ²⁶ stranger that sojourneth among them; for in respect of all the people it was done ²⁶ unwittingly. ²⁷ And if one ²⁷ person sin ²⁷ unwittingly, then he shall offer a she-goat of the ²⁷ first year for a sin offering. ²⁸ And the priest shall make ²⁸ atonement for the ²⁸ soul that ²⁸ erreth, when he sinneth ²⁸ unwittingly, before Yahweh, to make ²⁸ atonement for him; and he shall be ²⁸ forgiven. ²⁹ ²⁹ Ye shall have ²⁹ one law for him that doeth aught ²⁹ unwittingly, for him that is ²⁹ homeborn among the children of Israel, and for the ²⁹ stranger that sojourneth among them. ³⁰ But the ³⁰ soul that doeth aught with an ³⁰ high hand, ³⁰ whether he be ³⁰ homeborn or a stranger, the same ³⁰ blasphemeth Yahweh; and that soul shall be ³⁰ cut off from among his people. ³¹ Because he hath ³¹ despised the word of Yahweh, and hath ³¹ broken his commandment ^a ; that soul shall utterly be ³¹ cut off, his iniquity shall be ³¹ upon him.	n 180 ^a o 45 ^a p 25 ^a q 168 r 146 s 119 ^b	
22-31 178e p Lev 4 ¹³ Hiph Deut 27 ¹⁸ ^a			
q Lev 22 ³⁷			
r § eyes Lev 4 ¹³			
s Ct Lev 4 ¹⁴			
t Cp 8-11 Lev 5 ¹⁰			
u Lev 4 ³⁰			
v Lev 5 ¹⁸			
22f 128a,c			
w Ex 14 ⁸			
x Ct Ex 12 ¹⁹ Lev 17 ¹⁶ §			
y § ^a			
z Gen 25 ³⁴ ^a			
a' Ex 9 ¹⁴ cp Gen 17 ¹⁴			
b' Cp Lev 20 ⁹			
32-36 19b,q	32 ³² ³² And while the children of Israel were in the wilderness, they found a man ³² gathering sticks upon the sabbath day. ³³ And they that found him gathering sticks brought him unto Moses and Aaron, and unto all the ³³ congregation. ³⁴ And they ³⁴ put him in ward, because it had not been declared what should be done to him. ³⁵ And Yahweh said unto Moses, The man shall ³⁵ surely be put to death: all the ³⁵ congregation shall ³⁵ stone him with stones ³⁵ without the camp. ³⁶ And all the ³⁶ congregation brought him ³⁶ without the camp, and ³⁶ stoned him with stones, and he died; ³⁷ as Yahweh commanded Moses.	t 50 ^a u 46 ^a v 152 w 120 ^b	
c' Ex 5 ⁷ 12 ^a	37 ³⁷ ³⁷ And Yahweh ³⁷ spake unto Moses, saying, ³⁸ Speak unto the children of Israel, and ³⁸ bid them ³⁸ that they make them ³⁸ fringes in the borders of their garments ³⁸ throughout their generations, and that they put upon the fringe of each border		
d' Lev 24 ¹³			
e' Lev 24 ¹⁶			
f' Cp 119a,w			
g' § say unto 2 18			
37-41 111l,m/			

15¹⁷ The demand for firstfruits of dough cakes 17-21 is not specified in 18¹⁰ though it may be included in it. The language is not altogether in the mould of P; no other law opens with 'in your coming' ct 2; nor does the phrase 'eat the bread of the land' recur. The usage (though not necessarily the written law) seems to have been known to Ezekiel 44³⁰; and the phrase 'whither I bring you' 18 recalls P^h. The paragraph may, like 1-16, have had an older base.

20 M Or, *coarse meal*.—Ezek 44³⁰ Neh 10³⁸†.

22 In its present form the law for atonement for 'error' 22-31 seems to depend on 1-16, as the meal offering and drink offering are to be offered 'according to the ordinance' 24, which points back (for a bullock) to 9-10. But the entire section is plainly related to Lev 4 5¹⁻¹³: in substance it seems earlier than 4 and later than 5¹⁻¹³ (see *Laws 7se*). In 29 the homeborn and the stranger are associated as in P^h; and the language of 31, though

peculiar, is not inconsistent with this ultimate derivation; 'despise' only in Gen 25³⁴ J; 'his iniquity shall be upon him' cp his 'blood' Lev 20⁹.

24 M Or, *in error*.

28 The narrative in 32-36 has a close parallel in Lev 24¹², where older legislative material seemed incorporated in a later story: cp the secondary phrase 'as Yahweh commanded Moses' 26b.

37 The compiler's formula 2 18 is here finally attached to the law of fringes 37b-41 cp Deut 22¹². The peculiar opening 'and they shall make' followed by the change to the second person 'and it shall be unto you' 39 points to the employment of some older material. This seems to be drawn 40. from P^h. The parallel with Ezek 6⁹ in 38 supports this, and the term for 'heart' 20 further confirms it.

38 M Or, *tassels in the corners*.

	J E P ^a	P ^a	P ^a
N ^a Ex 28 ²⁸ P ^a Ex 25 ⁴	a ^a cord of 'blue: 39 and it shall 'be unto you for a fringe, that ye may look upon it, and remember all the commandments of Yahweh, and do them; and that ye "go not about after your own 'heart and your own 'eyes, after which ye use to go a 'whoring: 40 that ye may remember and do all my commandments, and 'be holy unto your God. 41 'I am Yahweh your God, 'which brought you out of the land of Egypt, to 'be your God: I am Yahweh your God.		x 27
J ^a Ezek 69 K ^a Cp Lev 17 ⁷			y 202 z 203
P ^a Lev 19 ³⁶			a' 26
1-50 LXX ¹ :		16 ^{1a} "Now Korah, 1 ^b "the son of Izhar, the son of Kohath, the son of Levi,	
	1 ^a "And Dathan and Abiram, the sons of Eliab, sons of Reuben, .. ^{1d} and On, the son of Peleth, took ... 2 ^a rose up before Moses, ...	2 ^b "with certain of the children of Israel, two hundred and fifty 'princes of the 'congregation, 'called to the 'assembly, "men of renown: 3 and they 'assembled themselves together 'against Moses and against Aaron, and said unto them, "Ye take too much upon you, seeing all	a 131 b 45 c 24
a 16 b §=meeting cp 105 c 14 ² Ex 16 ²			

15³⁸ M § spy not out.—Cp 150.

16^{1a} With the revolt of Korah is inwoven another narrative in which Dathan and Abiram are the leaders. The reasons for this division are found in divergent presentations of fact, marked in their turn by diversities of linguistic usage. (1) On the one hand, Korah heads two hundred and fifty men 1^a 2^b 17 in a movement against the religious leadership of Moses and Aaron; on the other, Dathan and Abiram 1^a make a protest against the secular authority of Moses alone 2^a. (2) The test of the pretensions of Korah and his followers takes place at the sanctuary 6. 16. 18-24^a whence fire comes forth and devours the two hundred and fifty; while the disobedience of Dathan and Abiram is punished at their tents 25. . . The clearest proof of the dual sources perhaps lies in the fact that the compiler, anxious to weld into one the fates of two sets of rebels, has inadvertently killed Korah's followers twice over cp 32^b and 25. The episode of Korah revolves round the institutions of P, the congregation, the Dwelling, the priesthood. The story of Dathan and Abiram, where Moses acts with the elders as civil officers, bears the familiar phraseological marks of J.E. Only the latter incident seems to have been known to D Deut 11⁶.

1^b Closer examination of the Korah narrative reveals that within the bounds of P two distinct views have been combined. (1) The two hundred and fifty princes of the congregation at whose head Korah stands, are not all Levites, for their description as 'called to the assembly,' implies that they had secular functions, and the explanation of the daughters of Zelophehad 27³ (that their father was in no way involved in the insurrection) proves that the rising was not confined to the sacred order. The opposition described in 3 is based on the principle that all the congregation is holy, and consequently the religious authority assumed by Moses and Aaron, and vested by them in the tribe of Levi, is an invasion of the general rights. The reply of Moses affirms that Yahweh will himself show whom he has chosen to come near him; and the sequel in 17 establishes the divine selection of the tribe of Levi as against the remaining eleven. But (2) Korah and his followers are addressed as Levites 6 and charged with aspiring to the priesthood; they have been already dedicated to the service of the Dwelling, and claim a practical equality with Aaron and his family 7-11. The answer to this pretension is supplied in 30-40 where the priesthood is strictly confined to the posterity of Aaron. In the one case, therefore, a laity, ideally holy, attempts to break down the exclusive privileges of a consecrated tribe: in the other, the lower clergy endeavour to assert their rights to the functions of the higher. Now it would be natural to expect that the leader of the first movement should be himself a layman.

Wellh (Comp 108) pointed out that the Korah of 3-5 was no Levite, and conjectured that he belonged to Judah. In the genealogies of the Chronicler, beside the Levite Korah, there figures another Korah among the descendants of Caleb: Chron 24³, who is here incorporated in the tribe of Judah. If it were possible that the story were originally told of him, it would be easy to understand how the later editors should have transferred him into the sacred tribe, and provided him with the necessary ancestry (cp Bacon).

1^a So §. T with. The story of the secular revolt of Dathan and Abiram begins at this point, and is independent of Korah and his company. There is, however, good reason to believe that the elements incongruous with P are themselves not all of one piece. Thus in 12-15 the speeches imply different points of view. In 12 14^b Dathan and Abiram defy the authority of Moses on the ground that he has failed to fulfil his promise, and he replies by entreating Yahweh to pay no attention to their offering. The basis of 15 is clearly some religious act, culminating in sacrifice, and having affinity rather with Korah's protest than with the rebellion of Dathan and Abiram. The evidence of language confirms the view that 12-15 is not homogeneous, a strong J element revealing itself, and the doublets in 31-33 thus receive a natural explanation. In view of these conditions, and of the large dependence of D on E (cp *Introd* i 71-173), it seems natural to assign Dathan and Abiram to E. There remains, then, On the son of Peleth. He has clearly no place in P, where Korah is the sole leader (cp 'shall one man sin' 22). Köhler conjectured that the text originally ran 'sons of Eliab, son of Pallu, son of Reuben' (Ex 6¹⁴), and this has been widely adopted (e.g. by Kuenen and Dillmann). But Bacon has suggested that the Korah of P's first draft was taken over from J, where Caleb and his family 12^b were regarded as Kenizites. The text may then have run 'Now Korah the son of Kenas and On the son of Peleth took ...' (Bacon). The words as they stand, however, are unintelligible, for the object has been lost (if פלתי is correct, and does not represent an original פלתי). EV supplies men: but it is possible that the first form of the story described the taking of the offering which gave occasion to the indignant remonstrance of Moses in 15.

2^b The order in § runs 'and two hundred and fifty men of the children of Israel, princes' &c: it does not seem possible, therefore, to assign the words 'with certain of the children of Israel' to E (Bacon).

3^a This expression is not identical with that in Gen 6⁴; the grammatical analogy seems rather to point to 13³².

2^a M § It is enough for you.—Cp Deut 1⁵ 2³ 3³⁸ and 7⁸.

J	JE	E	P ¹	P ²	P ³
d 23 ²⁴ 24 ^{7a}				the 'congregation are holy, every one of them, 'and Yahweh is 'among them: wherefore then 'lift ye up yourselves above the 'assembly of Yahweh'? 'And when Moses heard it, he 'fell upon his face: 'and he 'spake unto Korah and unto all 'his 'company, saying, In the morning Yahweh will shew who are his, and who is holy, and 'will 'cause him to come near unto him: even him whom he shall 'choose will he cause to come near unto him. 'This do; take you 'censers, Korah, and all his 'company; 'and put fire therein, and put 'incense upon them before Yahweh to-morrow: and it shall be that the man whom Yahweh doth 'choose, he [shall be] holy: 'ye take too much upon you, ye sons of Levi.	d 22
e 20 ⁴ Deut 23 ¹⁻⁸ Mic 2 ^{8†}					e 67 f 185
f 6 11 16 40 5 =congregation					g 118 ^a
g 7 17 ⁵					
h Lev 10 ¹					h 95
i Josh 22 ²⁶ cp 21 ⁸⁶					i 53
j 81 ⁴ . . ct 18 ¹ .					j 140 ^b k 54
k 37 ^a					
l Ex 6 ⁶ Num 20 ¹² 25 ¹² 21 ¹⁴ ⁸⁶					l 129 ^b
	12 And Moses sent to 'call Dathan and Abiram, the sons of Eliab: and they said, 'We will not come up: .. ¹³ is it a 'small thing that thou hast 'brought us up 'out of a land 'flowing with milk and honey, to 'kill us in the wilderness, but thou				m 114 n 139 o 135 p 34
m Cp 14 ^b o Gen 30 ¹⁵					
p Ex 17 ³ cp 14 ¹¹					

16^{13b} Dillm and Bacon ascribe these words to J ('perhaps rightly,' Addis). But J's phrase to depict the divine Presence in Israel is בְּקִרְבִּי 'in the midst' 25⁸ (cp 21¹³⁰ 'be with'), never בְּתוֹכָם 'among,' which is peculiar to P in this connexion.

^{5a} The 5 term here is קָהָל, invariably restricted elsewhere in P² to the 'congregation' of the whole people conceived as the church-nation. It is in the highest degree unlikely that P² should abandon his regular usage to apply it to the limited group of Korah's associates. From 19 21. it is clear that Korah was supported by 'all the congregation,' i.e. the entire lay community, and that was probably the reading here. P² with his looser style of language distinguishes a 'congregation of Israel' ⁹ and a 'congregation of Korah' ¹¹, and this usage was introduced into P² when the secondary additions were made to the narrative. The censers for 'all the congregation' are put in charge of their representatives, the two hundred and

fifty princes.

^{5b} M Or, whom he will cause to come near.

⁷ This phrase does not fit the context, for Korah and the princes were not all Levites cp 1^{1a}. It was probably originally addressed to Moses and Aaron, and may have followed ⁵, being afterwards transposed to secure a point of contact with ⁶.

⁹ 5 'Is it too little for you' Is 7¹³ Ezek 34¹⁸ Job 15¹¹ cp Josh 22¹⁷.

¹³ As the text stands Egypt is here described as a 'land flowing with milk and honey,' a designation otherwise reserved for Canaan. 5 reads *into*. If this be preferred, the complaint is that the plea of bringing them into a land of plenty has only involved them in death in the wilderness. 14^a will then be inappropriate as repetition, and if assigned to E would make a better connexion with 14^b. According to the analysis here adopted E does not elsewhere use the phrase cp 24, but it is possible that one or two passages assigned on this basis to J may really belong to E, e.g. 13¹⁷.

	J	JE	E	P ¹	P ²	P ³	
c' Gen 18 ²³ 19 ¹⁵ 17		touch 'nothing of theirs, lest ye be 'consumed in all their sins.					x 124
		27 ^b And Dathan and Abiram came out, and 'stood at the door of their tents.					y 215 ^b
d' Gen 24 ¹⁴ 42 ³⁸ Ex 7 ¹⁷ c' Ex 3 ¹⁰ 4 ¹⁸ 28 5 ²² f' Gen 20 ⁹ Ex 23 ¹⁵ 5 g' Cp 24 ¹⁵		.. 27 ^c and their wives, 'and their sons, and their 'little ones. 28 And Moses said, 'Hereby ye shall know that Yahweh hath 'sent me to 'do all these 'works; for [I have] not [done them] of mine own 'mind. 29 If these men die the common death of all men, 'or if they be visited after the visitation of all men; then Yah- weh hath not sent me. 30 But if Yahweh 'make a new thing, and the 'ground open her mouth, and swallow them up, 'with 'all that appertain unto them, and they 'go down alive into 'the pit; then ye shall understand that these men have 'despised Yahweh. 31 And 'it came to pass, as he made an end of speaking all these words, that the 'ground clave asunder that was under them.			27 ^a So they gat them up from the Dwelling of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, on every side.		z 58
A' Gen 4 ¹¹		32 ^a And the 'earth opened her mouth, and swallowed them up, and their 'households,					
i' Gen 37 ³⁶		33 ^a So they, and 'all that appertained to them, 'went down alive into 'the pit.					
j' 14 ¹¹ 23		33 ^b and the 'earth closed upon them.					a' 127 ^a
k' Ct 30 cp Dent 11 ⁶ l' Gen 42 ¹⁹ 38 45 ¹⁸		34 And all Israel that were round about them fled at the cry of them: for they said, Lest the 'earth swallow us up.			... 32 ^b 'and all the men that appertained unto Korah, and all their 'goods.		b' 155
m' 17 ¹² n' Cp 21 47 19 ²⁰ 5					33 ^c and they 'perished 'from among the assembly.		
o' Lev 10 ² p' Cp 2b 6. 18					35 And 'fire came forth from Yahweh, and devoured the 'two hundred and fifty men that offered the incense.		
36 [17 ¹ in 5] 36-40 110d ^r		36 ^{ML} And Yahweh 'spake unto Moses, saying, 37 Speak unto 'Eleazar the son of Aaron the priest, that he take up the 'censers out of the burning, and scatter thou the fire yonder; 'for they 'are holy;					d' 86

16^{27c} The unusual introduction of 'sons' into the phrase 'wives and little ones,' cp '52, suggests that 'their sons' has been added from E cp 32.

29 J and. The duplicate may possibly be incorporated from E, cp Ex 32³⁴.

30^a M 5 create a creation.—Cp Ex 34¹⁰.

30^b (J) adds 'and their households and their tents.'

30c 33^a M 5 Sheol.

32^b As Korah is mentioned along with Dathan and Abiram

in 1, the harmonist endeavours to include their followers in a common fate cp 33^c. But the doom of the two hundred and fifty princes is related independently in 35.

36 This paragraph, cp 40, coheres with the secondary representation 8-11, in which a body of Levites claimed the full rights of the Aaronic priesthood.

37 (J) & (E) indicate that this clause should be combined with the following, 'for the censers . . . are holy.' Cp Dillm. Kautsch, Addis.

JE	P ¹	P ²	P ³
q' Ex 39 ³ r' §† op Gen 1 ⁶ Ex 39 ³ § r' Ex 38 ¹⁷ 19 Is 30 ²² † r' Ex 39 ³ w' Lev 21 ²¹ 22 ⁴		<p>38 even the censers of "these sinners against their own "lives, and let them be made "beaten "plates for a "covering of the altar: for they "offered them before Yahweh, therefore they "are holy: and they shall "be a sign unto the children of Israel. 39 And Eleazar the priest took the brasen censers, which they that were burnt had offered; and they "beat them out for a "covering of the altar: 40 to be a "memorial unto the children of Israel, to the end that no "stranger, which is not of the "seed of Aaron, come near to "burn incense before Yahweh; that he be not as Korah, and as his "company: as Yahweh spake unto him "by the hand of Moses.</p> <p>41 But on the morrow all the "congregation of the children of Israel "murmured against Moses and against Aaron, saying, Ye have killed the people of Yahweh. 42 And it came to pass, when the "congregation was "assembled against Moses and against Aaron, that they "looked toward the tent of meeting: and, behold, the cloud "covered it, and the "glory of Yahweh appeared. 43 And Moses and Aaron came to the front of the tent of meeting. 44 And Yahweh "spake unto Moses", saying, 45 "Get you up from among this congregation, that I may consume them in a "moment. And they "fell upon their faces. 46 And Moses said unto Aaron, Take thy "censer, and put fire therein from off the altar, and lay incense thereon, and carry it quickly unto the "congregation, and make "atonement for them: for there is "wrath gone out from Yahweh; the "plague is begun. 47 And Aaron took as Moses spake, and ran into the "midst of the assembly; and, behold, the "plague was begun among the people: and he put on the incense, and made "atonement for the people. 48 And he stood between the dead and the living: and the "plague was stayed. 49 Now they that died by the "plague were fourteen thousand and seven hundred, "besides them that died about the matter of Korah. 50 And Aaron returned unto Moses unto the "door of the tent of meeting: and the "plague was stayed.</p> <p>17¹ "And Yahweh "spake unto Moses, saying, 2 Speak unto the children of Israel, and take of them rods, one for each "fathers' house, of all their "princes according to their fathers' houses, twelve rods: write thou every man's name upon his rod. 3 And thou shalt write Aaron's name upon the rod of Levi: for there shall be one rod for each head of their "fathers' houses. 4 And thou shalt "lay them up in the tent of meeting before the "testimony, "where I "meet with you. 5 And it shall come to pass, that the man whom I shall "choose, his rod shall "bud: and I will make to "cease from me the "murmurings of the children of Israel, which they murmur against you. 6 And Moses spake unto the children of Israel, and all their "princes gave him rods, for each prince one, according to their "fathers' houses, even twelve rods: and the rod of Aaron was among their rods. 7 And Moses "laid up the rods before Yahweh in the "tent of the testimony. 8 And it came to pass on the morrow, that Moses went into the "tent of the testimony; and, behold, the rod of Aaron for the house of Levi was "budded, and put forth buds, and "bloomed "blossoms, and bare ripe almonds. 9 And Moses brought out all the rods from before Yahweh unto all the children of Israel: and they looked, and took every man his rod. 10 And Yahweh said unto Moses, Put back the rod of Aaron before the "testimony, to be "kept "for a token against the "children of rebellion; that thou mayest make an end of their "murmurings against me "that they die not. 11 "Thus did Moses: as Yahweh commanded him, so did he.</p> <p>12 "And the children of Israel "spake unto Moses, saying, Behold, we "perish, we "are undone, we are all undone. 13 Every one "that cometh</p>	<p>d' 27 r' 113 r' 153 r' 27 r' 180⁴</p> <p>r' 25 r' 178 r' 185⁴</p> <p>m' 125⁵ r' 31</p> <p>a 125⁴ b 66 c 131</p> <p>d 126 e 111⁴ f 124⁵</p> <p>g 126⁴</p> <p>h 20⁴ i 14⁵ j 52⁴ k 129⁴</p> <p>l 5</p>
1 [17 ¹⁸ in §] 1-11 121/12			
a 7 Ex 1633- b Ex 25 ²² c 165 d Gen 40 ¹⁰ e Gen 8 ¹			
f § ⁴ g Cp Ex 28 ³⁶ §			
h Cp Ezek 28			
i § = periah 1633 j Cp 153 ⁵			

1638⁴ M Or, these men who have sinned at the cost of their lives.

38b M Or, souls.

44 (3) adds 'and Aaron,' perhaps to explain the following plurals: or have the words accidentally fallen out of §?

17¹² This passage may be an editorial introduction to the law which follows 18¹⁻⁷, derived possibly from an early source of P, and here appended to the Korah incident.

	JE	P ¹	P ²	P ³	
			near, that cometh near unto the "Dwelling of Yahweh, "dieth : shall we perish all of us ?		m 54 ^b
1-7 L118 ⁷ a 27. 11 19 cp 162			18 ¹ And Yahweh said unto "Aaron, "Thou and thy sons and thy 'fathers' house 'with thee shall 'bear the iniquity of the 'sanctuary : and thou and thy sons with thee shall bear the iniquity of your 'priesthood.	a 66 b 176 c 284	
b Cp 2112 c 3 ^d			2 And thy brethren also, the 'tribe of Levi, the 'tribe of thy father, 'bring thou near with thee, that they may be "joined unto thee, and 'minister unto thee : but 'thou and thy sons with thee shall be before the 'tent of the testimony. 3 And they shall 'keep thy charge, and the 'charge of all the Tent : only they shall not 'come nigh unto the 'vessels of the 'sanctuary and unto the altar, 'that they die not, neither they, nor ye.	d 91 e 129 ^b f 165	
d 3 ^e e Lev 97. f 33 ¹			4 And they shall be joined unto thee, and 'keep the charge of the tent of meeting, for all the 'service of the Tent : and a 'stranger shall not come nigh unto you. 5 And ye shall 'keep the charge of the 'sanctuary, and the charge of the altar : that there be "wrath no more upon the children of Israel. 6 And "I, behold, I have 'taken your brethren the Levites from among the children of Israel : to you they are a gift, 'given unto Yahweh, to 'do the service of the tent of meeting. 7 And "thou and thy sons with thee shall 'keep your 'priesthood for every thing of the altar, and for that 'within the 'veil ; and ye shall serve : I give you the priesthood as a 'service of gift : 'and the 'stranger that cometh nigh shall be put to death.	g 162 ^a h 39 ^b	
g 31 ² h 3 ⁹			8 And Yahweh spake unto Aaron, And "I, behold, I have given thee the 'charge of mine heave offerings, 'even all the 'hallowed 'things of the children of Israel, unto "thee have I given them "by reason of the 'anointing, and "to thy sons, as a 'due for ever. 9 "This shall be thine of the 'most holy things, [reserved] from the fire : every 'oblation of theirs, 'even every "meal offering of theirs, and every "sin offering of theirs, and every "guilt offering of theirs, which they shall render unto me, shall be 'most holy for "thee and for thy sons. 10 As the 'most holy things shalt thou eat thereof : "every male shall eat thereof ; it shall be 'holy unto thee. 11 And this is thine ; the heave offering of their "gift, 'even all the wave offerings of the children of Israel : I have given them unto "thee, and to thy sons and to thy 'daughters with thee, as a 'due for ever : every one that is "clean in thy house shall eat thereof.	i 88 ^c j 52	
i 31 ⁰ Lev 161 ²			12 All the "best of the 'oil, and all the "best of the vintage, and of the corn, the 'firstfruits of them which they give unto Yahweh, to thee have I given them. 13 The firstripe fruits of all that is in their land, which they bring unto Yahweh, shall be thine ; every one that is "clean in thy house shall eat thereof. 14 Every thing 'devoted in Israel shall be thine. 15 Every thing that 'openeth the womb, of 'all flesh which they 'offer unto Yahweh, 'both of man and beast, shall be 'thine : nevertheless the firstborn of man shalt thou surely redeem, and the firstling of 'unclean beasts shalt thou redeem. 16 And those that are to be	k 140 ^a l 153 ^a	
8-32 L111 ⁹ k 32 Lev 22 ²				m 178 ^a n 94 ^b	
l Cp Lev 73 ⁵ 5 9 L7mis46 ⁹				o 171 p 153 ^b	
m Ezek 44 ²⁹				q 27 ^a r 88 ^a	
n Gen 341 ² o 19 Lev 1014				s 62 ^c t 118 ^b	
12f. 180i p Ct 230 q Ex 2319				u 107 ^b v 90 ^a	
14 L8hc r Lev 2728 Ezek 44 ²⁹ 15-18 L8a. b7 s Ex 13 ² t Cp Lev 2726.				w 42 ^b	
				x 21 ^b y 118 ^a z 35 a' 167 ^b	

171⁵ M Or, shall die.

18¹ The choice of the tribe of Levi by Yahweh gives occasion for a fresh enunciation of the duties of the priesthood and the inferior functions of the Levites 1-7, to which is attached an enumeration of the dues assigned for the maintenance both of the higher and lower clergy 8-32. The language is throughout that of P², though it is also not without affinity to P^h cp 'bear iniquity or sin' 1 22. 32, 'profane' 32. But the whole passage is marked by peculiarities both of form and substance. The laws in 1. 8. 20. are addressed to Aaron (so only Lev 10³ ; elsewhere instructions for Aaron are imparted through Moses, eg Lev 8² 16² 21¹ Num 6²³ 8²) ; and the customary formula 'spake . . . saying' is not employed 1 8 20, ct 35. Unusual phrases will be found in 2 'be joined' 'tribe of thy father,' 19 'covenant of salt,' 21 31 'in return for.' More significant is the general tenor of the group of laws. The regulations in 2-7 by which the Levites are set apart for the service of the sanctuary, seem to define their functions for the first time, and altogether ignore the arrangements of 3⁶⁻¹⁰. This is confirmed by 32, according to which the right of immediate approach to the sanctuary, for-

merly possessed by the whole people, is apparently for the first time withdrawn. The language of 20 is further inconsistent with the subsequent assignment of the Levitical cities 35¹⁻⁸, but agrees with that of Deut 10⁹ 18¹, while 24 actually quotes a prior provision for the Levites, such as D indicates. It is noteworthy that there is no reference to the Dwelling as in 3 ; 'tent of the testimony' 2 harmonizes with 17¹, but may be due to late editing, like the word 'tribe' 21w 165. The references to the sanctuary 3 5 and even to the veil 7 are not inconsistent with the possibility that before the account of the Dwelling took shape in Ex 25-31, there was a prior account of the construction of the Tent of Meeting. The early character of this section is also indicated by the allusion to 'the altar' 7 ct Ex 30¹. On the priority of 15-18 before Lev 27²⁶. cp Kuenen, *Heb* 30, and for 20-32 before Lev 27³², *ibid* 311. For the supplemental character of 25-32 cp 232.

2 M See Gen 29²⁴.

8 M Or, for a portion.—5 Ex 29²⁹ 401⁸. 12ab M 5 fat.

16 M Or, And as to their redemption-money, from a month old shalt thou redeem them.

JE	P ¹	P ²	P ³
u 3 ¹⁶		"redeemed of them from a month 'old shalt thou redeem, according to thine 'estimation, for the money of five shekels, after the 'shekel of the sanctuary (the same is twenty gerahs). 17 But the firstling of an ox, or the firstling of a sheep, or the firstling of a goat, thou shalt not redeem; they are 'holy: thou shalt 'sprinkle their blood upon the altar, and shalt 'burn their fat for an offering made by fire, for a sweet savour unto Yahweh. 18 And the flesh of them shall be thine, as the 'wave breast and as the right thigh, it shall be thine. 19 All the heave offerings of the holy things, which the children of Israel 'offer unto Yahweh, have I given 'thee, and thy sons and thy 'daughters with thee, as a 'due for ever: it is a 'covenant of salt for ever before Yahweh unto thee and to thy 'seed with thee. 20 And Yahweh said unto Aaron, 'Thou shalt have no inheritance in their land, neither shalt thou have any portion among them: 'I am thy portion and thine inheritance 'among the children of Israel.	b' 119 ^a c' 61
v Ex 30 ¹³			d' 148 e' 37
w Ex 29 ²⁷			f' 85
x 2 Chron 13 ³⁴ cp Lev 2 ¹³			
20 Linkc			
y Deut 10 ⁹ 18 ¹ Ezek 44 ²⁸			g' 28
21-24 18dd z Cp 8 a' Lev 27 ³⁰ . ct Deut 14 ²² . 29 b' 51 5 ¹			
22-23 18e			h' 76 ^b
c' Cp Deut 14 ²² d' Ex 22 ²⁹			i' 185 ^a j' 96 ^c
e' 5 ¹			k' 12 ^a
f' Lev 19 ⁷ 22 ⁹			l' 210 ^b
1-22 18bm 7T a 31 ²¹			a 185 ^a b 188 ^b c 123 d 194

18²⁵ The change to Moses and the appearance of the usual formula, suggests the incorporation of fresh material. This is confirmed by the curious opening 'and to the Levites thou shalt speak and say' &c, implying some previous utterance.

29 30a 32a M 5 fat.

30b 5 as in 27. T counted.

32b M Or, neither shall ye die.

19¹ The ritual described in 19¹⁻¹⁵ may perhaps rest on ancient usage, but the literary form of the ordinance seems to belong to the secondary passages of P. Uncleanness by the dead has been repeatedly implied in previous legislation Lev 21¹ . 10. Num 5² 6⁹ 9¹⁰: why have the rules for purification been so long postponed? The law would have been more in place in con-

nexion with Lev 11-15, dealing with the contraction of ceremonial impurity. Its detached position here suggests that it was not comprised in the materials on which that group was founded. Moreover it appears to be quite independent of Lev 5² . 6 where a guilt offering is demanded on purification; and no incident is narrated as its occasion, after the manner of P². The phraseology, though full of familiar phrases, shows a few peculiarities: 'statute of the law' 2 31¹†; 'Elesazar the priest' 4; 'water of separation' 9; the explanation of 'dead' 11 by 'any soul of a man'; 'purify himself' 12. 20 cp 23¹ 31¹⁰. 21 et Job 41¹⁷†; מִיִּדְּיָהוּ 15, where perhaps מִיִּדְּיָהוּ is a gloss; 'out off from the midst of the assembly' 20. 2 M Or, perfect.

J E P^a

P^b

P^c

b Ct Deut 21⁸

c Lev 4²⁶

d Ex 26³⁸ 40²⁴
Josh 15⁷ 18¹⁷
e Lev 4⁶ 17

f Lev 14⁴

g Lev 11²⁵ 14⁴⁶
15⁵

h 17⁴

i Lev 10¹⁴

j Cp 8⁷

k Ct 66⁵

l Lev 15³¹

m Lev 14⁷

n 31¹⁹

o Lev 14⁵

p Lev 4⁶

q Cp 16^{38c}

'yoke : ³ and ye shall give her unto *Eleazar the priest, and he shall bring her forth 'without the camp, and one shall 'slay her before his face : ⁴ and *Eleazar the priest shall 'take of her blood with his finger", and 'sprinkle of her blood toward the "front of the tent of meeting "seven times : ⁵ and one shall burn the heifer in his sight ; her skin, and her flesh, and her blood, with her dung, shall he burn : ⁶ and the priest shall take /cedar wood, and hyssop, and scarlet, and cast it into the midst of the burning of the heifer. ⁷ Then the priest shall 'wash his clothes, and he shall 'bathe his flesh in water, and afterward he shall come into the camp, and the priest shall be "unclean until the even. ⁸ And he that burneth her shall 'wash his clothes in water, and 'bathe his flesh in water, and shall be "unclean until the even. ⁹ And a man that is clean shall gather up the ashes of the heifer, and 'lay them up without the camp in a 'clean place, and it shall be 'kept for the 'congregation of the children of Israel for a 'water of "separation : it is a sin offering. ¹⁰ And he that gathereth the ashes of the heifer shall 'wash his clothes, and be "unclean until the even : and it shall be unto the children of Israel, and unto the "stranger that sojourneth among them, for a 'statute for ever. ¹¹ He that toucheth the 'dead body of any man shall be unclean seven days : ¹² the same shall "purify himself therewith on the third day, "and on the seventh day he shall be clean : but if he "purify not himself the third day, "then the seventh day he shall not be clean. ¹³ Whosoever toucheth the 'dead body of any man that is dead, and "purifieth not himself, 'defileth the 'Dwelling of Yahweh ; and that soul shall be 'cut off from Israel : because the water of "separation was not 'sprinkled upon him, he shall be unclean ; his 'uncleanness is yet upon him.

¹⁴ "This is the law "when a man dieth in a tent : every one that cometh into the tent, and every one that is in the tent, shall be unclean seven days. ¹⁵ And every open vessel, which hath no covering bound upon it, is unclean. ¹⁶ And whosoever in the "open field toucheth one that is 'slain with a sword, or a dead body, or a bone of a man, or a grave, shall be unclean seven days. ¹⁷ And for the unclean they shall take of the ashes of the burning of the sin offering, and "running water shall be put thereto in a vessel : ¹⁸ and a clean person shall take hyssop, and "dip it in the water, and "sprinkle it upon the tent, and upon all the vessels, and upon the persons that were there, and upon him that touched the bone, or the "slain, or the dead, or the grave : ¹⁹ and the clean person shall "sprinkle upon the unclean on the third day, and on the seventh day : and on the seventh day he shall 'purify him ; and he shall 'wash his clothes, and 'bathe himself in water, and shall be clean at even. ²⁰ But the man that shall be unclean, and shall not "purify himself, that soul shall be 'cut off "from the midst of the assembly, because he hath 'defiled the "sanctuary of Yahweh : the 'water of separation hath not been sprinkled upon him ; he is unclean. ²¹ And it shall "be a perpetual statute unto "them : and he that "sprinkleth the 'water of "separation shall 'wash his clothes ; and he that toucheth the water of separation shall be "unclean until even. ²² And whatsoever the unclean person toucheth shall be unclean ; and the "soul that toucheth it shall be unclean until even.

²³ "And the children of Israel, even the whole 'congregation, came into the wilderness of 'Zin in the 'first month".

19⁹ M Or, *impurity.*

12^a M Or, and on the seventh day, so shall he be clean.

12b M Or, and

¹⁴ Another set of regulations for purification after defilement through the dead, founded on similar conceptions, yet hardly in actual succession to the foregoing. It seems less like an addition than an independent ordinance on a similar basis; it is accordingly referred by its title to the group of Priestly Teaching on *Introd XIII 9* : 152.

17 M ♂ living.

²¹ As in ¹⁰. But Sam (H) & Targ-Jon and some \S MSS read 'you' (Dillm).

20¹⁴ The narrative in 1-13 is derived principally, as the margins show, from P. But fragments of other material seem to be blended with it. In 18 'the people' as contrasted with 'the whole congregation' suggests another source; the allusion to Kadesh points to 14., and the mention of Miriam seems best attributed to E. In the Meribah incident 9-18 it is probable

	J	JE	E	P ¹	P ²	P ³
a 14 16 22 13 ²⁶ b 15 ¹ cp Gen 35 ⁶		1 ^b And the people abode in ^a Kadesh; and ^b Miriam died there, and was buried there.				
c 16 ³					2 And there was no water for the ^a congregation: and they ^a assembled themselves together against ^a Moses and against Aaron,	d 24
d Ct 12 cp Ex 17 ²		3 ^a And the people ^d strove with Moses,...			3 ^b and ^a spake, saying, Would God that we had ^d died when our brethren ^d died ^b before Yahweh! ⁴ And why have ye brought the ^a assembly of Yahweh into ^a this wilderness, that we should die there, ^a we and our cattle?	e 51
e 16 ²⁶ 46. - f 16 ³ g Ex 16 ³						
h Ex 17 ³ i 16 ¹⁴		5 And ^a why ^a have ye ^a made us to ^a 'come up out of Egypt, to ^a 'bring us in unto this evil place? it is no place of seed, or of figs, or of vines, or of pomegranates; neither is there any ^a 'water to drink.				f 136
j Cp Ex 17 ¹					6 And Moses and Aaron went from the presence of the ^a assembly unto the ^a 'door of the tent of meeting, and ^a 'fell upon their faces: and the ^a 'glory of Yahweh appeared unto them. ⁷ And Yahweh ^a 'spake unto Moses, saying, ^{8a} Take the ^a 'rod, and ^a 'assemble the ^a 'congregation, thou, and Aaron thy brother,	g nr h 67 i 79 j 185
k 10 ⁷						
l 9 17 ¹⁰ Ex 7 ⁹		... ^{8b} and speak ^a 'ye unto the rock before their eyes, that it give forth its water;...				
m Op Deut 8 ¹⁵					8 ^c and ^a 'thou shalt ^a 'bring forth to them water out of the rock: so ^a 'thou shalt give the ^a 'congregation and their cattle drink. ⁹ And Moses took the ^a 'rod from before Yahweh, as he commanded him. ¹⁰ And	

that editorial redaction has been at work to soften the guilt of Moses and Aaron. As the text stands, the nature of their sin ¹² is not apparent. It is elsewhere described as 'rebellion' ²⁴ 27⁴, which led Nöldeke to conjecture that ^{10b} in its original form was addressed by Yahweh to the two leaders. The solution propounded by Cornill, ZATW xi 27, supposes that Yahweh first instructed them to *speak* to the rock, which would then immediately yield its water. Their unwillingness to undertake this great act of faith and demonstrate Yahweh's deity ('hallow' him) to the murmuring nation led to the command to employ the agency of the sacred rod, laid up in the sanctuary ⁹. This view is highly plausible, but it assumes a large amount of reconstruction. The text, therefore, follows the arrangement of Bacon. Both critics agree in assigning ^{3a} and ⁵ to J, and Bacon proposes to allot to the same source the clause in ^{6b} which appears inconsistent with the use of the rod. The grounds for ascribing ^{3a} and ⁵ to J are briefly (1) that the strife is on the part of 'the people' (cf 'the congregation,' 'the assembly,' the 'children of Israel'), 'with Moses,' cf 'with Yahweh' ¹³ (and 'Moses and Aaron' ^{2 6 10}, cp Ex 17² E; (2) that the language of ⁵ resembles that of JE; (3) that the Meribah story of E has been already related in Ex 17.

20^{1v} The omission of the year is at first sight strange, considering the precision of P's customary usage. The last previous date specified the second year 10¹¹. In the itinerary in 33, the wilderness of Zin (identified with Kadesh) is the last stage before Mount Hor which is reached in the fortieth year ³⁶⁻³⁸,

cp below ^{23b}. But according to JE, Kadesh had been occupied by the tribes long before 13²⁶ and the futile attempt to enter Canaan by the south had been made from there, cp Deut 1¹⁹ 44. The representation of P, therefore, which put the arrival at Kadesh near the end of the wanderings, could only be combined with JE by omitting the year. The suggestion of Ewald, *Hist of Israel* ¹² ii 194⁴, to omit Kadesh in 13²⁶ has not been generally accepted, and he himself observes that D already knew it there. Nöldeke first pointed out why the omission must be attributed to E (*Untersuchungen* 83; cp Dillm and Addis).

^{2b} The phraseology of this clause is peculiar, § 'and said saying.' The inf ^{10m} is often joined to the verb ^{10m}, cp ¹⁸⁵ 4, but in immediate sequence (as here) it occurs only 2 Sam 5¹ 20¹⁸ Jer 29²⁴ Ezek 12²⁷ (33¹⁰ 24 Zech 4¹ (cp Cornill, ZATW xi 22). The next phrase 7¹ 'and would that...' shows that some words must have been removed (the usage in Josh 7¹ 2 Sam 18¹² is different), so that the whole passage has probably been curtailed. For 'would that' cp 14² Gen 17¹⁸ 23¹³.

⁴ The introduction of 'cattle' ^{4 8c 11} is not after the manner of P, which does not elsewhere refer to the flocks and herds and other animals accompanying the Israelites on the march, until Num 32. The formula in Ex 16³ ignores them. The word occurs in Gen 45¹⁷ Ex 22^{3a}, and is probably a redactor's gloss, cp Cornill, ZATW xi 25. ^{12a} § as in ⁴. T *where/there*.

^{8b} The word is written as in Ex 17¹, and may be equally well read 'hast thou brought us up,' addressed to Moses alone.

^{8c} A harmonizing plural.

^{8c} § 'ye shall...'

J	E	P ^a	P ^a	P ^a
		'gathered unto his people: for he shall not enter into the 'land which I have given unto the children of Israel, because ye 'rebelled against my word at the 'waters of Meribah. ²⁵ 'Take Aaron and 'Eleazar his son, and bring them up unto mount Hor: ²⁶ and strip Aaron of his garments, and put them upon 'Eleazar his son: and Aaron shall be 'gathered [unto his people], and shall die there. ²⁷ And Moses did as Yahweh commanded: and they went up into mount Hor in the 'sight of all the 'congregation. ²⁸ And Moses stripped Aaron of his garments, and put them upon 'Eleazar his son; and Aaron 'died there in the top of the mount: and Moses and Eleazar came down from the mount. ²⁹ And when all the 'congregation saw that Aaron 'was dead, they 'wept for Aaron thirty days, [even] 'all the 'house of Israel.	x 75	y 12 ^b
j' Cp 13 20-29 Lwq/bc				
k' 33 ²⁶ . ct Deut 10 ⁶				
l' Deut 34 ⁸				z 11 ^b
a Cp Josh 12 ¹⁴ Judg 1 ¹⁶ b Cp 14 ⁴³ ct 13 ²⁹ c Cp 28 d Gen 28 ²⁰ 31 ¹³ Judg 11 ³⁰		21 ¹ 'And the Canaanite, 'the king of 'Arad, which dwelt in the 'South, heard tell that Israel came by the way 'of Atharim; and he 'fought 'against Israel, and took some of them captive. ² And Israel 'vowed a vow unto Yahweh, and said, If thou wilt indeed deliver this people into my hand, then I will 'devote their cities. ³ And Yahweh 'hearkened to the voice of Israel, and delivered up the Canaanites; and they 'devoted 'them and their cities: and the name of the place was called 'Hormah.	a 15 ⁶	b 44 ^b
e Cp Gen 32 ¹ Ex 18 ²⁶ op Gen 10 ⁶ Ex 20 ²⁵ Num 32 ⁴¹ f 20 ²² 33 ⁴¹		4 ^a 'And they journeyed from 'mount Hor...		
g 14 ²⁵ h Cp Deut 2 ¹ Judg 11 ¹⁸ i Cp Judg 10 ¹⁸ 16 ¹⁸ j 12 ¹ k Ex 17 ¹⁶ l 8 Deut 8 ¹⁵		4 ^b 'by the 'way to the Red Sea, to 'compass the land of Edom: and the soul of the people 'was much 'discouraged 'because of the way. ⁵ And the people 'spake against God, and against Moses, Wherefore have 'ye 'brought us up out of Egypt to die in the wilderness? for there is no bread, and there is 'no water; and our soul loatheth this 'light bread. ⁶ And Yahweh sent 'fiery 'serpents among the people, and they bit the people; and much people of Israel died. ⁷ And the people came to Moses, and said, We have 'sinned, because we have 'spoken against Yahweh, and against thee; 'pray unto Yahweh, that he 'take away the serpents from us. And Moses 'prayed for the people. ⁸ And Yahweh said unto Moses, Make thee a 'fiery serpent, and set it upon a 'standard: and it shall come to pass, that every one that is bitten, when he seeth it, shall live. ⁹ And Moses made a serpent of brass, and set it upon the standard: and it came to pass, that if a serpent had bitten any man, when he 'looked unto the serpent of brass, he lived.	c 13 ⁶	d 20 ⁶
m 14 ⁴⁰ n Ex 23 ²⁵				e 11 ³
o Ex 17 ¹⁵ §				
p 20 ²² 22 ¹ q 33 ⁴³ r 33 ⁴⁴		10 And the 'children of Israel journeyed, and pitched in 'Oboth. ¹¹ And they journeyed from Oboth, and pitched at 'Iye-abarim.		f 17 ⁹
s Cp Judg 11 ¹⁸ §		... ^{11b} 'in the wilderness which is before Moab, toward the 'sunrising.		

20²⁹ Standing at the end of the sentence, these words may be an amplifying gloss.

21¹ The incident of the defeat at Hormah interrupts E's narrative of the march from Kadesh 'by the way to the Red Sea' 20²²⁻²⁹ cp Deut 14²¹. It has accordingly been customary to assign it to J, and in deference to the practical unanimity of critical opinion it is so treated in the text. But there are difficulties in this view. (1) According to the narrative in Judg 11¹⁷ (commonly ascribed to J) the name Hormah was given on a very different occasion, after a defeat inflicted by Judah and Simeon on the Canaanites: is it likely, as is usually assumed, that the same document provided for it a double origin? (2) Phraseological indications, 'fought against Israel,' 'vowed a vow,' the peculiar form חָרַם , are all in favour of E. Can this be based on the missing sequel of E 14⁴⁰ for which it was necessary to find another connexion? It may be objected (1) that the incident is not recognized in Deut 14²¹⁻²⁵; (2) that E does not locate the Canaanites in the Negeb, but in the Arabah in the east, and along the maritime lowlands on the west 13²⁹ cp Josh 11³. Yet in 14²⁵ Canaanites are recognized in the territory which Israel was to have entered from Kadesh,

apparently according to E. Each view seems embarrassed by inconsistencies, and though it is possible that 13²⁹ is redactional, the silence of D is a serious obstacle, so that critical assurance is impossible.

1^b The identification of the national name Canaanite with the king of Arad is so awkward as to make it probable that these words are a late gloss, cp Moore, *Judges* p 36.

1^c M Or, of the spies. 2^a So M §. T utterly destroy.

3^b M From the same root as *herem*, a devoted thing.

4^a The march from mount Hor is the sequel of the death of Aaron 20^{23b-29}; but the language of 4^{b-7} has nothing in common with P. 4^b is, in fact, the continuation of the advance from Kadesh 20^{22a}, and the parallels for the story of the brazen serpent clearly point to E.

4^b The continuation in E of the march from Kadesh 20^{22a}.

4^c M Or, was impatient. § was shortened.—Op Judg 10¹⁶ 16¹⁶.

4^d M Or, in.

5^a § as in 20⁶, perhaps to be read *hast thou brought us up*,

§ Sam *hast thou brought us out*.

5^b M Or, vile.—§†.

11^b As this description is not identical with that in Num 33⁴⁴

J	E	JE	J	E	P ^a
t Cp Deut 10 ⁷		12 From 'thence they journeyed, and pitched in the valley of "Zered.			
u Deut 21 ²⁸		13 From thence they journeyed, and "pitched on the other side of Arnon,			
v Judg 11 ¹⁸		which is in the "wilderness, that cometh out of the "border of the			
w Cp 23		Amorites: for Arnon is the border of Moab, between Moab and the			
x 2016. 21 21 ²² .		Amorites. 14 "Wherefore it is said in the "book of the Wars of Yahweh"			s 85
y 5† cp Introd		Vaheb "in Suphah,			
i 19		And the valleys of Arnon,			
		15 And the slope of the valleys			
		That inclineth toward the dwelling of Ar,			
		And leaneth upon the border of Moab.			
z 10 ²⁹		16 "And from thence [they journeyed] to "Beer: that is the well "whereof			
u' Ct 20 ⁷ cp Ex		Yahweh said unto Moses, "Gather the people together, and I will give			
4 ²⁹		them water.			
b' Ex 15 ¹		17 Then 'sang Israel this song:			
		Spring up, O well; sing ye unto it:			
c' Gen 21 ³⁰ 2618.		18 The well, which the "princes "dugged,			b 191
Ex 7 ²⁴ cp 144		Which the nobles of the people "delves,			
d' Gen 26 ²⁸ 50 ⁵		"With the "sceptre, [and] with their "staves.			
e' Cp Gen 49 ¹⁰		And from the wilderness [they journeyed] to "Mattanah: 19 and from			
f' Ex 21 ¹⁹		Mattanah to "Nahaliel: and from Nahaliel to "Bamoth: 20 and from			
g' 19†		Bamoth to the valley that is in the "field of Moab, to the "top of Pisgah,			
h' Cp 22 ⁴¹ Josh		which 'looketh down upon "the desert.			i 54
1317		21 "And Israel sent "messengers unto Sihon king of the Amorites,			
i' Gen 36 ³⁵ cp		saying, 22 Let me "pass through thy land: we will not "turn aside into			
Gen 32 ⁸		"field, or into vineyard; we will not "drink of the water of the wells:			
j' Cp 23 ²⁸		we will go by the "king's [high] way, "until we have passed thy border.			
k' 2014 Judg		23 And Sihon would not "suffer Israel to "pass through his border: but			j 118
1119.		Sihon "gathered all his people together, and went out "against Israel			k 183
l' 2017		into the "wilderness, and came to Jahaz: and he "fought "against Israel.			
		24 ^a And Israel "smote him with the edge of the sword", and "possessed			
m' 2021b		his land from Arnon unto Jabbok.			
n' 1116 Judg 11 ²⁰		.. 24 ^b "even unto the children of Ammon: for the border of the children			
		of Ammon was "strong. 25 And Israel took all these cities: and Israel			
o' Josh 824 1947		"dwelt in all the cities of the Amorites, in Heshbon, and in all the			
Dent 2013 Josh		"towns thereof. 26 "For Heshbon was the city of Sihon the king of the Amorites,			
1028.		who had fought against the former king of Moab, and taken all his land out of his			
p' Josh 24 ⁸		hand, even unto Arnon.			
q' 5 Jaser cp 32		27 "Wherefore they that "speak in proverbs" say,			
r' 25 ct 31		Come ye to Heshbon,			
		Let the city of Sihon be built and established:			
		28 For a fire is gone out of Heshbon,			
		A flame from the city of Sihon:			
		It hath devoured Ar of Moab,			
		The 'lords of "the high places of Arnon.			l 107
s' 5* cp Ezek					
1644					

but agrees with that in Judg 11¹⁸ (apparently founded on E), it is probable that the narrative of E is here resumed. The formula in 12, differs from that of P but coincides with the fragment embedded in Deut 10⁶.

21¹⁴ M Or, *in storm*.

16^a Again a fresh formula ct 10 12 cp 18b: the parallels in 17 20 point clearly to J. The geographical data of 20 show that the people are still in Moab, whereas in 13 they have already crossed the Arnon which formed its northern boundary cp 22.

16^b M That is, *A well*. 18 M Or, *By order of the lawgiver*.

20 M Or, *Jeshimon*.—23²⁸ Deut 32¹⁰.

21 This section repeats for Sihon the message addressed in 20¹⁴. to the king of Edom. The issue is the same 23 cp 20^{11b}; but as the people are already encamped upon his territory, an encounter is inevitable. The scene of the conflict is the 'wilderness' reached in 13.

24^b The recital in Judg 11¹⁹⁻²², after following E through the conquest of Sihon and his Amorites, makes no mention of the

children of Ammon, and there is reason to think that 24^b 25 26 are incorporated from a separate narrative. In 24^b 5 reads *the border of the children of Ammon was Jaser* (יָסַר for יָרָא) cp 32. In 25 the statement that 'Israel took all these cities' implies a conquest of towns of which nothing is said in the preceding text; while 26^a is a doublet of 31. 32 seems clearly to belong to the same document as 25 (cp 'towns') and probably preceded it.

26 This verse has the aspect of an explanatory addition connecting the poem on the fall of Heshbon with the mention of its occupation by Israel in 25 J. It is possible that the whole poem 27-30 is an editorial incorporation, and was no part of the original E (in which case 14. may be attributed to similar insertion). Then the true sequel of 24^a is found in 31 'and Israel dwelt in the land of the Amorites.' For corrections of the text of the poem cp Dillm, *in loc*, and Meyer, *ZATW* 188: (who expounds a very different theory).

28 M Or, *Bamoth*.

	J	E	JE	J	E	P ^a
	29	Woe to thee, Moab ! Thou art undone, O people of Chemosh : He hath given his sons as fugitives, And his daughters into captivity, Unto Sihon king of the Amorites.				
	30	We have shot at them ; Heshbon is perished even unto Dibon, And we have laid waste even unto Nophah, Which [reacheth] unto Medeba.				
	31	Thus Israel dwelt in the land of the Amorites.				
1 ^a Judg 1:22 u' 32:89 41 Josh 6:30c 19:47 Judg 18 18 v' 5 = dispos- sessed 32:89 Josh 15:14 Judg 1:10 27..	32	And Moses sent to spy out Jazer, and they took the towns thereof, and drove out the Amorites that were there.				
	33	And they turned and went up by the way of Bashan : and Og the king of Bashan went out against them, he and all his people, to battle at Edrei. 34 And Yahweh said unto Moses, Fear him not : for I have delivered him into thy hand, and all his people, and his land ; and thou shalt do to him as thou didst unto Sihon king of the Amorites, which dwelt at Heshbon. 35 So they smote him, and his sons, and all his people, until there was none left him remaining : and they possessed his land.				
a 21:10	22 ¹	And the children of Israel journeyed, and pitched in the plains of Moab beyond the Jordan at Jericho.				
b Deut 1:17 18:22 32:27 ^a	2	And Balak the son of Zippor saw all that Israel had done to the Amorites. 3a And Moab was sore afraid of the people, because they were many.				
	3b	And Moab was distressed because of the children of Israel. 4 And Moab				

21³⁰ M Some ancient authorities have, *Five* reached unto.
21 ^a and. This verse is parallel with 25, but while J specifies
the conquest of the cities, E relates the occupation of the land.

33 So far as literary form goes, this section is clearly based on
Deut 31. and is due to R^a. Whether E mentioned the conquest
of Og is doubtful in view of the silence of 22² Josh 24⁸ Judg
11:19-22. Cp Deut 3:18.

22² The story of Balak and Balaam 22²⁻²⁴ shows no sign of
deriving any of its materials from P whose allusions 31⁸ 18
25⁹⁻¹⁸ Josh 13:21. imply a wholly different view of Balaam's rela-
tions with Israel (though it may have been suggested by some
features in J). The narrative is not, however, all of one piece.
(i) The episode of the encounter with the angel of Yahweh
22²²⁻²⁶ is plainly incongruous with the context. In 20 Balaam
is divinely directed to accompany the princes of Moab, and in
21 he departs with them the next morning. But in 22 'Elohim'
is displeased with him for starting; he travels apparently only
with two attendants; and the story closes 30 at the point already
reached in 21. As the general phenomena of 22-35 point clearly
to J, an immediate presumption is established in favour of E's
authorship of the passage directly preceding, and this is con-
firmed by the nocturnal communication from Elohim 30 which
is quite in E's manner*. Are we then to suppose (with Kuenen)
that the episode of the speaking ass is a detached fragment of
J incorporated by E? Dillmann is surely right in objecting
that the author of 20. would not thus have stultified himself.
It is more natural to regard this rather as the work of E, and
to inquire if there are no other traces of diversity of source.
(ii) These are not wanting. Thus (1) there seem to be doublets
in 3, 'Moab was sore afraid,' and 'Moab was distressed.' (2) The
messengers of 5a 24¹² are variously described as 'elders of
Moab' 7 (and 'of Midian' 4 7), and as 'princes' 8 13-15 35 40 23⁶ 17.
(3) Their destination is, on the one hand, Pethor by the
Euphrates 5, and on the other, 'the land of the children of his
people' 22², or 'of Ammon' 22², Sam 6 2 and even some
Hebrew MSS. With this latter view may be compared the
representation in 24 where Balaam and his two servants travel,
not across the desert, but among vineyards with walled en-
closures. (4) The language of 24¹ shows some notable differences
compared with 23, especially in the reference to the 'spirit of
God' 1 et 23⁵ 16, and to enchantments cp 22⁷ (23²³). So (5) the

poems in 23³ 16 are introduced by a personal identification
hardly needed after 23⁷, and marked by phraseology suggestive
of another hand 4 16. The analysis thus yields the following
parallels:

J	E
Moab's distress 22 ^{2b} .	Moab's fear 22 ^{2a} .
Messengers sent to Balaam, elders of Moab (and Midian) 22 ⁴ 5 7 24 ¹² .	Princes of Moab sent to summon Balaam 22 ⁵⁻¹⁶ 19-21 40 23 ⁶ 17.
To the land of the children of Ammon (?) 5c cp 23. . .	To Pethor in the East 22 ^{5b} 23 ⁷ .
Balaam sets out with his servants and Yahweh is wroth with him for going, the angel of Yahweh appearing to him by day 22 ²² . . .	Elohim by night commands Balaam to go, and he sets out with the princes of Moab 22 ²⁰ .
Balaam does not practise enchantment 22 ⁷ 24 ¹ , but speaks under the influence of the spirit of God 24 ² .	Balaam speaks the word that Elohim puts in his mouth 22 ³⁸ 23 ⁵ 12 16 cp Ex 4 ¹⁵ .

Further linguistic marks will be found in the margins: in some
verses the authorship must be still doubtful, as the two
narratives travel over so much common ground, and the
parallels founded on expressions used only once elsewhere
cannot be regarded as decisive, even when the phrase shows
a strongly marked character, such as 'cover the eye of the
earth' 22²⁰. A curious indication of this is seen in the use of
the unusual word 22⁷ for 'curse' in both documents 22¹¹ 17 23⁶
11 19 25 27 24¹⁰⁺, implying, perhaps, a common redaction. The
occasional signs of the harmonist's work are noted as they
occur. It may be also mentioned that the versions show great
confusion in the use of the divine names, due largely, it would
seem, to uncertainty as to the appropriateness of the employ-
ment of 'Yahweh' by a non-Israelite. Allusions to the
narrative of E will be found in Josh 24⁹. The sources of the
story are of course beyond the critic's reach: but it may be
noted that there seem to have been other traditions in circula-
tion about Balaam beside those embodied in Num 22-24 cp
Deut 23⁴. Josh 24⁹; he is presented still more unfavourably in
Josh 13:22. ^{3b} M Or, *abhorred*.—Cp Ex 1:12.

* Kalisch, *Bible Studies* i (1877) 51, refused to recognize any such distribution, or to ascribe the 'Balaam book' to either J or E.
He supposed it to be a fragment of a larger work (such as the lost books of Nathan and Gad &c), accounting for some of its peculiar
phenomena by hypotheses of interpolation. But this view has not found any support.

J	E	JE	J	E	P
c Cp 7		said unto the 'elders of 'Midian, Now shall "this multitude 'lick up all that			
d \S^* cp 1 Kings 18 ³⁸		is round about us, as the ox licketh up the 'grass of the field. And Balak			
e \S^* = green thing Ex 10 ^{18c}		the son of Zippor was king of Moab 'at that time. ^{5a} And he 'sent			
f Gen 38 ¹		messengers unto Balaam the son of Beor,			
g 24 ¹² Gen 32 ³		... ^{5b} to Pethor, which is by the 'River, ...			
h Gen 31 ²¹ Ex 23 ³¹ Josh 24 ²⁻¹⁴		... ^{5c} to the land of the children of "his people, to 'call him, saying, 'Behold,			
i Cp 20 37 16 ¹²		there is a people come out from Egypt: behold, they cover the "face of the			
j Cp 11		earth, and they abide over against me: ⁶ 'come now therefore, I pray thee,			
k 11 17 cp 23 ⁷ 15		'curse me this people; for they are too 'mighty for me: 'peradventure			
l 24 ¹⁴ \S^*		I shall prevail, that we may smite them, and that I may drive them out of			
m 23 ²³ Deut 18 ¹⁰		the land: for I know that he whom thou 'blessest is blessed, and he whom			
n 13 ²⁴ \S^*		thou 'cursest is cursed. ⁷ And the elders of Moab and the 'elders of Midian			
o Gen 22 ⁶		departed with the "rewards of 'divination" in their hand; and they came			
p 13 ²⁶		unto Balaam, and "spake unto him the words of Balak:			
q Gen 20 ³ 31 ²⁴		⁸ And he said unto them, Lodge 'here this night, and I will 'bring you			
r Cp 20		word again, as Yahweh shall speak unto me: and the princes of Moab			
s Cp 2		abode with Balaam. ⁹ And God 'came unto Balaam, and said, What			
t 17 23 ^c 13 25 27		'men are these with thee? ¹⁰ And Balaam said unto God, 'Balak the son			
u 24 ¹⁰ cp Lev 24 ¹¹ Prov Job ⁺		of Zippor, king of Moab, hath sent unto me, "[saying], ...			
v Deut 29 ¹⁷ \S^*		¹¹ 'Behold, the people that is come out of Egypt, it covereth the face of the			
w Cp Num 21 ³		earth: now, 'come 'curse me them; 'peradventure I shall be able to fight			
x 21 Gen 24 ⁶⁴ et \S^* 2000		against them, and shall drive them out.			
y \S^* 14 16 Ex 31 ⁹		¹² And God said unto Balaam, Thou shalt not go "with them; thou shalt			
z Cp 24 ¹¹ Gen 30 ²		not 'curse the people: for they are blessed. ¹³ And Balaam "rose up in			
aa 37 24 ¹¹		the morning, and said unto the princes of Balak, Get you into your land:			
ab 18-20 LXXC		for "Yahweh refuseth to 'give me leave to "go with you. ¹⁴ And the			
ac 2 Cp Gen 50 ⁷		princes of Moab rose up, and they went unto Balak, and said, Balaam			
ad 24 ¹³		refuseth to 'come with us. ¹⁵ And Balak sent yet again princes, more,			
ae Gen 13 ²		and more honourable than they. ¹⁶ And they came to Balaam, and said to			
af \S^* = transgress 14 ⁴¹		him, Thus saith Balak the son of Zippor, Let nothing, I pray thee, 'hinder			
ag Cp 24 ¹³		thee from "coming unto me:			
ah \S^* = abide 8		... ¹⁷ For I will 'promote thee unto very great honour, and whatsoever			
ai 23 ²⁶		thou sayest unto me I will do: 'come therefore, I pray thee, 'curse me this			
aj Gen 22 ³		people. ¹⁸ And Balaam answered and said unto the 'servants of Balak,			
ak Cp 32 ^a		'If Balak would give me his house full of 'silver and gold, I cannot 'go			
al 30 Gen 24 ⁶¹		beyond the word of Yahweh my God, to "do less or more.			
am 31 Josh 51 ³		... ¹⁹ Now therefore, I pray you, 'tarry ye also here this night, that I may			
an 26 33 20 ²¹		know what Yahweh will speak unto me more. ²⁰ And God 'came unto			
ao \S^*		Balaam at night, and said unto him, If the 'men be come to 'call thee,			
ap \S^*		rise up, go with them; but only the word which I speak unto thee, that			
aq \S^*		shalt thou 'do. ²¹ And Balaam "rose up in the morning, and "saddled his			
ar \S^*		ass, and went with the princes of Moab.			
as \S^*		²² And "God's anger was kindled because he went: and the 'angel of Yahweh			
at \S^*		placed himself in the way for an 'adversary against him. Now he was			
au \S^*		'riding upon his ass, and his two servants were with him. ²³ And the ass			
av \S^*		saw the angel of Yahweh standing in the way, with his sword 'drawn in			
aw \S^*		his hand: and the ass 'turned aside out of the way, and went into the			
ax \S^*		field: and Balaam smote the ass, to turn her into the way. ²⁴ Then			
ay \S^*		the angel of Yahweh stood in a 'hollow way between the vineyards,			

22^a As the 'elders of Midian' are only named in 4⁷ and then disappear, Wellhausen and Kuenen regard their introduction as due to an attempt on the part of R^p to combine the Balaam story of JE with P's account of the subsequent war with Midian 31¹⁸ 16. Dillmann, on the other hand, followed by Bacon, sees here an original element of J, founded on a tradition resembling that utilized by P. In support of this it is pointed out that J has at an earlier stage located a defeat of Midian in the 'field of Moab' Gen 36³⁵, thus associating the two nationalities in geographical neighbourhood.

^{4b} M \S^* the assembly.—Cp 24^b. The language is somewhat

peculiar: the appearance of this word here is surprising in the mouth of Moab: for 'grass' cp also Gen 1³⁰ 9³.

^{5a} Sam \S^* and some \S^* MSS, *Ammon*.

^{5b} M \S^* eye.—Cp 11 Ex 10⁵ 15⁺.

¹⁰ The insertion of the message without any connecting word may perhaps be due to the fusion of two documents.

¹⁵ \S^* God. Some uncertainty attaches to the use of the divine names, which may have been editorially altered.

²² Sam *Yahweh*. \S^* is probably a harmonist's alteration cp 20. In 22-35 \S^* reads 'angel of God' save in 31^b 34; no doubt an intentional change out of reverence for 'Yahweh.'

	J	E	JE	J	E	P
m' 6*			a m' fence being on this side, and a fence on that side. 25 And the ass saw			
m' Cp Ex 3 ⁹ 22 ²⁰			the angel of Yahweh, and she n' thrust herself unto the wall, and n' crushed			
23 ⁹ 6*			Balaam's foot against the wall: and he smote her again. 26 And the angel			
			of Yahweh went further, and stood in a narrow place, where was no way			
o' Gen 32 ¹⁰			to k' turn either to the right hand or to the left. 27 And the ass saw the			
y' 22. 24 ¹⁰ 14 ²²			angel of Yahweh, and she lay down under Balaam: and Balaam's anger			
y' Cp Ex 10 ²²			was kindled, and he smote the ass with his o' staff. 28 And Yahweh opened			
r' Gen 48 ¹⁸			the mouth of the ass, and she said unto Balaam, What have I done unto			
			thee, that thou hast smitten me p' these three times? 29 And Balaam said			
			unto the ass, Because thou hast q' mocked me: I would t' there were a sword			8 84
			in mine hand, for now I had killed thee. 30 And the ass said unto Balaam,			
			Am not I thine ass, upon which thou hast r'idden r' all thy life long unto			
			this day? was I ever wont to do so unto thee? And he said, Nay. 31 Then			
			Yahweh opened the eyes of Balaam, and he saw the angel of Yahweh			
			standing in the way, with his sword drawn in his hand: and he h' bowed			h 12 ^b
			his head, and fell on his face. 32 And the angel of Yahweh said unto him,			
			Wherefore hast thou smitten thine ass p' these three times? behold, I am			
			come forth for an s' adversary, because thy way is t' perverse t' before me:			
			33 and the ass saw me, and k' turned aside before me p' these three times:			
			t' unless she had turned aside from me, surely now I had even slain thee,			
			and t' saved her alive. 34 And Balaam said unto the angel of Yahweh, I have			
			sinned; for I knew not that thou stoodest in the way against me: now			
			therefore, if it n' displease thee, I will get me back again. 35 And the angel			
			of Yahweh said unto Balaam, Go n' with the men: but only the word that I shall			
			speak unto thee, that thou shalt speak. So Balaam went with the princes of Balak.			
			36 ^a And when Balak heard that Balaam was come, he t' went out to meet			
			him unto the n' City of Moab, which is on the border of Arnon,			
			... 36 ^b n' which is in the t' utmost part of the border. 37 ^a n' And Balak said unto			
			Balaam, Did I not earnestly t' send unto thee to call thee? wherefore			
			camest thou not unto me?			
			... 37 ^b am I not able t' indeed to t' promote thee to honour?			
			38 And Balaam said unto Balak, Lo, I am come unto thee: have I now any			
			power at all to speak any thing? the word that God a' putteth in my			
			mouth, that shall I speak.			
			39 And Balaam went with Balak, and they came unto b' Kiriath-huzoth. . .			
			40 t' And Balak sacrificed o' oxen and sheep, and sent to Balaam, and to the			
			princes that were with him. 41 And it came to pass in the morning, that			
			Balak took Balaam, and brought him up into t' the high places of Baal, and			
			he saw from thence the t' utmost part of the people. 23 ¹ t' And Balaam said			
			unto Balak, t' Build me here seven altars, and prepare me here seven			
			bullocks and seven rams. 2 And Balak did as Balaam had spoken; and			
			t' Balak and Balaam b' offered on every altar a bullock and a ram. 3 And Balaam			
			said unto Balak, Stand by thy burnt offering, and I will go; t' peradventure			
			t' Yahweh will come to meet me: and whatsoever he sheweth me I will			
			tell thee. And he went to a d' bare height. 4 And God met Balaam: and			
			he said unto him, I have t' prepared the seven altars, and I have b' offered up			
			a bullock and a ram on every altar. 5 And t' Yahweh t' put a word in			
			Balaam's mouth, and said, Return unto Balak, and thus thou shalt speak.			
			6 And he returned unto him, and, lo, he stood by his burnt offering, he,			
			and all the princes of Moab. 7 t' And he t' took up his parable, and said,			

22²³ M 6 headlong.—Job 16¹¹†.

35 6 = peradventure. For the versions seem to have read 'unless.'

36 The narrative is here brought back by E to the point reached in 20. 36^b Apparently a doublet of the preceding.

37 It is possible that some dislocation of E has been caused here by the combination of the two colloquies in J and E. From 40 it might be inferred that Balaam had not yet joined the king. Similarly 39 is hardly part of the story of 40.

41 M Or, Bamoth-baal.—Ct 21¹⁹.23² G omits Balak and Balaam, the subject being simply 'he' and the verb singular as in 14³⁰. The sequel of 3 seems to have been transposed into 4 (so Baon), where Balak's report to Balaam is put into Balaam's own mouth, interrupting the natural succession 'Elohim met Balaam, and put a word in Balaam's mouth' cp 16.7a The recurrence of this formula in the introduction of the oracles both in E and J is a curious literary phenomenon, as it occurs nowhere else save in Job 27¹ 29¹. Did each document use it independently, or did one derive it from the other, or is

	J	E	JE	J	E	P
h Cp 22 ^{5b}			From ^h Aram hath Balak brought me, The king of Moab from the mountains of the East :			
i 22 ⁶			'Come, curse me Jacob, And come, "defy Israel.			
j 11 13 27 22 ¹¹			⁸ How shall I 'curse, whom ^h God hath not cursed ?			
k ③ Yahweh			And how shall I defy, whom 'Yahweh hath not defied ?			
l ③ God			⁹ For from the "top of the rocks I see him,			
m Cp 22 ⁴¹			And from the hills I "behold him :			
n 24 ^{17*}			Lo, it is a people that 'dwell alone ^o ,			
o Mic 7 ¹⁴ Ps 4 ^{8†}			And shall not be "reckoned among the nations.			
p ③ Hithpat			¹⁰ Who can 'count the dust of Jacob,			
q Gen 13 ^{16*}			"Or number the 'fourth part of Israel ?			
r 2 Kings 6 ^{25†}			Let "me die the death of the righteous, And let my last end be like his !			
			¹¹ And Balak said unto Balaam, What hast thou done unto me ? I took thee to 'curse mine enemies, and, behold, thou hast blessed them altogether.			
s Cp 22 ⁶			¹² And he answered and said, Must I not take heed to speak that which 'Yahweh 'putteth in my mouth ? ¹³ And Balak said unto him, 'Come, I pray thee, with me unto another place, from whence thou mayest see them ; "thou shalt see 'but the "utmost part of them, and shalt not see them all : and 'curse me them from thence. ¹⁴ And he took him into the field of 'Zophim, to the top of "Pisgah, and "built seven altars, and "offered up a bullock and a ram on every altar. ¹⁵ And he said unto Balak, Stand here by thy burnt offering, while I meet ['Yahweh] 'yonder. ¹⁶ And 'Yahweh met Balaam, and 'put a word in his mouth, and said, Return unto Balak, and thus shalt thou speak. ¹⁷ And he came to him, and, lo, he stood by his burnt offering, and the princes of Moab with him. And Balak said unto him, What hath Yahweh spoken ? ¹⁸ And he "took up his parable, and said,			
t 22 ³⁵ u 22 ⁴¹			Rise up, Balak, and hear ; Hearken unto me, thou son of Zippor :			
r † w Cp 28 ²¹ 21 ²⁰			¹⁹ God is not a man, that he should lie ; Neither the son of man, that he should 'repent : Hath he said, and shall he not do it ? Or hath he spoken, and shall he not make it good ?			b 20 ^b
x Cp Gen 22 ⁶			²⁰ Behold, I have received [commandment] to bless : And he hath blessed, and I cannot reverse it.			
y Cp Gen 41 ^{51*}			²¹ He hath not beheld iniquity in Jacob, Neither hath he seen "perverseness in Israel : Yahweh his God is "with him, And the shout of a king is among them.			c 13 ^o
			²² "God bringeth them forth out of Egypt ; He hath as it were the "strength of the "wild-ox.			
z 24 ¹ cp Gen 30 ²⁷ 44 ⁵ 15 a' 22 ⁷ b' Ex 15 ¹⁷ Deut 32 ^{27*}			²³ Surely there is no "enchantment "with Jacob, Neither is there any "divination "with Israel : "Now shall it be "said of Jacob and of Israel, What hath God 'wrought !			

it due to a common redaction ? (It is somewhat singular that both here and in Job it should be employed of a non-Israelite.) The origin of the poems is in like manner a difficult problem. From what sources did J and E derive them ? From the days of Ewald it has been generally admitted that the last three m^cshalim 24²⁰⁻²⁴ are later supplements (cp Dillm, *NDJ* 138 ; and for the interpretation of the allusions, *ib* 162-7, Cornill, *Eint* 70). It is at least conceivable that the others belong also to the reproductive style of after-times. In 23²² the identity with 24⁸ can only be explained by some form of mutual dependence. As 23²³ seems to prepare for 24¹ (cp Dillm), it appears most natural to regard 23²² as founded on 24, though both J and E may have drawn from a common source. Phrases recalling the language of Gen 27 and 49 are noted in the margin, as well as some parallels with other poems : the designation 'Most High' 24¹⁶ is chiefly common in literature after the Exile (cp Cheyne,

Book of Psalms 18).

23^{2b} M ③ be wroth against.—*Mic 6¹⁰ al.

10^a M ③ Or, by number, the *dc*.

10^b M ③ my soul.

13 Apparently an insertion by E. In 22⁴¹ Balaam is conducted to Bamoth-baal from which he views only 'the uttermost part of the people.' Balak, disappointed in the result, proposes to visit another point of view from which he 'may see them,' i.e. plainly the whole encampment without hindrance. But this would anticipate the climax in 24³, and the limitation of 22⁴¹ is accordingly editorially renewed.

22^a Cp 24⁸ and 23^{12*}.

22^b M Or, horns.—Cp 24⁸ Ps 95⁴ Job 22^{25†}.

22^c M Or, ox antelope, ③ reem.—Cp Deut 33^{17*}.

23^{ab} M Or, against.

23^c M Or, At the due season.

23^d M Or told to . . . what God hath wrought.

J	E	JE	J	E	P
<p>24⁹ Gen 49⁹ Dent 33²⁰ 24⁹ 49⁹</p> <p>22²⁰</p> <p>5⁹ 1 Sam 18²⁰ 2 Sam 17⁴ cp Ex 15²⁰ 21²⁰</p> <p>1-4 LXXC a Ct 23²⁷ 5⁹ cp Gen 16⁶ b 5⁹ c 23²⁸ d Josh 7¹⁶ e Cp Gen 41²⁸ Num 11²⁵ f 23²⁷ g 41¹⁸ Gen 22¹⁶ cp Num 14²⁸ h 16 Gen 49²¹ Dent 32¹ Josh 24²⁷ i Cp 16 Ex 24¹¹ ct Ex 18²¹ j 16 Gen 15¹ Ezek 13⁷ k 16 Gen 49²⁸ ct 1 l 5⁹ m Cant 4¹⁰ n Ct 5⁴ o 5⁹ cp Gen 28 p 5⁹ q Cp Gen 28 Ps 104¹⁶ r Ex 15⁴ Dent 32² s 5⁹</p> <p>t 23²²</p> <p>u Zeph 3⁸ Ezek 23³⁴ r 17 Dent 32²⁸ 33¹¹ v Gen 49⁹</p> <p>x Gen 27²⁹</p> <p>y Lam 21⁵ Job 27²³</p> <p>z 22¹⁷ a' Ct 22¹⁶ v 22⁵</p>	<p>24 Behold, the people riseth up as a "lioness. And as a "lion doth he lift himself up : He shall not lie down until he eat of the "prey, And drink the blood of the slain.</p> <p>25 And Balak said unto Balaam, "Neither curse them at all, "nor bless them at all. 26 But Balaam answered and said unto Balak, Told not I thee, saying, All that "Yahweh speaketh, that I must "do ?</p> <p>27 "And Balak said unto Balaam, "Come now, I will take thee unto another place ; "peradventure it will "please God that thou mayest "curse me them from thence.</p> <p>28 And Balak took Balaam unto the top of "Peor, that "looketh down upon the desert.</p> <p>29 And Balaam said unto Balak, "Build me here seven altars, and prepare me here seven bullocks and seven rams. 30 And Balak did as Balaam had said, and "offered up a bullock and a ram on every altar.</p> <p>24¹ "And "Balaam saw that it "pleased Yahweh to bless Israel, and he went not, "as at the other times, to meet with "enchantments, but he set his face toward the wilderness. 2 And Balaam lifted up his eyes, and he saw Israel dwelling "according to their tribes ; and the "spirit of God came upon him. 3 And he "took up his parable, and said, Balaam the son of Beor "saith, And the man whose eye "was closed "saith : 4 He "saith, which heareth the "words of God", Which "seeth the "vision of the "Almighty, Falling down, and "having his eyes open : 5 "How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob, Thy "tabernacles, O Israel ! 6 As valleys are they spread forth, As "gardens by the river side, As "lign-aloes which Yahweh hath "planted, As cedar trees beside the waters. 7 Water shall "flow from his "buckets, And his seed shall be in many waters, And his king shall be higher than Agag, And his kingdom shall be exalted. 8 "God bringeth him forth out of Egypt ; He hath as it were the "strength of the "wild-ox : He shall eat up the nations his adversaries, And shall "break their bones in pieces, And "smite [them] through with his arrows. 9 "He "couched, he lay down as a lion, And as a lioness ; who shall rouse him up ? "Blessed be "every one that blesseth thee, And "cursed be every one that curseth thee.</p> <p>10 And Balak's anger was kindled against Balaam, and he "smote his hands" together : and Balak said unto Balaam, I called thee to "curse mine enemies, and, behold, thou hast altogether blessed them "these three times. 11 There- fore now flee thou to thy "place : I thought to "promote thee unto great honour ; but, lo, Yahweh hath "kept thee back from honour. 12 And Balaam said unto Balak, Spake I not also to thy "messengers which thou</p>	<p>d n</p> <p>a 10^c b 24</p> <p>c 65</p>			

23²⁷ The language of Balak 25 implies that he relinquishes his project. But in approaching the parallel narrative of J, it was necessary to account for a third effort, and R therefore reproduces the preparatory arrangements of E 27 29. cp 13.

28a No mountain named Peor is known in the Old Testament. Bacon supposes that the name has been editorially substituted for Pisgah which had been already employed 14 by E. The same description of the view is attached to Pisgah in 21¹⁰ (J). Both narratives, therefore, place the scene of Balaam's blessing on the same summit.
28b M Or, Jeshimon.

24¹ So 5. T And when Balaam saw . . . he went not. Dillmann ascribes this verse to R.

3a 5 usually of Deity : of man only 3. 15. 2 Sam 23¹ Prov 30¹. For the peculiar position of the word cp Ps 36¹ 110¹.

3b M Or, is opened.—17.

4 The analogy of 16 suggests the addition of the clause "and knoweth the knowledge of the Most High."
3ab M See 23²².

9 This verse seems derived from Gen 49⁹ 27²⁹, and has consequently been suspected as an addition. But cp 23^{7a}.

10 Apparently due to the harmonist. Cp 23¹¹ 25 27.

	J	E	JE	J	E	P
c' 22 ¹⁸			sentest unto me, saying, ¹³ "If Balak would give me his house full of silver and gold, I cannot go beyond the word of Yahweh", to do either good or bad "of mine own mind; what Yahweh speaketh, "that will I speak?"			
d' 16 ³⁸			¹⁴ And now, behold, I go unto my people: "come, and I will "advertise thee what this people shall do to thy people in the "latter days. ¹⁵ And he "took up his parable, and said,			
e' Cp 22 ⁸⁵			Balaam the son of Beor "saith,			
f' 22 ⁶			And the man whose eye "was closed "saith:			
g' Ex 18 ¹⁹			¹⁶ He "saith, which heareth the "words of God,			
h' Gen 49 ¹			And knoweth the knowledge of the "Most High,			
			Which seeth the vision of the Almighty,			
i' Gen 14 ¹⁸ - Deut 32 ⁸			Falling down, and "having his eyes open:			
			¹⁷ I see him, but not now:			
j' 23 ⁹			I "behold him, but not nigh:			
k' 24 ⁴			"There shall come forth a star out of Jacob,			
l' 21 ¹⁸			And a "sceptre shall rise out of Israel,			
m' Jer 48 ⁴⁵			And shall "smite through the "corners of Moab,			
n' Is 22 ⁵			And "break down all the sons "of tumult.			
o' 5†			¹⁸ "And Edom shall be a "possession,			
			Seir also shall be a "possession, [which were] his enemies;			
			While Israel doeth valiantly.			
			¹⁹ And out of Jacob shall one have dominion,			
			And shall destroy the remnant from the city.			
			²⁰ And he looked on "Amalek, and "took up his parable and said,			
			Amalek was the first of the nations;			
			But his "latter end shall come to destruction.			
			²¹ And he looked on the Kenite, and "took up his parable, and said,			
			"Strong is thy "dwelling place,			
			And thy "nest is set in the rock.			
			²² Nevertheless "Kain shall be wasted,			
			"Until Asshur shall carry thee away captive.			
			²³ "And he "took up his parable, and said,			
			Alas, who shall live when God "doeth this?			
			²⁴ But ships [shall come] from the coast of Kittim,			
			And they shall afflict Asshur, and shall afflict Eber,			
			And he also shall come to destruction.			
			²⁵ And Balaam rose up, and went and returned to his "place: and Balak also went his way.			
			²⁵ "And Israel "abode in "Shittim,			
			^{1b} "And the people began to "commit whoredom with the daughters of Moab:			
			² "for they called the people unto the "sacrifices of their gods; and the people did "eat, and "bowed down to their gods.			
			^{3a} and Israel "joined himself unto "Baal-peor.			
			^{3b} And the anger of Yahweh was kindled against Israel. ⁴ And Yahweh said unto Moses, Take all the "chiefs of the people, and "hang them up unto Yahweh "before the sun, that the "fierce anger" of Yahweh may "turn away from Israel.			
			⁵ And Moses said unto the "judges of Israel, Slay ye every one his men that have joined themselves unto Baal-peor.			

24¹⁵ M. Or, is opened.

17 M. Or, of Sheth.

18 Kalisch proposes to regard 18-24 as supplemental, *Bibl Stud* i 263. .; he refers 24 to the relations of Assyria and Cyprus in the seventh century, under Assurbanipal.

20 The three concluding oracles seem irrelevant here, being concerned neither with Israel nor Moab 14. Cp 23^{7a}. It has been thought that they were added to bring the cycle up to seven. Some interpreters have found a reference to the Macedonian power in 24. But cp Cheyne, *Expos Times* June 1899 399.

22a M. Or, the Kenites.—Cp Judg 11⁶ 411.

22b M. Or, How long? Asshur &c.—Cp 2 Kings 15²⁹.

23a G inserts, And he looked upon Og.

23b M. Or, establisheth him.

25¹ The narrative of the Moabite idolatry 1-5 is plainly composite, for its statements are curiously duplicated. On the one hand, Israel, encamped in Shittim, becomes devoted to the Baal of Peor, and punishment on the guilty worshippers is meted out by Moses through the judicial organization 1a 2a 5. On the other, the people are seduced by the women of Moab into unchastity and false worship of their gods; the divine wrath is kindled, and Moses is commanded to avert it by the sacrificial doom of the heads of the people 2 3b 4. The close correspondence of 2 with Ex 34¹⁵ makes it certain that this account is derived from J; the reference to the judges 5 confirms the belief that the other element must be drawn from E.

3a M. Or, yoked.—3 5 Ps 106²⁸.

3b M. Or, the Baal of Peor. See 23^{2d}.

JE P ¹	P ²	P ³
6-9 L10p	... ⁶ ¹² And, behold, one of the children of Israel came and brought unto his brethren a Midianitish woman in the sight of Moses, and in the sight of	a 45
k 12	all the congregation of the children of Israel, while they were weeping at the door of the tent of meeting. ⁷ And when Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron the priest, saw it, he rose up from the midst of the congregation, and took a spear in his hand; ⁸ and he went after the man of Israel into the pavilion, and thrust both of them through, the man of Israel, and the woman through her belly. So the plague was stayed from the children of Israel. ⁹ And those that died by the plague were twenty and four thousand.	b 12 ^a c 12 ^a
l 5 ^a Judg 5 ^a	¹⁰ And Yahweh spake unto Moses, saying, ¹¹ Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron the priest, hath turned my wrath away from the children of Israel, in that he was jealous with my jealousy among them, so that I consumed not the children of Israel in my jealousy. ¹² Wherefore say, Behold, I give unto him my covenant of peace: ¹³ and it shall be unto him, and to his seed after him, the covenant of an everlasting priesthood; because he was jealous for his God, and made atonement for the children of Israel. ¹⁴ Now the name of the man of Israel that was slain, who was slain with the Midianitish woman, was Zimri, the son of Salu, a prince of a fathers' house among the Simeonites. ¹⁵ And the name of the Midianitish woman that was slain was Cozbi, the daughter of Zur; he was head of the people of a fathers' house in Midian.	d 125 ^a
m 5 ^a Judg 9 ^a	¹⁶ And Yahweh spake unto Moses, saying, ¹⁷ Vex the Midianites, and smite them: ¹⁸ for they vex you with their wives, wherewith they have beguiled you in the matter of Peor, and in the matter of Cozbi, the daughter of the prince of Midian, their sister, which was slain on the day of the plague in the matter of Peor.	e 125
n 5 ^a o 16 ^a	²⁶ And it came to pass after the plague, that Yahweh spake unto Moses and unto Eleazar the son of Aaron the priest, saying, ² Take the sum of all the congregation of the children of Israel, from twenty years old and upward, by their fathers' houses, all that are able to go forth to war in Israel. ³ And Moses and Eleazar the priest spake with them in the plains of Moab by the Jordan at Jericho, saying, ⁴ [Take the sum of the people] from twenty years old and upward; as Yahweh commanded	f 16 ^a g 6 ^a h 25 ^a
10-12 L11p		i 12 ^a j 66
p Jer 18 ²⁰		
q Gen 9 ^a r Ezek 34 ²⁵ 37 ²⁶ Is 54 ¹⁰		
s Gen 25 ¹⁶ op Ps 117 ¹¹ 16.. L4nd t 10 ^a Ex 23 ²²		
u Op Gen 37 ¹⁸ v 32 ¹⁸		
1-56 L4tu: a 25 ^a b 20 ²⁸ c 12 ^a		

²⁵ To the story of the Moabite apostasy the compiler has attached an account of an incident in which Phinehas slays a Simeonite prince and a Midianitish woman. But the opening of it is lost. From ²⁶ it appears that a plague was raging, thousands have already perished ⁹, and the congregation is assembled in lamentation at the sanctuary. This plague does not correspond to either form of penalty inflicted in ⁴ and ⁵: and improper connexions with Midianite women do not belong to the plains of Moab. The language at once identifies the source of the narrative with P. A late harmonistic allusion in ³¹ connects the worship of the Baal of Peor with the Midianite women under the insidious advice of Balaam, and it is possible that the missing beginning assigned this cause for the plague, and was set aside by RP in favour of the extract from JE.

⁸ M Or, alcove.

¹⁵ The word rendered 'people' seems to be a rare name for certain Arab clans, explained by the more familiar title 'fathers' house,' op Ges-Brown, *Hebr Lex*.

¹⁶ The allusions in ¹⁸ to 'the matter of Peor' are certainly due to the compiler. But it is probable that the command to retaliate upon the Midianites is an after-thought, preparing the way for the later recital of the war with Midian in ³¹. The main narrative passes on to the second census, for which fresh instructions are given ²⁶..; the vengeance on Midian is not yet in sight.

²⁶ The second census obviously belongs like the first ¹².. to P; but it is doubtful whether it formed part of P². On the whole, it seems better referred to P¹. The opening appears to be much curtailed. In ³ it is not clear who are designated by 'with them.' The first words of ⁴ are lost; and Dillm on grammatical grounds rejects the Massoretic punctuation of ⁴b,

so that the clause 'as Yahweh commanded Moses' stands by itself, and the phrase 'and the children of Israel which came forth out of the land of Egypt' is left suspended at the beginning of the enumeration. This, however, does not cohere with the explanation in ⁶⁴. These phenomena show that the incorporation of the passage has not been effected without mutilation. A comparison with 1 points in the same direction.

(1) The introductory formula seems to be of a secondary character op ¹¹. (2) The order of the tribes corresponds with that of 1 (itself secondary) save for the inversion of Manasseh and Ephraim. (3) The lists of tribal clans in the main agree with those in Gen 46⁸.. P², though occasional divergences (see Benjamin ³⁸..) show that fresh material might be utilized. (4) The document contains sundry annotations, additions, and explanations, after the manner of a later editor, though some of these seem to be supplemental insertions op 9-10 11 58 59-61 (where the connexion is very loose) ⁶⁴.. (5) The introduction of the division of the land ⁵²⁻⁵⁶ seems premature; the name of the land, even, is not mentioned, much less its conquest, or even the passage of the Jordan, ct 33⁵¹.. 34²..; moreover, according to 27¹².. Deut 32⁴⁹.., Moses was not permitted to cross the Jordan and could not be the instrument of the distribution. On ⁵⁴ op 33⁵⁴. (6) The phrase 'as Yahweh commanded Moses' is characteristic of P² op 189^a, and the description of the plains of Moab ³ ⁶³ as 'by' the Jordan op 31¹² 33⁴⁸⁻⁵⁰ 35¹ 36¹³ suggests a different hand from that of 22¹. The view that the existing narrative belongs to P² does not exclude the conjecture that, like 1, it may have been based on an earlier and simpler form.

⁴ The phrase 'as Yahweh commanded Moses' never includes any other object elsewhere, and the structure of the following clause implies that it begins a new sentence op ¹².

JE P ¹	P ²	P ³
	Moses and the children of Israel, which came forth out of the land of Egypt.	
d 1 ²⁰ Gen 46 ⁸ Ex 6 ¹⁴	⁵ Reuben, the firstborn of Israel: the sons of Reuben; [of] Hanoah, the family of the Hanoahites: of Pallu, the family of the Palluites: ⁶ of Hezron, the family of the Hezronites: of Carmi, the family of the Carmites.	j 65
	⁷ These are the families of the Reubenites: and ¹ they that were numbered of them were forty and three thousand and seven hundred and thirty.	k 188 ^a l 115 ^b
e 16 ² f Hiph Ps 60 title† g 16 ⁸ h 16 ³² i 16 ³⁸	⁸ And the sons of Pallu; Eliab. ⁹ And the sons of Eliab; Nemuel, and Dathan, and Abiram. ¹⁰ These are that Dathan and Abiram, which were called of the congregation, who strove against Moses and against Aaron in the company of Korah, when they strove against Yahweh: ¹⁰ and the earth opened her mouth, and swallowed them up together with Korah, when that company died; what time the fire devoured two hundred and fifty men, and they became a sign. ¹¹ Notwithstanding the sons of Korah died not.	m 188 ^c
j Ct 21 ⁸ Ex 17 ¹⁵ k Gen 46 ¹⁰ Ex 6 ¹⁵	¹² The sons of Simeon after their families: of Nemuel, the family of the Nemuelites: of Jamin, the family of the Jaminites: of Jachin, the family of the Jachinites: ¹³ of Zerah, the family of the Zerahites: of Shaul, the family of the Shaulites. ¹⁴ These are the families of the Simeonites, twenty and two thousand and two hundred.	n 27 o 65 ^b
l Gen 46 ¹⁶	¹⁵ The sons of Gad after their families: of Zephon, the family of the Zephonites: of Haggi, the family of the Haggites: of Shuni, the family of the Shunites: ¹⁶ of Ozni, the family of the Oznites: of Eri, the family of the Erites: ¹⁷ of Arod, the family of the Arodites: of Areli, the family of the Arelites. ¹⁸ These are the families of the sons of Gad according to those that were numbered of them, forty thousand and five hundred.	p 18 ^a
m Gen 46 ¹²	¹⁹ The sons of Judah, Er and Onan: and Er and Onan died in the land of Canaan. ²⁰ And the sons of Judah after their families were; of Shelah, the family of the Shelanites: of Perez, the family of the Perezites: of Zerah, the family of the Zerahites. ²¹ And the sons of Perez were; of Hezron, the family of the Hezronites: of Hamul, the family of the Hamulites. ²² These are the families of Judah according to those that were numbered of them, threescore and sixteen thousand and five hundred.	q 4 ^a
n Gen 46 ¹³	²³ The sons of Issachar after their families: [of] Tola, the family of the Tolaites: of Puvah, the family of the Punites: ²⁴ of Jashub, the family of the Jashubites: of Shimron, the family of the Shimronites. ²⁵ These are the families of Issachar according to those that were numbered of them, threescore and four thousand and three hundred.	
o Gen 46 ¹⁴	²⁶ The sons of Zebulun after their families: of Sered, the family of the Seredites: of Elon, the family of the Elonites: of Jahleel, the family of the Jahleelites. ²⁷ These are the families of the Zebulunites according to those that were numbered of them, threescore thousand and five hundred.	
p Gen 46 ²⁰	²⁸ The sons of Joseph after their families: Manasseh and Ephraim. ²⁹ The sons of Manasseh: of Machir, the family of the Machirites: and Machir begat Gilead: of Gilead, the family of the Gileadites. ³⁰ These are the sons of Gilead: [of] Iezer, the family of the Iezerites: of Helek, the family of the Helekites: ³¹ and [of] Asriel, the family of the Asrielites: and [of] Shechem, the family of the Shechemites: ³² and [of] Shemida, the family of the Shemidaites: and [of] Hephher, the family of the Hephherites. ³³ And Zelophehad the son of Hephher had no sons, but daughters: and the names of the daughters of Zelophehad were Mahlah, and Noah, Hoglah, Milcah, and Tirzah. ³⁴ These are the families of Manasseh: and they that were numbered of them were fifty and two thousand and seven hundred.	r 30

26⁸ The references in 8-10 rest on 16 in its present composite form. If this census-list belongs to P², this passage must be regarded as a later insertion.

¹¹ A separate addition to account for the survival of families tracing descent from Korah.

^{12a} M In Gen 46¹⁰ Ex 6¹⁵ *Jemuel*.

^{12b} M In 1 Chron 4²⁴ *Jarib*.

¹³ M In Gen 46¹⁰ *Zohar*.

¹⁴ M In Gen 46¹⁴ *Ezbon*.

¹⁷ M In Gen 46¹⁶ *Arodi*.

²⁴ M In Gen 46¹³ *Iob*.

³⁰ M In Josh 17² *Abieser*. See Judg 6¹¹ 24.

¹⁵ M In Gen 46¹⁶ *Ziphion*.

	JE P ^a	P ^a	P ^a
		<p>³⁵ These are the sons of Ephraim after their families: of Shuthelah, the family of the Shuthelahites: of "Becher, the family of the Becherites: of Tahan, the family of the Tahanites. ³⁶ And these are the sons of Shuthelah: of Eran, the family of the Eranites. ³⁷ These are the families of the sons of Ephraim according to those that were numbered of them, thirty and two thousand and five hundred. These are the sons of Joseph after their families.</p> <p>³⁸ The sons of "Benjamin after their families: of Bela, the family of the Belaites: of Ashbel, the family of the Ashbelites: of "Ahiram, the family of the Ahiramites: ³⁹ of "Shephupham, the family of the Shuphamites: of Hupham, the family of the Huphamites. ⁴⁰ And the sons of Bela were "Ard and Naaman: [of Ard], the family of the Ardites: of Naaman, the family of the Naamites. ⁴¹ These are the sons of Benjamin after their families: and they that were numbered of them were forty and five thousand and six hundred.</p> <p>⁴² These are the sons of "Dan after their families: of "Shuham, the family of the Shuhamites. These are the families of Dan after their families. ⁴³ All the families of the Shuhamites, according to those that were numbered of them, were threescore and four thousand and four hundred.</p> <p>⁴⁴ The sons of "Asher after their families: of Imnah, the family of the Imnites: of Ishvi, the family of the Ishvites: of Beriah, the family of the Beriites. ⁴⁵ Of the sons of Beriah: of Heber, the family of the Heberites: of Malchiel, the family of the Malchielites. ⁴⁶ And the name of the daughter of Asher was Serah. ⁴⁷ These are the families of the sons of Asher according to those that were numbered of them, fifty and three thousand and four hundred.</p> <p>⁴⁸ The sons of "Naphtali after their families: of Jahzeel, the family of the Jahzeelites: of Guni, the family of the Gunites: ⁴⁹ of Jezer, the family of the Jezerites: of Shillem, the family of the Shillemites. ⁵⁰ These are the families of Naphtali according to their families: and they that were numbered of them were forty and five thousand and four hundred.</p> <p>⁵¹ These are they that were numbered of the children of Israel, six hundred thousand and a thousand seven hundred and thirty.</p> <p>⁵² "And Yahweh "spake unto Moses, saying, ⁵³ Unto these the land shall be divided "for an inheritance according to the number of names. ⁵⁴ To the "more thou shalt give the more inheritance, and to the fewer thou shalt give the less inheritance: to every one "according to those that were numbered of him shall his inheritance be given. ⁵⁵ Notwithstanding the land shall be divided by lot: "according to the names of the "tribes of their fathers they shall inherit. ⁵⁶ "According to the lot shall their inheritance be divided between the more and the fewer.</p> <p>⁵⁷ "And these are they that were numbered of the Levites after their families: of Gershon, the family of the Gershonites: of Kohath, the family of the Kohathites: of Merari, the family of the Merarites. ⁵⁸ "These are the families of Levi: the family of the Libnites, the family of the Hebronites, the family of the Mahlites, the family of the Mushites, the family of the Korahites. And Kohath "begat Amram. ⁵⁹ And the name of Amram's wife was "Jochebed, the daughter of Levi, who was born to Levi in Egypt: and she bare unto Amram Aaron and Moses, and Miriam their sister. ⁶⁰ And unto Aaron were born "Nadab and Abihu, Eleazar and Ithamar. ⁶¹ And Nadab and Abihu "died, when they offered strange fire before Yahweh. ⁶² And they that were numbered of them were twenty and three thousand, "every male from a "month old and upward: for they "were not numbered among the children of Israel, because there was no inheritance given them among the children of Israel.</p> <p>⁶³ These are they that were numbered by Moses and Eleazar the priest:</p>	
q Gen 46 ³¹			
r Gen 46 ²⁸			
s Gen 46 ¹⁷			
t Gen 46 ²⁴			
52-56 L ₄ Uc			
u 33 ⁵⁴			96 ^c
57-62 L ₄ Pb			19 ^b
v Ex 6 ²⁰			u 18 ^m v 16 ^s
w Ex 6 ²³ x Lev 10 ¹			
y 3 ¹⁵			w 107 ^b x 115 ^c

26³⁵ M In 1 Chron 7³⁰ Bered.38 M In Gen 46³¹ Ehi in 1 Chron 8¹ Aharah.39 M In Gen 46³¹ Muppim, and Huppim.40 M In 1 Chron 8³ Addar. 42 M In Gen 46²³ Hushim.58 This enumeration of the Levitical clans seems to be a fragment thrust in by a compiler unwilling to leave anything on one side. Its source is unknown, and its statements neither fit the context nor agree with other lists 3¹⁴. and Ex 6¹⁷.

JE P ^a	P ^a	P ^a
z 14 ²⁹	who numbered the children of Israel in the 'plains of Moab by the Jordan at Jericho. ⁶⁴ But among these there was not a man of 'them that were numbered by Moses and Aaron the priest; who numbered the children of Israel in the 'wilderness of Sinai. ⁶⁵ For Yahweh had said of them, "They shall surely die in the wilderness. And there was not left a man of them, save Caleb the son of Jephunneh, and Joshua the son of Nun.	y 7
a' 14 ³¹⁻³⁸	27 ¹ Then drew near the daughters of 'Zelophehad, the son of Hephher, the son of Gilead, the son of Machir, the son of Manasseh, of the 'families of Manasseh the son of Joseph: and 'these are the names of his daughters; Mahlah, Noah, and Hoglah, and Milcah, and Tirzah. ² And they stood before Moses, and before 'Eleazar the priest, and before the 'princes and all the 'congregation, at the 'door of the tent of meeting, saying, ³ Our father died in the wilderness, and he was not among the 'company of them that 'gathered themselves together against Yahweh in the company of 'Korah: but he 'died in his own sin; and he had no sons. ⁴ Why should the name of our father be 'taken away from among his 'family, because he had no son? Give unto us a 'possession among the brethren of our father. ⁵ And Moses 'brought their cause before Yahweh. ⁶ And Yahweh 'spoke unto Moses, saying, ⁷ The daughters of Zelophehad 'speak right': thou shalt surely give them a 'possession of an inheritance among their father's brethren; and thou shalt cause the inheritance of their father to pass unto them. ⁸ And thou shalt 'speak unto the children of Israel, saying, 'If a man die, and have no son, then ye shall cause his inheritance to pass unto his daughter. ⁹ And if he have no daughter, then ye shall give his inheritance unto his brethren. ¹⁰ And if he have no brethren, then ye shall give his inheritance unto his father's brethren. ¹¹ And if his father have no brethren, then ye shall give his inheritance unto his 'kinsman that is next to him of his family, and he shall 'possess it: and it shall 'be unto the children of Israel a 'statute of judgement', 'as Yahweh commanded Moses.	a 65 b 188 ^a c 12 ^b d 13 ⁱ e 45 f 111 ^b
1-11 13 ^{8c} a 26 ³³	¹² And Yahweh said unto Moses, Get thee up into this mountain of 'Abarim, and behold the land which I have given unto the children of Israel. ¹³ And when thou hast seen it, thou also shalt be 'gathered unto thy people, as 'Aaron thy brother was gathered: ¹⁴ because ye rebelled against my word in the wilderness of 'Zin, in the strife of the 'congregation, 'to 'sanctify me at the waters before their eyes. ('These are the waters of 'Meribah of Kadesh in the wilderness of Zin.)	g 127 ^b h 185 ^a
b 1611 c 165 d 1435 e 365 cp 97 Lev 27 ¹⁸ Ex 511 f Cp Lev 24 ¹² Num 9 ⁹ 15 ³⁴ ct Ex 1819 9 g 365 Ex 1029 ^a	¹⁵ And Moses 'spoke unto Yahweh, saying, ¹⁶ Let Yahweh, the 'God of the spirits of all flesh, appoint a man over the congregation, ¹⁷ which may 'go out before them, and which may come in before them, and which may 'lead them out, and which may bring them in; that the congregation of Yahweh be not as sheep which have no shepherd. ¹⁸ And Yahweh said unto Moses, Take thee Joshua the son of Nun, a man in whom is the 'spirit, and 'lay thine hand upon him; ¹⁹ and 'set him before 'Eleazar the priest, and before all the 'congregation; and 'give him a charge in their sight. ²⁰ And thou shalt put of thine 'honour upon him, that all the 'congregation	i 190 ^c j 101 k 27 l 189 ^c
h 36 ^a i 35 ^{29f} j 119		m 75 n 9 o 86 ^d
k 3347 Deut 3249		p 102 q 141
l 2024		
m 2013 Deut 3251 n 14 ^{wd} o 1632		
p 21 Cp Deut 312 Josh 1411 q Cp 1 Chron 112		
r 23 Deut 328		
s 5 ^a		

27¹ The petition of the daughters of Zelophehad 1-11 is closely connected with 26 cp 33. Its theme has the same aspect as that of 26³². cp 261^a. Phraseologically the passage follows the usage of P, but it shows occasional and noteworthy peculiarities, e.g. ⁵ 'brought their cause (5 judgement) before Yahweh'; ⁷ 'speak right' 365 nowhere else in P; ¹¹ 'possess' 365, שרר for ירש (127), elsewhere in P only Gen 28 Lev 20²⁴ Ph (allied with J) 25⁴⁶ Ps Num 33⁵³ P^a (all save Lev 25⁴⁶ after 'give') ct 181; 'a statute of judgement' 35^{29f}; 'as Yahweh commanded Moses' 189^c, which sounds especially incongruous at the close of the answer of Yahweh 6-11. On the other hand the plea in 3 that Zelophehad was not among the princes associated with Korah points to dependence on the earlier form of P's narrative 162-7 before Korah and his followers were converted into Levites.

¹² This passage is obviously connected with Deut 3246. but the relation of the two has been variously estimated. Did the

same author reproduce his own words in another connexion? Or, if they are not both from the same hand, which is the original and which the copy? The phraseology of Deut 3248-52 bears every characteristic mark of P^a, and does not appear like an expansion of 12-14. On the other hand, (1) the opening of 12 lacks P's customary formula of the divine address; (2) the prohibition in Deut 3252b is omitted, so that the occasion for the appointment of Joshua as leader is not so clearly emphasized; (3) the explanation in 14b seems due to an annotator. The view of Dillmann is therefore adopted here, according to which Deut 3248-52 once stood before Num 2715. When D was incorporated before the record of the death of Moses, the long separation of the event from this passage led to the transfer or the divine command to its present position in Deut 3248. ., and the vacant place was filled in Num 2712-14 by an editorial abstract. ¹⁴ M See 2012.

JE P ¹	P ²	P ³
t \S = <i>hearken</i> Deut 34 ⁹ 21 <i>Lub</i> / u Ex 28 ⁹⁰	of the children of Israel may 'obey. ²¹ <i>L</i> And he shall stand before 'Eleazar the priest, who shall inquire for him by the judgement of the 'Urim before Yahweh: at his word shall they 'go out, and 'at his word they shall come in, both he, and all the children of Israel with him, even all the 'congregation. ²² And Moses 'did as Yahweh commanded him: and he took Joshua, and 'set him before 'Eleazar the priest, and before all the 'congregation: ²³ and he 'laid his hands upon him, and 'gave him a charge, as Yahweh spake 'by the hand of Moses'.	r 19 ^c s 189 ^b t 180 ^c a 185 ^a b 181 ^c c 188 ^b d 177 e 7 f 88 ^a g 33 h 31 i 18 ^a
28-78/98 ^f a Lev 24 ² b Lev 14 ²	²⁸ <i>L</i> And Yahweh 'spake unto Moses, saying, ² 'Command the children of Israel, and say unto them, My 'oblation, my 'food for my offerings made by fire, of a sweet savour unto me, shall ye observe to offer unto me in 'their 'due season. ³ <i>L</i> And thou shalt say unto them, 'This is the offering made by fire which ye shall offer unto Yahweh; he-lambs of the first year without blemish, two day by day, for a continual burnt offering. ⁴ The one lamb shalt thou 'offer in the morning, and the other lamb shalt thou offer 'at even; ⁵ and the tenth part of an ephah of fine flour for a meal offering, mingled with the fourth part of an hin of beaten oil. ⁶ It is a continual burnt offering, which was 'ordained in mount 'Sinai for a sweet savour, an offering made by fire unto Yahweh. ⁷ <i>L</i> And the drink offering thereof shall be the fourth part of an hin for the one lamb: in the 'holy place shalt thou pour out a 'drink offering of 'strong drink unto Yahweh. ⁸ And the other lamb shalt thou 'offer 'at even: as the meal offering of the morning, and as the drink offering thereof, thou shalt 'offer it, an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto Yahweh.	
c \S my set feast op Lev 23 ² s-9 17 ^{dc}	⁹ <i>L</i> And on the 'sabbath day two he-lambs of the first year without blemish, and two tenth parts [of an ephah] of fine flour for a meal offering, mingled with oil, and the drink offering thereof: ¹⁰ 'this is the burnt offering of every sabbath, 'beside the continual burnt offering, and the drink offering thereof.	
d \S made op Ex 38 ²⁴ 7 17 ^{we}	¹¹ <i>L</i> And in the 'beginnings of your months' ye shall offer a burnt offering unto Yahweh; two young bullocks, and one ram, seven he-lambs of the first year without blemish; ¹² and three tenth parts [of an ephah] of fine flour for a meal offering, mingled with oil, for each bullock; and two tenth parts of fine flour for a meal offering, mingled with oil, for the one ram; ¹³ and a several tenth part of fine flour mingled with oil for a meal offering unto every lamb; for a burnt offering of a sweet savour, an offering made by fire unto Yahweh. ¹⁴ <i>L</i> And their drink offerings shall be half an hin of wine for a bullock, and the third part of an hin for the ram, and the fourth part of an hin for a lamb: 'this is the burnt offering of every month 'throughout the months of the year. ¹⁵ And one he-goat for a sin offering unto Yahweh; it shall be offered 'beside the continual burnt offering, and the drink offering thereof.	
e 63 Lev 10 ⁹	¹⁶ <i>L</i> And in the 'first month, on the fourteenth day of the month, is Yahweh's passover. ¹⁷ <i>L</i> And on the 'fifteenth day of this month shall be a feast: seven days shall unleavened bread be eaten. ¹⁸ In the 'first day shall be an holy convocation; ye shall do no servile work: ¹⁹ but ye shall	
9. <i>Lgbp</i> / Lev 23 ⁸		
11-16 <i>Lgob</i> 7 10 ¹⁰		
14 <i>L7we</i>		
16 <i>Lgdh</i> A Lev 23 ⁵ 17-23 <i>Lgbi</i> i Lev 23 ⁶ j Lev 23 ⁷		

27²³ It might have been expected that the narrative of the death of Moses would follow at this point, like that of Aaron after the investiture of Eleazar 20²³⁻²⁹. On the reasons for regarding the materials in 28-36 as secondary additions see the notes to the successive sections, and cp *Intro* xiii 10a i 154.

28¹ The catalogue of sacrifices in 28-29 is a summary of the dues required for the service of the altar. Its terminology harmonizes in the main with that of Lev 1-7; and its annual order is modelled on that of Lev 23. But it seems to belong to a group of other secondary passages; (1) it occurs in the midst of a group of other secondary passages; (2) it is widely separated from other ritual detail, and had P² contained any such list it would have been natural to look for it in connexion with the calendar in Lev 23 (why should the feasts be ordained in the first year of the wanderings, and the accompanying offerings only in the last?); (3) it incorporates the new moon festivals

28¹¹⁻¹⁶ unrecognized in Lev 23 cp Num 10¹⁰; (4) it lays unusual stress on the great autumn feast 29¹²⁻²⁸, though the ancient title is ignored; (5) it contains some delicate phraseological variations, e.g. 'my food for my fire-offerings' 'observe to offer' 28², 'ordained in Mount Sinai' 28⁶, 'drink offering of strong drink' 28⁷, the drink offering (here very prominent) being unnamed in Lev 1-7 (cp Lev 23¹³ 18 27), 'day of the firstfruits' 28²⁸, 'according unto their ordinance' 29²³ cp 18 21 24 27 30 37.

² M \S bread.—Cp Lev 3¹¹.

³ M See Ex 29³⁸⁻⁴².—The reference in ⁶ seems clearly to depend on the law in Exodus; but it is possible that that law has been itself worked over with reference to this passage (cp Lev 23¹⁸).

⁴ M \S between the two evenings.—P³ 32.

⁷ Elsewhere in *Hex* only in the sense of 'strong drink' Lev 10¹ Num 6³ Deut 14²⁶ 29⁶.

JE P'	P'	P'
<p>k Lev 23⁸</p>	<p>⁴offer an offering made by fire, a burnt offering unto Yahweh; two young bullocks, and one ram, and seven he-lambs of the first year: they shall be unto you without blemish: ²⁰ and their meal offering, fine flour mingled with oil: three tenth parts shall ye offer for a bullock, and two tenth parts for the ram; ²¹ a several tenth part shalt thou ⁴offer for every lamb of the seven lambs; ²² and one he-goat for a sin offering, to make atonement for you. ²³ Ye shall offer these ^bbeside the burnt offering of the morning, which is for a continual burnt offering. ²⁴ After this manner ye shall ⁴offer daily, for seven days, the ²food of the offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto Yahweh: it shall be offered beside the continual burnt offering, and the drink offering thereof. ²⁵ And on the ²seventh day ye shall have an holy convocation; ye shall do no servile work.</p>	
<p>26-31 L^{9f} l 5† m Lev 23¹⁶ n Ex 34²² o Lev 23²¹ p Cp Lev 23¹⁸</p>	<p>²⁶ ^LAlso in the ⁴day of the firstfruits, when ye offer a ²new meal offering unto Yahweh in your [feast of] ²weeks, ye shall have an ⁴holy convocation; ye shall do no servile work: ²⁷ but ye shall offer a burnt offering for a sweet savour unto Yahweh; ²two young bullocks, one ram, seven he-lambs of the first year; ²⁸ and their meal offering, fine flour mingled with oil, three tenth parts for each bullock, two tenth parts for the one ram, ²⁹ a several tenth part for every lamb of the seven lambs; ³⁰ one he-goat, to make atonement for you. ³¹ ^bBeside the continual burnt offering, and the meal offering thereof, ye shall ⁴offer them (they shall be unto you without blemish), and their drink offerings.</p>	
<p>1-6 L^{9g} a Lev 23²⁴</p>	<p>²⁹ ^LAnd in the ⁴seventh month, on the first day of the month, ye shall have an holy convocation; ye shall do no servile work: it is a day of blowing of trumpets unto you. ² And ye shall ⁴offer a burnt offering for a sweet savour unto Yahweh; one young bullock, one ram, seven he-lambs of the first year without blemish: ³ and their meal offering, fine flour mingled with oil, three tenth parts for the bullock, two tenth parts for the ram, ⁴ and one tenth part for every lamb of the seven lambs; ⁵ and one he-goat for a sin-offering, to make atonement for you: ⁶ ^bbeside the burnt offering of the ^bnew moon, and the meal offering thereof, and the continual burnt offering and the meal offering thereof, and their drink offerings, ^caccording unto their ordinance, for a sweet savour, an offering made by fire unto Yahweh.</p>	<p>a 117 b 31</p>
<p>b 5 month 28¹¹ c 33 cp 18 Lev 5¹⁰</p>	<p>⁷ ^LAnd on the ⁴tenth day of this seventh month ye shall have an holy convocation; and ye shall afflict your souls; ye shall ⁴do no manner of work: ⁸ but ye shall offer a burnt offering unto Yahweh for a sweet savour; one young bullock, one ram, seven he-lambs of the first year; they shall be unto you without blemish: ⁹ and their meal offering, fine flour mingled with oil, three tenth parts for the bullock, two tenth parts for the one ram, ¹⁰ a several tenth part for every lamb of the seven lambs: ¹¹ one he-goat for a sin offering; ^bbeside the sin offering of atonement, and the continual burnt offering, and the meal offering thereof, and their drink offerings.</p>	
<p>7-11 L^{9h} d Lev 23²⁷ e Lev 23²⁸</p>	<p>¹² ^LAnd on the ⁴fifteenth day of the seventh month ye shall have an holy convocation; ye shall do no servile work, and ye shall keep a feast unto Yahweh seven days: ¹³ and ye shall offer a burnt offering, an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto Yahweh; thirteen young bullocks, two rams, fourteen he-lambs of the first year; they shall be without blemish: ¹⁴ and their meal offering, fine flour mingled with oil, three tenth parts for every bullock of the thirteen bullocks, two tenth parts for each ram of the two rams, ¹⁵ and a several tenth part for every lamb of the fourteen lambs: ¹⁶ and one he-goat for a sin offering; ^bbeside the continual burnt offering, the meal offering thereof, and the drink offering thereof.</p>	
<p>12-38 L⁹ⁱ f Lev 23³³</p>	<p>¹⁷ And on the ²second day [ye shall offer] twelve young bullocks, two rams, fourteen he-lambs of the first year without blemish: ¹⁸ and their</p>	

	JE P ¹	P ²	P ³
g 21 24 27 30 37 Lev 5 ¹⁰		meal offering and their drink offerings for the bullocks, for the rams, and for the lambs, according to their number, ¹⁹ after the ordinance: ¹⁹ and one he-goat for a sin offering; beside the continual burnt offering, and the meal offering thereof, and their drink offerings.	
		²⁰ And on the third day eleven bullocks, two rams, fourteen he-lambs of the first year without blemish; ²¹ and their meal offering and their drink offerings for the bullocks, for the rams, and for the lambs, according to their number, after the ordinance: ²² and one he-goat for a sin offering; beside the continual burnt offering, and the meal offering thereof, and the drink offering thereof.	
		²³ And on the fourth day ten bullocks, two rams, fourteen he-lambs of the first year without blemish: ²⁴ their meal offering and their drink offerings for the bullocks, for the rams, and for the lambs, according to their number, after the ordinance: ²⁵ and one he-goat for a sin offering; beside the continual burnt offering, the meal offering thereof, and the drink offering thereof.	
		²⁶ And on the fifth day nine bullocks, two rams, fourteen he-lambs of the first year without blemish: ²⁷ and their meal offering and their drink offerings for the bullocks, for the rams, and for the lambs, according to their number, after the ordinance: ²⁸ and one he-goat for a sin offering; beside the continual burnt offering, and the meal offering thereof, and the drink offering thereof.	
		²⁹ And on the sixth day eight bullocks, two rams, fourteen he-lambs of the first year without blemish: ³⁰ and their meal offering and their drink offerings for the bullocks, for the rams, and for the lambs, according to their number, after the ordinance: ³¹ and one he-goat for a sin offering; beside the continual burnt offering, the meal offering thereof, and the drink offerings thereof.	
a 5 their		³² And on the seventh day seven bullocks, two rams, fourteen he-lambs of the first year without blemish: ³³ and their meal offering and their drink offerings for the bullocks, for the rams, and for the lambs, according to their number, ³⁴ after ^h the ordinance: ³⁴ and one he-goat for a sin offering; beside the continual burnt offering, the meal offering thereof, and the drink offering thereof.	
i Lev 23 ³⁶		³⁵ On the ¹ eighth day ye shall have a ² solemn assembly: ye shall do no servile work: ³⁶ but ye shall offer a burnt offering, an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto Yahweh: one bullock, one ram, seven he-lambs of the first year without blemish: ³⁷ their meal offering and their drink offerings for the bullock, for the ram, and for the lambs, shall be according to their number, after the ordinance: ³⁸ and one he-goat for a sin offering; beside the continual burnt offering, and the meal offering thereof, and the drink offering thereof.	
39 188d ^g		³⁹ ¹ These ye shall offer unto Yahweh in your ² set feasts, beside your vows, and your freewill offerings, for your burnt offerings, and for your meal offerings, and for your drink offerings, and for your peace offerings.	o ur ^c
40 [30 ¹ in 5] j 5 30 ¹ 1-16 188e a 1 Kings 8 ¹ 2 Chron 5 ²⁴ cp 32 ²⁸ Josh 14 ¹ 21 ¹		⁴⁰ ¹ And Moses told the children of Israel according to all that Yahweh commanded Moses.	
b 2-5 8 10-14 5 ¹ c Cp 12 32 ²⁴ Deut (83) 23 ²⁸		³⁰ ¹ And Moses ² spake unto the ³ heads of the ⁴ tribes ^a of the children of Israel, ⁵ saying, ⁶ This is the thing which Yahweh hath commanded. ⁷ When a man voweth a vow unto Yahweh, or sweareth an oath to bind his soul with a ⁸ bond, he shall not ⁹ break his word; he shall do according to all that ¹⁰ proceedeth out of his mouth. ¹¹ Also ¹² when a woman voweth a vow unto Yahweh, and bindeth herself by a bond, being	a 185 ^a b 185 ^b c 188 ^c d 190 ^d

²⁹³⁵ M See Lev 23³⁶.

³⁰¹ The law of vows here set forth is not connected directly with previous specific ordinances Lev 27 Num 6, but it regulates their general force. It plainly belongs to the collection of P, but does not appear to be from the hand of P². The style of the law, with its successive cases, indicates the advance of legal distinctions characteristic of P³, and with this the phraseological indications correspond. The formula 'heads of the tribes' appears elsewhere only in the later Levitical additions

in 1 Kings 8¹ (cp 5) and the parallel in 2 Chron 5²⁴. Other expressions like 'bind with a bond' 'break his word' ², 'rash utterance' ⁶, are only found here; while 'afflict the soul' ¹³ is employed in a sense not quite harmonious with P's customary usage. The phrase 'bear her iniquity' ¹⁵ (where Sam 5 read 'his iniquity') shows some affinity with P³ cp 193; and it is possible that this law may have been amplified from a briefer and earlier form.

² M 5 *profane*.—In this connexion + cp Ezek 39⁷.

JE P'	P'	P'
d 8 11 ct 327 9 Pa 33 ¹⁰ 141 ⁵⁴	in her father's house, in her youth; ⁴ and her father heareth her vow, and her bond wherewith she hath bound her soul, and her father holdeth his peace at her: then all her vows shall stand, and every bond wherewith she hath bound her soul shall stand. ⁵ But if her father ^d disallow her in the day that he heareth; none of her vows, or of her bonds wherewith she hath bound her soul, shall stand: and Yahweh shall forgive her, because her father ^d disallowed her. ⁶ And if she be [married] to a husband, while her vows are upon her, or the ^r rash utterance ^r of her lips, wherewith she hath bound her soul; ⁷ and her husband hear it, and hold his peace at her in the day that he heareth it: then her vows shall stand, and her bonds wherewith she hath bound her soul shall stand. ⁸ But if her husband ^d disallow her in the day that he heareth it; then he shall ^s make void her vow which is upon her, and the ^r rash utterance of her lips, wherewith she hath bound her soul: and Yahweh shall forgive her. ⁹ But the vow of a widow, or of her that is ^d divorced, [even] every thing wherewith she hath bound her soul, shall stand against her. ¹⁰ And if she vowed in her husband's house, or bound her soul by a bond with an oath, ¹¹ and her husband heard it, and held his peace at her, and ^d disallowed her not; then all her vows shall stand, and every bond wherewith she bound her soul shall stand. ¹² But if her husband ^s made them null and void in the day that he heard them; then whatsoever proceeded out of her lips concerning her vows, or concerning the bond of her soul, shall not stand: her husband hath made them void; and Yahweh shall forgive her. ¹³ Every vow, and every binding oath to ^a afflict the soul, her husband may establish it, or her husband may ^s make it void. ¹⁴ But if her husband altogether hold his peace at her from day to day; then he establisheth all her vows, or all her bonds, which are upon her: he hath established them, because he held his peace at her in the day that he heard them. ¹⁵ But if he shall ^s make them null and void after that he hath heard them; then he shall ^b bear her iniquity. ¹⁶ These are the statutes, which Yahweh commanded Moses, between a man and his wife, between a father and his daughter, being in her youth, in her father's house.	e 20
1-54 L4m/ a 5 b Cp 27 ¹² . c 32 ¹⁷ 50 Niph ^a	³¹ ¹⁷ And Yahweh ^s spake unto Moses, saying, ² ^a Avenge the children of Israel of the Midianites: ^b afterward shalt thou be ^g gathered unto thy people. ³ And Moses ^s spake unto the people, saying, ^c Arm ye men from among you for the ^w war, that they may go against Midian, to execute ^d Yahweh's vengeance ^d on Midian. ⁴ Of every ^t tribe a thousand, ^e through- out all the tribes of Israel, shall ye send to the ^w war. ⁵ So there were ^f delivered, out of the ^t thousands of Israel, a thousand of every tribe, twelve thousand armed for ^w war. ⁶ And Moses sent them, a thousand of every ^t tribe, to the ^w war, them and ^p Phinehas the son of Eleazar the priest, to the war, with the vessels of the ^s sanctuary and the ^t trumpets for the alarm in his hand. ⁷ And they ^w warred against Midian, ¹ as Yahweh commanded Moses; and they ^s slew ^e every male. ⁸ And they ^s slew the kings of Midian with the rest of their ^s slaves; ⁹ Evi, and Rekem, and ^s Zur, and Hur, and Reba, the five kings of Midian: Balaam also the son of Beor they ^s slew with the sword. ¹⁰ And the children of Israel ^t took captive the women of Midian and their ^s little ones; and all their ^s cattle, and all their ^s flocks, and all their ^s goods, they ^t took for a prey. ¹¹ And all their cities in the ^s places wherein they dwelt ^s , and all their ^s encampments, they ^b burnt with fire. ¹² And they took all the spoil, and all the ^s prey, ¹³ both of man and of beast. ¹⁴ And they brought the captives, and the ^s prey, and the spoil, unto Moses, and unto ^s Eleazar the priest, and unto the ^c congregation of the children of Israel, unto the camp at the ^s plains of Moab, which are by the ^s Jordan at Jericho.	f 281 g 188 ^a a 185 ^a b 75 c 9a ^b d 165 e 18 ^a f 163 g 12 h 88 ^a i 92 ^a j 189 ^a k 107 ^a
d Jer 50 ¹⁵ 28 51 ¹¹ cp Jer 11 ²⁰ 20 ¹² Ezek 25 ¹⁴ 17 ⁴ e Cp 16 ⁴		l 55 ^a m 108 ^b
f 10 ⁹		n 12 ^b o 45 ^a p 2
g Gen 34 ²⁵ h Josh 13 ²² i Josh 13 ²¹ j 25 ¹⁵ k Gen 34 ²⁹ l 5 = beanta 11 Gen 34 ²² cp 36 ⁶ Num 32 ²⁸ m 5 = cattle Gen 34 ²³ n Gen 25 ¹⁶ o Josh 6 ³⁴ p 12 28 32 1s 49 ²⁴ .4		q 131 r 190 ^a
q 22 ¹	¹³ And Moses, and ^s Eleazar the priest, and all the ^s princes of the ^c congregation, went forth to ^t meet them ^s without the camp. ¹⁴ And Moses was	
r Cp 37 ⁸³ Ex 18 ⁷ Num 22 ³⁰		

31¹ The inclusion of 31 in P is amply justified by the margins. But various reasons, both of matter and style, unmistakably indicate its secondary character, apart from the question whether the author intended to lay down any permanent law for the distribution of booty in war (cf Deut 13¹⁶. 20¹⁴.). (1) The vengeance to be inflicted on Midian is awkwardly placed after the instructions for Moses' death and the appointment of his successor 27¹²⁻²³: Joshua is ignored, and Phinehas apparently takes the command⁶: the reference in 2 may be due to B (Dillm), but it may also be a sign of the author's own adaptation to the previous narrative. (2) The Midianites are led by five kings³, among them being Zur, who, however, in 25¹⁶ is only 'head of a fathers' house.' (3) The introduction of Eleazar as legislator²¹., qualifying the commands of Moses, has no parallel

in P. (4) The writer seems to have been acquainted with P's story in Gen 34¹ cp 7⁹, but he uses other terms, e.g. 'spoil' 11 cp Gen 49²⁷ Ex 15⁹ Deut 13¹⁷ *al*, 'both man and beast' 11. (5) The general phraseology shows a considerable freedom; thus 'go to meet' 13, 'thy servants' 49 (unknown to P), belong specially to J (do they imply an older basis in JE for the present narrative?); other expressions, e.g. 16 30 54 have their nearest parallels in Chronicles; a considerable number occur nowhere else, e.g. 'were delivered' 8, 'sent to the war' 6, 'were to the children of Israel for . . . 18, 'skilled in war' 37, 'tribute' 28, 'people of the war' 32, 'half' 36; and others, 'as Yahweh commanded Moses' 7 31 47, 'purify yourselves' 19. 23, 'water of separation' 23, are characteristic of P^a. The general effect of the narrative as a type of religious behaviour is not without analogies to that of Abraham in Gen 12²⁰.

JE	P'	P'	P'
s 48 ct 115 §		'wroth with the 'officers of the host, the 'captains of thousands and the captains of hundreds, which came from the "service of the war". 15 And Moses said unto them, Have ye 'saved all the 'women alive? 16 Behold, these "caused the children of Israel, through the counsel of Balaam, to "commit "trespass against Yahweh "in the "matter of Peor, and so the "plague was among the 'congregation of Yahweh. 17 "Now therefore "kill 'every male among the "little ones, and kill every woman that hath known man by 'lying with him. 18 But all the women children, that have not known man by 'lying with him, 'keep alive for yourselves. 19 And encamp ye 'without the camp seven days: whosoever hath "killed any 'person, and whosoever hath touched any 'slain, "purify yourselves on the third day and on the "seventh day, ye and your captives. 20 And as to every garment, and all that is "made of skin, and all work of 'goats' [hair], and all things made of wood, ye shall "purify yourselves. 21 And "Eleazar the priest said unto the men of war which "went to the battle", "This is the statute of the law which Yahweh hath commanded Moses: 22 howbeit the gold, and the silver, the brass, the iron, the 'tin, and the lead, 23 every thing that may abide the fire, ye shall make to go through the fire, and it shall be 'clean; nevertheless it shall be "purified with the water of 'separation: and all that abideth not the fire ye shall make to go through the water. 24 And ye shall "wash your clothes on the "seventh day, and ye shall be 'clean, and "afterward ye shall come into the camp.	a 178 ^b t 107 ^c u 164 ^b v 146 ^a w 143 ^b x 188 ^b y 49 z 173 a' 84 ^c b' 84 ^a c' 85 d' 82 e' 118 ^a f' 39 ^b g' 54 ^b
10-15 24g ^b 12 27 ^f 13 Gen 7 ³ 14 cp 2 Chron 28 ²³ 15 25 ¹⁸ 16 25 ⁵ 17 Ct 21 ⁸⁷ 18 Cp 9 19 18 35 Judg 21 ¹¹ 20 cp Lev 18 ²² 21 Gen 61 ⁹ 22 20 ¹³ 23 27 ¹² 19 24 Lev 13 ⁴⁰ § 25 Ex 25 ⁴ 26 32 ⁸ 1 Chron 19 ⁷ 27 Ezek 22 ¹⁸ 20 28 27 ¹² ct Is 120 ^f		25 And Yahweh "spake unto Moses, saying, 26 "Take the sum of the "prey that was taken, "both of man and of beast, thou, and "Eleazar the priest, and the 'heads of the fathers' [houses] of the 'congregation: 27 and divide the "prey into two parts; between the men 'skilled in war', that 'went out to 'battle, and all the 'congregation: 28 and "levy a 'tribute unto Yahweh of the men of war that went out to battle: one 'soul of five hundred, [both] of the persons, and of the beeves, and of the asses, and of the flocks: 29 "take it of their "half, and give it unto "Eleazar the priest, for Yahweh's "heave offering. 30 And of the children of Israel's "half, thou shalt take one "drawn out of every fifty, of the persons, of the beeves, of the asses, and of the flocks, [even] of all the 'cattle, and give them unto the Levites, which "keep the "charge of the "Dwelling of Yahweh. 31 And Moses and "Eleazar the priest did 'as Yahweh commanded Moses. 32 Now the "prey, over and above the booty which the 'men of 'war took, was six hundred thousand and seventy thousand and five thousand sheep, 33 and threescore and twelve thousand beeves, 34 and threescore and one thousand asses, 35 and thirty and two thousand 'persons in all, of the women that had not known man by 'lying with him. 36 And the "half, which was the portion of them that went out 'to war, was in number three hundred thousand and thirty thousand and seven thousand and five hundred sheep: 37 and Yahweh's 'tribute of the sheep was six hundred and threescore and fifteen. 38 And the beeves were thirty and six thousand; of which Yahweh's 'tribute was threescore and twelve. 39 And the asses were thirty thousand and five hundred; of which Yahweh's 'tribute was threescore and one. 40 And the persons were sixteen thousand; of whom Yahweh's 'tribute was thirty and two persons. 41 And Moses gave the 'tribute, which was Yahweh's "heave offering, unto "Eleazar the priest, 'as Yahweh commanded Moses. 42 And of the children of Israel's "half, which Moses divided off from the men that 'warred, 43 (now the 'congregation's "half was three hundred thousand and thirty thousand, seven thousand and five hundred sheep, 44 and thirty and six thousand beeves, 45 and thirty thousand and five hundred asses, 46 and sixteen thousand 'persons;) 47 even of the children of Israel's "half, Moses took one "drawn out of every fifty, both	
29 19 ⁷			
30 5 [†] cp Jer 2 ⁸ 31 Ct 13 § 4 ³ 32 27 [†] cp Ex 12 ⁴ 33 §			
34 m' 47 1 Chron 24 ⁶ 35 n' 47 153			
36 d' =people of the host† ct 28			
37 p' 43 5 [†] 38 q' § Deut 24 ⁵			

31^{16a} § 107, the same word as in 5; probably a corruption of the text for ל'ח, cp Dillm, *NIV* 191.

10^b This reference may be an editorial insertion (Dillm).

23 M Or, impurity.—Cp 19⁸ 13 20.

29 § ye shall take. The unexpected plural interrupts the sequence of the singular, 'levy' 28, 'and give' 29: the clause seems needless, and may be a later editorial amplification, cp 23 (so Dillm).

	JE P ^a	P ^a	P ^a
		of man and of beast, and gave them unto the Levites, which "kept the 'charge of the "Dwelling of Yahweh; 'as Yahweh commanded Moses. 48 And the 'officers which were over the thousands of the host, the captains of thousands, and the captains of hundreds, came near unto Moses: 49 and they said unto Moses, Thy 'servants have "taken the sum of the men of war which are under our 'charge, and there 'lacketh not one man of us. 50 And we have 'brought Yahweh's 'oblation, what every man hath gotten, of jewels of gold, "ankle chains, and "bracelets, "signet-rings, "earrings, and "armlets, to 'make atonement for our souls before Yahweh. 51 And Moses and "Eleazar the priest took the gold of them, even all wrought jewels. 52 And all the gold of the 'heave offering that they 'offered up to Yahweh, of the captains of thousands, and of the captains of hundreds, was sixteen thousand seven hundred and fifty shekels. 53 ("For) the 'men of 'war had taken booty, every man for himself.) 54 And Moses and "Eleazar the priest took the gold of the 'captains of thousands and of hundreds", and brought it into the tent of meeting, for a 'memorial for the children of Israel before Yahweh.	
r' Cp 273 s' S=hand 428 2 Sam 10 ¹⁰ 182 t' Judg 213 u' 2 Sam 10 ¹⁴ r' Gen 24 ²² w' Ex 35 ²² x' Ezek 16 ¹²			
y' Ct 28 32 42 S			
z' 1 Chron 13 ¹⁴			
a 259 b 258 c 2124 32			
d 273 e 231 f 118 Num 2654 g 312 S=battle h 9 306 S ct Dent 128 i 269c j 222 k 344 Dent 119 ct 1328b l 1318a			
		32 ¹ "Now the children of "Reuben and the children of Gad had a very 'great multitude of 'cattle: and when they saw the land of 'Jazer, and the land of Gilead, that, behold, the place was a place for 'cattle; 2 the children of Gad and the children of Reuben came and 'spake unto Moses, and to 'Eleazar the priest, and unto the 'princes of the 'congregation, saying, 3 Ataroth, and Dibon, and Jazer, and "Nimrah, and Heshbon, and Elealeh, and "Sebam, and Nebo, and "Beon, 4 the land which Yahweh "smote before the 'congregation of Israel, is a land for 'cattle, and thy 'servants have cattle. 5 And they said, If we have 'found grace in thy sight, let this land 'be given unto thy 'servants for a 'possession; bring us not over Jordan. 6 And Moses said unto the children of Gad and to the children of Reuben, Shall your brethren 'go to the war", and shall ye sit here? 7 "And where- fore 'discourage ye the heart of the children of Israel from going over into the 'land which Yahweh hath given them? 8 'Thus did your fathers, when I sent them from "Kadesh-barnea to 'see the land. 9 For when they went	h' 118a j' 118b j' 25a k' 112a a 185a b 123b c 131 d 45a e 127b

31⁵⁰ M Or, necklaces.—Ex 35²²†.

⁵³ M See 32.—The absence of any syntactical combination (S adds and) makes it possible that this also is an annotator's addition cp 29 (so Dillm).

32^{1a} The narrative of the settlement of the tribes of Reuben and Gad (and the half tribe of Manasseh) 1-32 presents many conflicting phenomena. There is consequently considerable diversity of critical opinion, and similar indeterminateness of result (for recent discussions cp Bacon and Addis). The assignment of the East Jordan territories to Gad, Reuben, and half Manasseh, is recognized by P Num 34¹⁴, and by D Deut 3¹²⁻²⁰, and it may be fairly assumed that their statements are based upon some earlier account. Such an account might naturally be sought in Num 32, where there are many marks of the style of J. But it becomes plain on closer examination that even the passages which display most affinity with J are in close (if not indissoluble) connexion with words otherwise peculiar to P cp 4. 18. &c. The evidence of this is exhibited in the margins, where occasional points of contact are also indicated with P^a in 31, cp 'go to the war' 6, 'be armed (arm themselves)' 17, 'flocks' and 'cattle' 28 (ct 1 24 4p) cp 31². In 7-15 the sequence of 6 and 18 is interrupted by a hortatory digression chiefly founded on passages in Num 14, and showing indications of acquaintance with both its elements J and P, together with touches from D. The signs of duality of source seem further confirmed by slight variations of detail. The order of the names Reuben and Gad changes in 2. The list of cities built by Gad and Reuben 34-38 does not quite accord with the enumeration in 4, and neither, again, agrees with Josh 13¹⁵. 24... The gift which is conditional in 20. 23..., is apparently made unreservedly in 33. Yet the phraseology of 33 is not without characteristics of P in its latter clauses, while the unexpected occurrence of the Deuteronomistic שבט 'tribe' (instead of P's usual נחל) has its counterpart in the narrative in Josh 22. On the whole, therefore, it seems impossible to separate the element of J from that

of a writer in the school of P, and the narrative 1-32 is accordingly ascribed to P^a who may be supposed to have freely worked up earlier materials of J and P. Under these circumstances it does not seem needful to assign 7-15 to a still later hand. The secondary and reflective character of the narrative is clear throughout, as (1) in the representation that the cities were built anew, implying their total previous destruction, whereas the older view described the Israelites as entering into cities which they had not builded Deut 6¹⁰; (2) in the careful explanation 32 that the old idolatrous names were changed; (3) in the religious character of the march 'before Yahweh' 20... (cp 4) contrasted with the customary expression 'before the children of Israel' 17 Deut 3¹⁹ Josh 1⁴; and (4) in the prominence given to Eleazar the priest 28, to whom (with Joshua and the heads of the fathers) the ultimate decision is referred. In the sequel however Josh 13¹⁵... Eleazar and Joshua claim no share in the Trans-jordanic settlement, which is regarded as the work of Moses alone cp 33.

15 In the order of enumeration Reuben here stands first, as the elder (cp Gen 35²³). But in the rest of the story 2. Gad takes precedence. In Sam, however, the priority of Reuben is maintained throughout, while in S Gad takes the lead 2 6 33. It does not seem possible amid these variations to employ the difference as a clue to diversity of sources.

34 M In 36 Beth-nimrah.

35 M In 38 Sibmah.

36 M In 38 Baal-meon.

4 This phrase, repeatedly used of the divine action by the plagues in Egypt, is not employed elsewhere for conquest. Cp 30.

7 In this section, founded on Num 14, there are points of contact both in matter and form with J P and D (see the margins). But it does not seem necessary to separate it from the rest of the narrative: thus the imperfects in 7⁷ 15 reappear in 20 23.

JE P'	P'	P'
m 13 ²³	up unto the "valley of Eshcol, and 'saw the land, they 'discouraged the	
n 26 ¹	heart of the children of Israel, that they should "not go into the 'land	
o 22 ³³	which Yahweh had given them. ¹⁰ And Yahweh's 'anger was kindled in	
p 24 ²⁴	that 'day, and he 'sware, saying, ¹¹ Surely none of the men that came up	
q 14 ²¹ 28 cp	out of Egypt, from 'twenty years 'old and 'upward, shall see the land	f 119
r 22 ¹⁷	which I 'sware unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob; because they	g 162 ^b
s 14 ²⁹	have not 'wholly followed me: ¹² "save 'Caleb the son of Jephunneh the	
t 15 14 ²⁴	"Kenizzite, and Joshua the son of Nun: because they have 'wholly followed	
u 23 ⁸	Yahweh. ¹³ And Yahweh's 'anger was kindled against Israel, and he	h 70
v 14 ³⁰	made them 'wander to and fro in the wilderness 'forty years, until all the	
w 14 ³⁰ 14	generation, that had 'done evil in the sight of Yahweh, was 'consumed.	
x Cp 14 ^{33N}	¹⁴ And, behold, ye are risen up in your fathers' stead, an "increase of sinful	
y 14 ³³	men, to 'augment yet the "fierce anger of Yahweh toward Israel. ¹⁵ For	
z 27 ^b	if ye 'turn away from after him, he will "yet again leave them in the	
aa 14 cp Lev	wilderness; and ye shall 'destroy all this people. ¹⁶ "And they "came near	
ab 25 ³⁶	unto him, and said, We will build "sheepfolds here for our 'cattle, and	
ac 14 cp Is 30 ¹	cities for our 'little ones: ¹⁷ but we ourselves will 'be "ready armed to go	
ad Jer 7 ²¹	before the children of Israel, 'until we have 'brought them unto their	
ae 25 ⁴	"place: and our 'little ones shall dwell in the "fenced cities because of	
af 14 ⁴⁸ Josh 22 ¹¹	the inhabitants of the land. ¹⁸ We will not return unto our houses, until	
ag 22 ³³	the children of Israel have 'inherited every man his inheritance. ¹⁹ For	i 96 ^b
ah 1 Sam 23 ¹⁰	we will not 'inherit with them "on the other side Jordan, "and forward;	j 96 ^a
ai Gen 44 ¹⁸	because our inheritance is fallen to us on this side Jordan "eastward.	
aj 24 36 15	²⁰ And Moses said unto them, If ye will do this thing; if ye will 'arm	
ak 1 Sam 24 ³	yourselves to "go 'before Yahweh to the war, ²¹ and every armed man	
al 17 24 26 25 ²	of you will pass over Jordan "before Yahweh, until he hath 'driven out	
am 30 31 ³ Niph ¹	his enemies from before him, ²² and the land be "subdued 'before Yahweh:	
an Gen 28 ¹⁵ 15	then afterward ye shall return, and be "guiltless towards Yahweh, and	
ao Ex 23 ²⁰	towards Israel; and this land shall 'be unto you for a 'possession before	k 27
ap 26 ⁵	Yahweh. ²³ But if ye will not do so, behold, ye have sinned against	
aq 26 ⁵ Josh 10 ²⁰	Yahweh: and be sure your sin will find you out. ²⁴ Build you cities for	
ar 10 ³⁵ (29) cp	your 'little ones, and "folds for your sheep; and do that which hath	
as Num 13 ¹⁹	'proceeded out of your mouth. ²⁵ And the children of Gad and the children	
at Cp 32 35 ¹⁴ 2 ^{ab}	of Reuben 'spake unto Moses, saying, Thy 'servants will do as my "lord	
au Lev 22 ²⁷	commandeth. ²⁶ Our 'little ones, our wives, our "flocks, and all our	
av 24 ¹⁵ Josh 12 ¹	"cattle, shall be there in the cities of Gilead: ²⁷ but thy 'servants will pass	
aw 21 27 29 32	over, every man that is "armed for 'war, "before Yahweh to battle, as my	i 92 ^a
ax Josh 4 ¹³ et 17	"lord saith.	
ay 39 15 = dia-	²⁸ So Moses gave charge concerning them to 'Eleazar the priest, and to	
az possess 21 ⁸	Joshua the son of Nun, and to the "heads of the fathers' [houses] of the	m 24 ^a
ba 23 ⁵² Ex 34 ²⁴	"tribes of the children of Israel. ²⁹ And Moses said unto them, If the	n 165
bb 29 Gen 12 ⁶	children of Gad and the children of Reuben will pass with you over Jordan,	
bc Josh 18 ¹	every man that is "armed to battle, "before Yahweh, and the land shall	
bd Cp Gen 24 ⁴¹	be 'subdued before you; then ye shall give them the land of Gilead for	
	a 'possession: ³⁰ but if they will not pass over with you armed, they shall	
	"have possessions "among you in the 'land of Canaan. ³¹ And the children	
	of Gad and the children of Reuben answered, saying, As Yahweh hath	
	said unto thy 'servants, so will we do. ³² We will pass over armed "before	
	Yahweh into the 'land of Canaan, and the "possession of our inheritance	
	[shall remain] with us beyond Jordan. ³³ "And "Moses gave unto them, even	
ra 30 ³		
rb 25 ⁶		
rc 31 ⁹ 15 et 1		
rd 31 ⁵		
re Josh 13 ¹³ .		

³² Many critics have regarded this as the junction with a fresh narrative which has been assigned to E. But the proposal in ¹⁶ must clearly have some antecedent. The remonstrance in ⁶ is sufficient to explain it. The approach of the speakers to Moses with further suggestion in the middle of the interview resembles the approach of Judah to Joseph Gen 44¹⁸.

¹⁷ For the peculiar form לְיָמֵינוּ Knobel-Dillm propose לְיָמֵינוּ 'armed' Ex 13¹⁸ E, Josh 14⁴¹. This reading would lend slightly additional linguistic weight to the ascription of ¹⁶ to E.

But it can also be equally well explained on the hypothesis of familiarity with the language of earlier documents.

²⁶ The word 'flocks' is the same as that translated 'cattle' 14¹⁶. For the peculiar combination לְיָמֵינוּ and לְיָמֵינוּ cp 31⁹.

³³ This verse is probably a harmonistic addition cp 34¹⁴ Dent 31². Josh 13¹⁶. The preceding narrative did not mention the half tribe of Manasseh, which is here included under D's term לְיָמֵינוּ as in Josh 22⁹. In 34-35 which forms the natural sequence to ³¹, the permission granted in ²⁴ is carried into effect.

J E P	P	P
a ^m Josh 22 ⁹ 5 cp D119	to the children of Gad, and to the children of Reuben, and unto the half ^a tribe of Manasseh the son of Joseph, the kingdom of Sihon king of the Amorites, and the kingdom of Og king of Bashan, the land, ^a according to the cities thereof with [their] ^b borders, even the cities of the land round about. ³⁴ And the children of Gad built Dibon, and Ataroth, and Aroer; ³⁵ and Atroth-shophan, and Jazer, and Jogbehah; ³⁶ and Beth-nimrah, and Beth-haran: ^a fenced cities, and ^b folds for sheep. ³⁷ And the children of Reuben built Heshbon, and Elealeh, and Kiriathaim; ³⁸ and Nebo, and Baal-meon, (their names ^a being changed,) and Sibmah: and gave other names unto the cities which they builded.	r 18b
c ^m 2132 d ^m Deut 315 e ^m Deut 314 f ^m 2132	³⁹ ^a And the children of Machir the son of Manasseh went to Gilead, and ^c took it, and ^a dispossessed the ^c Amorites which were therein. ⁴⁰ ^a And ^d Moses gave Gilead unto Machir the son of Manasseh; and he dwelt therein. ⁴¹ And ^c Jair the son of Manasseh went and ^f took the towns thereof, and called them ^a Havvoth-jair. ⁴² And Nobah went and ^f took Kenath, and the ^a villages thereof, and called it Nobah, after his own name.	
a 428 b 5 ^a	³⁹ ^a These are the ^a journeys of the children of Israel, ^a when they went forth out of the land of Egypt ^b by their hosts ^a under the hand of Moses and Aaron. ² And Moses wrote their ^b goings out ^a according to their journeys ^a by the commandment of Yahweh: and these are their journeys ^a according to their goings out. ³ And they journeyed from ^c Rameses in the ^d first month, on the fifteenth day of the first month; on the ^e morrow after the passover the children of Israel went out with an ^f high hand in the sight of all the Egyptians, ⁴ while the Egyptians were burying all their firstborn, which Yahweh had smitten among them: upon their ^g gods also Yahweh executed ^a judgements. ⁵ And the children of Israel journeyed from ^c Rameses, and pitched in ^a Succoth. ⁶ And they journeyed from Succoth, and pitched in ^a Etham, which is in the edge of the wilderness. ⁷ And they journeyed from Etham, and ^a turned back unto ^d Pi-hahiroth, which is ^e before ^f Baal-zephon: and they pitched before ^a Migdol. ⁸ And they journeyed from ^a before Hahiroth, and passed through the ^b midst of the sea into the wilderness: and they went ^c three days' journey in the wilderness ^d of Etham, and pitched in ^a Marah. ⁹ And they journeyed from Marah, and came unto ^a Elim: and in Elim were twelve springs of water, and threescore and ten palm trees; and they pitched there. ¹⁰ And they journeyed from Elim, and ^a pitched by the Red Sea. ¹¹ And they journeyed from the Red Sea,	a 188a b 18f c 19c d 183 e 99 f 64
k Ex 1422 l Ex 1522 m Ex 1523 n Ex 1527		

32³⁸ This phrase is exposed to some grammatical difficulty. The same participle recurs only in Ex 28¹¹ 30¹³ Ezek 4¹² with the meaning 'encompassed,' 'surrounded,' 'enclosed.' The Greek versions seem to have understood the cities to be 'walled,' and omit 'their names.' Dillm strikes out the words as a late gloss of apology for the idolatrous names Nebo and Baal-meon (or, if מִשְׁכָּנָה be read as a singular, for the latter only).

³⁹ The preceding narrative implies that the conquest of Gilead has been already effected ¹⁻⁴. The description of its subjugation by Manassite clans must therefore be derived from another source. It has some analogy with the account of the western settlement in Judges; now usually assigned to J. For a brief statement of theories concerning its relation to other traditions, cp G A Smith, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land* 577 n. See further Josh 17¹⁴¹⁸.

⁴⁰ The difference of terminology ('Machir' for 'B'nê Machir') and the interruption of the sequence between ³⁹ and ⁴¹ indicated by the phrase 'took their [ie the Amorites ³⁹] towns,' suggest that ⁴⁰ is a harmonizer's addition cp Deut 3¹⁶ prior to P who regards Machir as Manasseh's only son ²⁶, and who did not intend to locate the whole tribe east of the Jordan.

⁴¹ **M** That is, *The towns of Jair*.—For another tradition about the name cp Judges 10⁴. ⁴² **M** *5 daughters*.—Cp 21²⁵.

33¹ The itinerary of the Israelites' march 1-49 is admitted on all hands to belong to the group of P. But to what section of it? The answer depends on the relation assumed between some of its heterogeneous materials. Thus the references to Marah and Elim ⁸, to Kibroth-hattaavah and Hazeroth ¹⁶, and the Canaanite ⁴⁰, are derived from J, while Rephidim ¹⁴ seems traceable to E. P may of course have had its own itinerary in which these stages may have been named; but the stylistic

correspondences with specific passages in JE are here unmistakable. Are these references to be treated as the additions of a later editor, or are they integral parts of the document as conceived by its compiler? Nöldeke's observation that the total number of forty stations was probably adjusted to the tradition of forty years of wandering, has inclined many critics to the belief that the series has not reached its present form through casual incorporation, but has been deliberately arranged. In that case it displays a usage of previous sources analogous to that already noted in 32, and must be assigned to the same group P². Its place in the midst of similar documents, and its addition of fresh touches ('while the Egyptians were burying their firstborn' ¹, and the age of Aaron ², to say nothing of the unknown names ¹⁸⁻²⁰), tend to confirm this conclusion, which is not impaired by the difficulty of reconciling some of the data e.g. 11 31-33 ³ with other passages. As with 32, its dependence on J seems closer than on E. A hint of foundation on an earlier source may be preserved in ².

^{1b} M Or, *stages*. ^{1c} M Or, *by which*.
^{8a} Sam Onk 6 & 9 and even some 5 MSS read 'Pi-bahiroth.'

^{5b} Ex 15:22 has *Shur*. Dillm conjectures that *Etham* may be an equivalent of *Shur*, in which case ^{5b} ^{5a} would be original P, otherwise the passage must be treated as a compiler's insertion. It is, however, possible that *Etham* is a very late scribal addition or correction; (G^a) omits it, though (G^a)^{ADARL} add αὐτοί, as though G had αὐτοί.

¹⁰ This encampment is not recognized in Ex 16¹, and the source of the statement is obscure. Is it an inference from Ex 15²², and did it (as Dillm hints) follow ²³, so that the references to Marah and Elim are later insertions? Or is it one of the casual elements added to make up forty?

JE P¹P¹P¹

1' 5†
 s' Josh 23^{12†} cp
 Ezek 28²⁴
 1' 25¹⁷
 11' 5* cp Is 14²⁴
 1-29 14u⁷
 11 28² cp Lev 24²

l 12 32³³
 c Josh 15⁶ Ezek
 47¹⁵ .
 d Josh 15² .
 e Josh 15³ Judg
 138†
 f 32⁸
 g Josh 15⁴
 h Josh 15^{47*}
 i Kings 86⁵ al
 ct Gen 15¹⁸

i 5† cp 10
 j 13²¹
 k Ezek 47^{16†}
 l †
 m Ezek 47¹⁷ 48^{1†}
 n Ct 11⁴ 34 Deut
 5¹⁸ Hithpa^{*}
 o 5† ct 5
 p Josh 13²⁷

q Cp Ezek 47²²

r 17. Josh 19⁴⁹

inheritance: wheresoever the lot falleth to any man, that shall be his; 'according to the tribes of your fathers shall ye 'inherit. ⁵⁵ But if ye will not 'drive out the inhabitants of the land from before you; then shall those which ye let remain of them be as 'pricks in your eyes, and as 'thorns in your sides, and they shall 'vex you in the land wherein ye dwell. ⁵⁶ And it shall come to pass, that as I 'thought to do unto them, so will I do unto you.

34¹ ¹² And Yahweh 'spake unto Moses, saying, ² 'Command the children of Israel, and say unto them, When ye come into the land 'of Canaan, ('this is the land that shall fall unto you for an inheritance, even the 'land of Canaan 'according to the 'borders thereof,) ³ then your south 'quarter shall be from the wilderness of 'Zin along by the side of Edom, and your 'south border shall be from the end of the Salt Sea eastward: ⁴ and your border shall 'turn about southward of the 'ascent of Akrabbim, and pass along to Zin: and the 'goings out thereof shall be southward of 'Kadesh-barnea; and it shall go forth to Hazar-addar, and pass along to 'Azmon: ⁵ and the border shall turn about from Azmon unto the 'brook of Egypt, and the 'goings out thereof shall be at the sea. ⁶ And for the western border, ye shall have the great sea 'and the border [thereof]: this shall be your west border. ⁷ And this shall be your north border: from the great sea ye shall 'mark out for you mount Hor: ⁸ from mount Hor ye shall 'mark out unto the 'entering in of Hamath; and the goings out of the border shall be at 'Zedad: ⁹ and the border shall go forth to 'Ziphron, and the goings out thereof shall be at 'Hazar-enan: this shall be your north border. ¹⁰ And ye shall 'mark out your east border from Hazar-enan to 'Shepham: ¹¹ and the border shall go down from Shepham to 'Riblah, on the east side of Ain; and the border shall go down, and shall reach unto the 'side of the 'sea of Chinnereth eastward: ¹² and the border shall go down to Jordan, and the goings out thereof shall be at the Salt Sea: this shall be your land 'according to the 'borders thereof round about. ¹³ And Moses commanded the children of Israel, saying, 'This is the land which ye shall 'inherit by 'lot, which Yahweh hath commanded to give unto the nine 'tribes, and to the half 'tribe: ¹⁴ for the 'tribe of the children of Reuben 'according to their 'fathers' houses, and the 'tribe of the children of Gad according to their fathers' houses, have received, 'and the half 'tribe of Manasseh have received, their inheritance: ¹⁵ the two 'tribes and the half 'tribe have received their inheritance 'beyond the Jordan at Jericho 'eastward, toward the sunrising^{*}.

¹⁶ And Yahweh 'spake unto Moses, saying, ¹⁷ 'These are the names of the men which shall 'divide the land unto you for inheritance: 'Eleazar

34¹ The preparatory arrangements for the occupation of the land of Canaan are here continued, but they are of such a character as to render it doubtful whether they were included in the original P. The sketch of the boundaries in 1-16 specifies some places unmentioned in the survey in Joshua, two of them being named elsewhere only by Esekial. Moreover it is not apparent why such a careful delimitation was necessary for the Western country while the East remains undefined; nor is it clear how Moses should be familiar with localities which he had never seen. The appointment of tribal leaders to supervise the distribution seems to be imitated from the census in 1 (though with a different formula), but unlike other arrangements in P founded on a divine command, it does not seem to have been carried out. For instance, in 13 the exploring mission of twelve tribal representatives is prescribed, but the choice of the individuals to compose it is left to Moses, who immediately proceeds to their selection and dispatch. Here the official distributors are designated by Yahweh, but nothing is said of any consequent appointment by Moses; their future escape from the vicissitudes of conquest is assumed, yet when the time for action arrives they seem to be merged in the general group of 'heads of fathers' houses' cp Josh 14¹ 19⁵¹. Moreover JE supplies an entirely different picture, according to which at Joshua's instance seven tribes elect three deputies each to survey and divide the remaining territory Josh 18².. In view

of these circumstances, and of the general character of the group of chapters following the announcement of Moses' death 27¹²⁻²³, it seems likely that these two sections also may be of a secondary character, designed to trace back to Moses every possible provision for the settlement. The reference in Josh 14², however, unless it be a later editorial addition, indicates the presence in P¹ of some general instructions attributed to Moses which may have been elaborated by P¹, as in the case of the first census. The repetitions in 14. and the plural address to Moses in 17. (cp 5³ 35¹⁵) seem more in harmony with the manner of the expander; and the designations in 14 'children of the Reubenites' and 'children of the Gadites' are unique, though 'families of the Reubenites' occurs 26⁷.

² 5 implies that the name 'Canaan' is an explanatory gloss. Sam reads פְּנִי for פְּנִי.

⁶ M Or, for a border. ¹¹ M 5 shoulder.—Cp Josh 15⁸.

¹⁴ Dillm, in accordance with his theory of the priority of P, supposes the half tribe of Manasseh to be inserted here by B⁴, but P's usual term for 'tribe' is employed, though the tribal designations are not uniform in style.

¹⁷ It should be noted that in P's account of the distribution of the tribal territories Josh 14¹. 19⁵¹ the princes here designated to aid them in the task 16-29 are totally ignored. Is this a later attempt at precision, just as Eusebius could tell the names of the Seventy disciples of Luke 10¹?

JE P ¹	P ¹	P ¹
i 15 ³⁵	of iron, so that he died, he is a manslayer: the manslayer shall 'surely be put to death. ¹⁷ And if he smote him with a stone in the hand, whereby a man may die, and he died, he is a manslayer: the manslayer shall 'surely be put to death. ¹⁸ Or if he smote him with a weapon of wood in the hand, whereby a man may die, and he died, he is a manslayer: the manslayer shall 'surely be put to death. ¹⁹ The 'avenger of blood shall himself put the manslayer to death: when he meeteth him, he shall put him to death. ²⁰ And if he thrust him of hatred, or hurled at him, 'lying in wait, so that he died; ²¹ or in enmity smote him with his hand, that he died: he that smote him shall surely be put to death; he is a manslayer: the avenger of blood shall put the manslayer to death, when he meeteth him. ²² But if he thrust him 'suddenly without enmity, or hurled upon him any thing without 'lying in wait, ²³ or with any stone, whereby a man may die, seeing him not, and cast it upon him, so that he died, and he was not his enemy, neither sought his harm: ²⁴ 'then the 'congregation shall judge between the smiter and the 'avenger of blood according to these judgements: ²⁵ and the 'congregation shall deliver the manslayer out of the hand of the 'avenger of blood, and the 'congregation shall restore him to his city of 'refuge, whither he was fled: and he shall dwell therein until the death of the 'high priest, which was 'anointed with the 'holy 'oil. ²⁶ But if the manslayer shall at any time go beyond the border of his city of 'refuge, whither he fleeth; ²⁷ and the avenger of blood find him without the border of his city of refuge, and the avenger of blood slay the manslayer; 'he shall not be guilty of blood: ²⁸ because he should have remained in his city of refuge until the death of the 'high priest: but after the death of the high priest the manslayer shall return into the land of his 'possession. ²⁹ And these things shall 'be for a "statute of judgement" unto you 'throughout your generations in all your 'dwellings. ³⁰ 'Whoso killeth any 'person, the manslayer shall be slain at the mouth of witnesses: but one witness shall not testify against any 'person that he die. ³¹ Moreover ye shall take no 'ransom for the life of a manslayer, which is guilty of death: but he shall surely be put to death. ³² And ye shall take no 'ransom for him that is fled to his city of refuge, that he should come again to dwell in the land, until the death of the priest. ³³ So ye shall not 'pollute the land wherein ye are: for blood, it polluteth the land: and no 'expiation can be made for the land for the blood that is shed therein, but by the blood of him that shed it. ³⁴ And thou shalt not 'defile the 'land which ye inhabit, in the 'midst of which "I 'dwell: for "I Yahweh dwell in the midst of the children of Israel.	n 23 o 29
j 22 5†		
k 69*		
24-28 L4bc 11b†		
l Lev 21 ¹⁰ Josh 20 ² 2 Kings 22 ⁴ 23 ⁴ m Cp Ex 30 ²⁸		
n 271†		p 76b
30 L4fi		q 55*
o Cp Ex 21 ³⁰		
p 5* Jer 3 ²		r 25*
q Lev 18 ²⁵		s 107*
r Ex 29 ⁴⁵		t 22
1-12 L3g†		u 94*
a 26 ²⁹		v 54*
b 256		a 24
c Ex 34 ³⁴		b 65
d 271		c 131
e D112		d 96*
f 274		e 106
g Lev 25 ¹⁰		f 165

35²⁷ M. Or, there shall be no blood-guiltiness for him.

36¹ The principle which assured inheritance in land to daughters in the absence of a son, exposed the tribe to the danger that marriage might convey the heiress' property to another tribe. The law in 36 provides against this contingency,

and is plainly dependent on 27¹⁻¹¹. It therefore belongs to the same secondary group. The phraseology is not without marks of departure from the linguistic standards of P, cp 2 'my lord,' 3 'tribe' שבט (this single occurrence might be accidental but for similar indications elsewhere e.g. 32³³), 6 'possess' ירש cp 21¹¹.

	JE	P ¹	P ¹	P ¹	
a 27 ⁴			<p>"according to the word of Yahweh, saying, The 'tribe of the sons of Joseph speaketh 'right. ⁶ ^bThis is the thing which Yahweh doth command concerning the daughters of Zelophehad, saying, Let them 'marry to whom they think best; only to the ^bfamily of the 'tribe of their father shall they 'marry. ⁷ So shall no inheritance of the children of Israel remove from 'tribe to tribe: for the children of Israel shall cleave every one to the inheritance of the tribe of his fathers. ⁸ And every daughter, that 'possesseth an inheritance in any 'tribe of the children of Israel, shall 'be wife unto one of the family of the tribe of her father, that the children of Israel may 'possess every man the inheritance of his fathers. ⁹ So shall no inheritance remove from one 'tribe to another tribe; for the tribes of the children of Israel shall cleave every one to his own inheritance. ¹⁰ Even 'as Yahweh commanded Moses, so did the daughters of Zelophehad: ¹¹ for Mahlah, Tirzah, and Hoglah, and Milcah, and Noah, the daughters of Zelophehad, 'were married unto their father's brothers' sons. ¹² They 'were married into the families of the sons of Manasseh the son of Joseph, and their inheritance remained in the 'tribe of the family of their father.</p>	g 19 ^c h 188 ^b i 27	
i 27 ¹¹ 11					
j Cp Lev 26 ⁴⁶ 27 ³⁴			<p>¹³ ^{ab}These are the 'commandments and the judgements, which Yahweh commanded by the 'hand of Moses unto the children of Israel in the 'plains of Moab by the Jordan at Jericho.</p>	j 189 ^c k 180 ^a l 2 ^a	

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	JE D ^c	D	D ^c P	
a Cp 4 ⁴⁴ 61 121 29 ¹ 188		1 ¹ ^{aa} These be the words which Moses spake unto 'all Israel ^b beyond Jordan in the wilderness, in the ^a Arabah over against ^a Suph, between Paran, and Tophel, and Laban, and Hazeroth, and Di-zahab. ² It is eleven days'		a 2 ^a b 21

36¹³ Addis infers from the resemblance of this verse to Lev 27³⁴ that they were severally added when the present arrangement of the books was adopted, to provide appropriate conclusions.

The book of Deuteronomy is plainly discriminated both in style and contents from the preceding books. Taken as a whole its language shows the most marked differences compared with the laws and other utterances ascribed to Moses after the conquest of the East Jordan territory Num 26-36 'in the plains of Moab' Num 26³⁶ 36¹³ Deut 34¹ (cp *Introd* VI 27 i 41). It is also separated by many characteristic features from the narratives of JE and the earlier legislation at Sinai-Horeb (cp *Introd* IX i 2). Traces of P and also of J and E may, indeed, be discovered in it, for the process of welding the documents together naturally led to the admission of some elements from them into the framework of D's great discourses. Apart from these passages, most of which may be eliminated without serious difficulty, the main contents of D (as now arranged) may be distributed in four unequal divisions: (I) an introductory discourse, chiefly consisting of historical retrospect 1-4⁴⁰; (II) exhortations in illustration of the fundamental principles of the Horeb-covenant (the Ten Words), and of the nature of Yahweh's dealings with Israel 5-11, preceded by a brief preface defining the time and place 4⁴⁴⁻⁴⁹; (III) the Statutes and Judgements constituting the Law to be observed in Canaan 12-26; (IV) final injunctions, promises, and warnings (including two poems, a Song 32, and a Blessing 33), arrangements for the preservation of the Book of the Law and for the succession of Joshua to the leadership of Israel, terminating with the record of Moses' death 27-34. Closer examination, however, will show

that these sections are by no means always homogeneous with each other or with themselves. The critical problems arising out of the attempt to trace the steps by which the materials now combined in D fell into their present locations under the supervision of successive editors, are of unusual intricacy. In almost every case several possibilities seem to be open, and the decision between different alternatives can only reach varying degrees of probability. These difficulties of internal relation, however, rarely (if ever) arise in the comparison of D with JE or P. The marks of the thought and language of the great Deuteronomic school are unmistakable within the limits of the book itself².

1^{1a} The opening discourse in 1¹⁻⁴ (5-40) is introduced by a reference to the time and place of the delivery of the exposition of the Law 1-5. The elements of this preface are mixed. The phraseology of 1^{1a} agrees with that of D, but the geographical details that follow cannot be harmonized with other statements. In 3²⁹ 4⁴⁶ the Israelites are in the 'valley' over against Beth-peor. This is not usually included in the 'wilderness' between Horeb, South Canaan, and the Red Sea 1¹⁹ 2¹, or east of Moab 2^{ab}. Moreover some of the places specified are only known elsewhere in connexion with the wanderings in the desert (cp Driver *in loc*), while others are not known at all. The reference in 2 to the length of march from Horeb to Kadesh-barnea, which the Israelites had left thirty-eight years before 2¹⁴, seems unrelated to the context. The passage must be regarded as an item of a lost itinerary, it is not in the style of the stages in Num 21¹², or Deut 10⁶.

1^{1b} M. That is, the deep valley running North and South of the Dead Sea.

1^{1c} M. Some ancient versions have, *the Red Sea*.

* The proposals which have been recently made by different scholars to distribute the discourses chiefly on the basis of the use of the singular or the plural in the address to the nation (cp Steuernagel, *Der Rahmen des Deuteronomiums* 1894, *Die Entstehung des Deuteronomischen Gesetzes* 1896, *Das Deuteronomium* (Hdtkomm) 1898, Staerk, *Das Deuteronomium* 1894; Naumann, *Das Deuteronomium* 1897) have not commended themselves to the judgement of the present annotator (whose notes were written before Steuernagel's *Commentary* appeared). The divergence of their results is not in itself a sufficient proof of the inadequacy of their method. Of the three writers just named, Steuernagel has carried the analysis through with the most thoroughness, and the editors are indebted

	JE D ^e	D	D ^e P
b 19 214 q23 Josh 1041 14 ⁶		[journey] from 'Horeb by the way of mount Seir unto ^b Kadesh-barnea. ³ "And it came to pass in the ^d fortieth year, in the ^e eleventh month, on the first day of the month, that Moses spake unto the children of Israel, according unto all that Yahweh had given him in commandment unto them; ⁴ after he had smitten 'Sihon the king of the Amorites, which dwelt in Heshbon, and ^d Og the king of Bashan, which dwelt in Ashtaroth, at Edrei: ⁵ ^b beyond Jordan, in the land of Moab, began Moses to 'declare this 'law, saying, ⁶ "Yahweh 'our God 'spake unto us in 'Horeb, saying, Ye have dwelt 'long enough in this mountain: ⁷ ^h turn you, and take your journey ^a , and go to the 'hill country of the Amorites, and unto all [the places] nigh thereunto, in the 'Arabah, in the hill country, and in the	c 7 d 183 e 757 f 70 ^a g 1 ^a h 113 i 3 ^b j 6
c Num 21:21. Deut 3 ²			
d Num 21:33. Deut 31.			
e 27 ⁸ 5 Hab 22 ⁴			
f Cp 218 ^a			
g 23 328 Num 16 ^a			
7 5 ^a			
h 40 Num 14 ²⁵			
take your journey = get you 5			

¹³ A fragment of P is here traced securely by means of the date and the peculiar expression for 'eleven' (differing from that in ²). Its insertion is due to the editor who united D with the chronological scheme of P (cp *Introd* XVI 3). The language of ⁴ harmonizes with that of ³¹ ², and it does not seem necessary to regard it as supplemental (Steuernagel), while 'this law' ⁵ points forward to the Code cp 70.

⁶ At this point the writer opens the historical review assigned to Moses as the fitting introduction to the great Exposition. This terminates at ³², and reasons will be subsequently offered for regarding the greater part of the discourse which follows, ⁴¹⁻⁴⁰, as transposed from another cycle. A number of questions concerning it immediately arise, e.g. (1) Is it complete? (2) What are its sources? (3) Was this its original form? (4) Was it composed by the author of the Code? (1) The first question has been answered in the negative by some recent critics who propose (with Horst, *RHR* xvi 35) to attach to its beginning the recital inserted at ⁹ ², or (with Bacon, *Triple Trad* 249) suggest that ¹⁰⁻¹¹ originally stood there, as portions of a still longer retrospect: on these theories see ¹⁰⁻¹¹. (2) The sources of the retrospect will be found in the narrative of JE now combined with P in Ex Num. The reference to a document itself composite suggests, however, a further inquiry. Did the writer employ J and E separately, or in union? He appears to lean decidedly on E, for he uses the name Horeb for the sacred mountain ¹⁵ ¹⁹; he designates the population of the

highlands of Canaan as Amorites ¹⁷ ¹⁹ ²⁷ ⁴⁴; he relates the institution of the judges ¹⁹ ² cp Ex ¹⁸ ¹⁵ ², and the journey of the spies to Eshcol ¹²⁴ cp Num ¹³ ²². But the allusions to J are no less clear, cp the oath to the patriarchs ⁸ cp Gen ¹⁵ ¹⁸, the mention of the fenced cities ¹²⁴ cp Num ¹³ ²⁸ (with the sons of the Anakim), the promise to Caleb ¹²⁶ cp Num ¹⁴ ²⁴ (Joshua not being included). Further, the description of Israel as like 'the stars of heaven for multitude' ¹³⁰ rests on the promise related by E¹⁰ in Gen ²² ¹⁷, showing that even if (with Dillm) we suppose D to have known E still as a separate document, he had also studied the combined form JE. But the diversities of detail, e.g. the omission in ¹⁹⁻¹⁸ of all reference to Jethro Ex ¹⁸ ¹⁴ and the combination of passages from Num ¹¹, the popular initiative in the dispatch of the spies ¹²² (of their dependence on Moses Num ¹³ ²⁷), the discrepancy between ²⁴⁻⁸ and Num ²⁰ ¹⁴⁻²¹ (though Driver, but not Dillm, supposes them to refer to different incidents), show that the traditional material was freely handled in the composition of the discourse. If the conjecture of Kuen concerning the original place of the Book of Judgements be allowed, cp Ex ²⁰ ²², it may be further surmised (with Bacon) that the whole idea of the retrospect, and the special affinities which may be traced with E, are due to the prior existence of a similar review prefixed to the older code which stood where Deut ¹²⁻²⁶ is now placed, at the end of the wanderings, on the eve of entry into the promised land. A striking analogy to such a farewell on the part of Moses is

to the pioneer essays of Staerk and himself for many valuable suggestions. The process through which Steuernagel conceives D to have come to its present form, is exceedingly complicated, and it is difficult to do justice to it in a brief notice. This complexity is not necessarily an argument against a critical theory, for it is justly observed by Addis (*Hex* ii 18) that simplicity is not always a recommendation. Starting with the homilies 5-11 and the code 12-26, he endeavours to distinguish their sources thus. In 5-11 he finds two documents combined, one employing the singular pronoun in address to Israel (Sg), the other the plural (Pl). Two collections of laws may also be discovered in 12-26 which belong respectively to the two bodies of introductory discourses Sg and Pl. Behind each of these lie numerous smaller groups, Pl being composed partly of fundamental cultus-law, together with an 'elders' collection, an 'abomination' collection, and a collection of cases of war; while Sg is built up on a prior basis of cultus-law, with family and humanitarian legislation, and materials from other independent sources. The fundamental cultus-laws are supposed to have existed in separate drafts from the reign of Hezekiah. They underwent a double redaction, by incorporation into Sg about 650, and Pl about 670. Sg and Pl were then united about 650, the compiler prefixing the retrospect in 1-4¹: and this product then underwent prolonged expansion at the hand of successive redactors and copyists, who are made responsible for continuous hortatory additions throughout the work, amounting to nearly one-sixth of the whole. So elaborate a theory hardly admits of proof; large portions of it can only rest upon conjecture. That the code in 12-26 has been compiled from various sources may be not only readily conceded but emphatically affirmed cp ¹² ¹³. But the distribution into two documents corresponding to Sg and Pl seems somewhat hazardous. (1) It does not rise naturally out of the phenomena of the text. Of the actual plural passages in 12-26 enumerated ¹² ²⁸ Steuernagel allots only ²² ²⁴ to Pl; ¹⁰ ¹⁹ is corrected to Sg; and the rest are ascribed to the nameless copyists. The laws assigned to Pl in 13-26 are now couched (with the exception of ²² ²⁴) in the singular, so that the criterion appears to break down; a redaction in favour of Sg being invoked of which the text shows no assignable traces. The view of the present editors concerning the plural passages in the Code will be found in the notes ¹² and onwards. (2) The case of the Homilies is somewhat different. The general ascription of 5-11 to the same hands which produced the Code is not inconsistent with the suggestion that they were not all written at once, or simultaneously with the laws (cp *Introd* X 5a i 95). But it is certainly incompatible with the theory that they were combined out of two homiletic groups, a singular and a plural respectively. For this partition no other adequate criteria either of matter or style seem available, for many of the instances cited in Steuernagel's very careful table of words pp xxxiii-xli can hardly be said to bear definitely one way or the other. Moreover, it is reasonable to suppose that the homilies would exhibit a greater range of variation than the laws; such transitions are characteristic of the preacher's style. Thus Jeremiah 2-4 passes repeatedly from the second to the third person and back again, and uses each in both numbers: yet it would hardly be proposed to divide his discourses on this basis. It may also be asked how far the diversities in (5) throw any doubt on the stability of the Massoretic text. In 5-7 there are more than thirty variations in person and number; the first person changes into the second and the second into the first: the sing in 5 appears as pl in 6, and the pl 6 turns out sing in 7. These differences may be variously explained, but until they have been more carefully examined the distinction hardly supplies a satisfactory basis for distributing the text among Sg and Pl authors, the harmonising editor, and his train of hortatory followers.—In a series of articles in the *Expositor*, beginning 1898 5th series viii 241 (after the Introduction to this work had been sent to press), Prof G L Robinson has sought to maintain the Mosaic authorship of Deut. Impressed, however, by some of the phenomena which lie at the basis of the critical hypotheses, he suggests that 'the orations contained in the Book of Deuteronomy were spoken twice, once in Moab, and once on the way between Horeb and Kadesh-barnea' (*Expositor* May 1899 358). Thus he is able to explain the implied contrast of ⁵ and ²⁴, and the repeated introduction ⁴⁴⁻⁴⁹ cp ¹⁻⁸. He can even accept Steuernagel's theory of separate addresses in the sing and pl; the pl being suitable to Moses in the wilderness addressing Israel as a prophet might speak to the individual units of his own generation, and the sg when as an old man in Moab sixty years senior to the nation he conceived it as a whole (*Ibid* 362). This ingenious combination of traditional apologetics with an advanced critical method is probably unique.

JE D'	D	D' P
i 1:24 Josh 14 Gen 15:18 et E: 23 ³¹	lowland, and in the South, and by the sea shore, "the land of the Canaanites, and Lebanon, as far as the 'great river, the river Euphrates. 8 "Behold, I have 'set the land before you: "go in and possess the land "which Yahweh sware unto your fathers, to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, to give unto them and to their 'seed after them. 9 'And I spake unto you at that 'time, saying, 'I am not able to bear you myself alone: 10 Yahweh your God 'hath multiplied you, and, behold, ye are this day as the 'stars of heaven for multitude. 11 'Yahweh, the God of your fathers, make you a thousand times so many more as ye are, and 'bless you, as he hath 'promised you! 12 'How can I myself alone bear your "cumbrance, and your "burden, and your strife? 13 "Take you 'wise men, and understand- ing", and known, "according to your tribes, and I will make them 'heads over you. 14 And ye answered me, and said, The thing which thou hast spoken is good [for us] to do. 15 So I took the 'heads of your tribes, wise men, and known, and 'made them 'heads over you, 'captains of thousands, and captains of hundreds, and captains of fifties, and captains of tens, and	k 99 l 100 ^a m 53 n 107 ^a o 110 p 81 q 1 ^b r 22 ^a s 91 t 65 u 113 ^b v 57
j 10:15 11:9 9 17 L4 ^a k Num 11:14 l 10:22 28:2 cp Gen 15:6 22:17 m Is 1:14† n Num 11:17 o Ct Ex 18:21.. p Cp 4 ^b Gen 41:23 39 ^a q Ex 18:25 r 9 = rulers Ex 18:25		

found in the address of Joshua after the completion of the conquest Josh 24, unanimously ascribed to E (apart from the additions of R^d). In that case, the survey in Deut 1^a-3 was prefixed to the code in imitation of its predecessor, which it not unnaturally largely absorbed into itself. This suggestion offers a plausible reason for the occasional preponderance of E elements.

(3) But from another side it has been suggested by Dillm (*NDJ* 229) that the recital was not originally cast in the first person; it was part of a larger narrative which has been converted into speech, the compiler finding it resemble too closely the story of JE in Num beside which it was placed before its union with P. The difference between the summary of events in 1-3 and the glowing exhortations of 4¹⁻⁴⁰, the oratorical inappropriateness of the archaeological notes scattered through 2 and 3, and the curious relation between 31¹ and 32^a, are offered as grounds for this hypothesis. It might further be supported by the undoubted specimens of similar conversion in 9^b 10¹.. But the variation between 1-3 and 4¹⁻⁴⁰ can be explained on other considerations (see 4¹²): the annotator's additions may be easily sifted out from 2 and 3: and though the proposal provides an intelligible cause for the abrupt beginning of 31¹, it is not necessary to resort to so elaborate a device (cp 31¹⁷).

(4) Lastly, it cannot be affirmed with any confidence that the discourse proceeds from the author (or authors) of the Code. The hortatory element so conspicuous at least in 12-18 26 is almost absent here; yet the mingling of historical retrospect with homiletic address in 5-11 (more closely associated with the Code) shows that if the preacher could employ illustrations from the traditions, the narrator might have been expected in his turn (on the assumption of common authorship) to display a warmer religious glow. The discussion is a difficult one, and turns on delicate shades of difference in thought and expression. Among the most conspicuous phenomena are the following:—(i) Separate titles 1¹⁻⁵ and 4¹⁵⁻¹⁹ are prefixed to the two groups of discourse 1^a-3 (4¹⁻⁴⁰) and 5-11. It does not seem likely that the same author would have composed both. The existence of independent prefaces implies that the discourses were also independent, and originally stood as introductions to distinct editions of the Code (Cornill, *Einleitung* § 9 6, designates them as the historic and parnetic elements of D, symbolized as D^a and D^b). It is conceivable that the compiler of the Code might himself have prefixed one or the other to his collection of laws: it is less probable that he would have attached both of them. Now of the two, 5-11 is much closer both in spirit and form to the legislative core in 12-18 than 1^a-3. (ii) A marked difference is believed to exist between the two introductions concerning the persons addressed. In 1^a the wanderings are represented as a punishment on the generation of the Exodus for their refusal to march up and take possession of the country at once; and according to 2¹⁴⁻¹⁶ all the fighting men (and the contemporary women must be included) perished in the wilderness. But in 5³ it is declared that the covenant at Horeb was not made with the dead, but with those then alive and listening, and the identity of the people in Moab with the bondmen in Egypt forty years before appears to be asserted in the most

express terms 11^a-7 'Your eyes have seen all the great work of Yahweh.' On the other hand the constant address to Israel as 'thou' implies a moral continuity in the nation which seems to many critics a sufficient explanation of the confusion of the generations. (iii) With this difference is associated another. According to 1-2 the wanderings are a punishment for a specific act of disobedience. In 8² they are a part of the divine discipline for proving whether Israel would obey or not; they have, in other words, a far-reaching educational design. These two aspects may be capable of reconciliation, but they are at least presented with striking variations of emphasis. (iv) A difficulty arises concerning the behaviour of Ammon. In 23³ the Ammonites are reproached for not having aided Israel with food and drink. But in 27⁷ it is expressly stated that the Israelites never went near them. What opportunity had they, then, of showing their unfriendliness? The author of 23³ can hardly have written the historic survey in 1^a-3 (on the authenticity of 23¹⁻⁸ cp 23¹⁷). (v) Some linguistic phenomena may also be named. The word 'possession' (נָחַל) occurs in 2⁵ 9 12 19 30, but not in 5-26, though the corresponding verb is employed repeatedly; it reappears in D^a in Josh 1¹⁵ 12^a. In 17 19 27 44 (3⁹) the name Amorite is applied to the inhabitants of the central highlands of Canaan without reference to the 'seven nations' of 7¹ cp 20¹⁷. The phrase 'at that time' recurs ten times in 1-3 (three times in possibly cognate passages 9²⁰ 10¹ 5), elsewhere only in 5³; 'declare' 1¹⁰ cp 27²⁶; 'fear not, neither be dismayed' 12¹ 31⁸ Josh 1⁹ 81 10²⁴; 'contend' 2⁵ 9 19 24^a; 'this Jordan' 27 31⁸ Josh 1² 11 42²² cp Gen 32¹⁰; 'children of Esau which dwell in Seir' 24 8 22 29 et 23⁷. On the other hand it may be argued that some of these expressions would not naturally be repeated, though it is surprising that 'besought' 3²³, 'mighty acts' 3²⁸, 'was wroth' 3²⁸, 'for your sakes' (נָפַח) with pronom suff) 3²⁸, should not have occasion to appear again. But besides a large portion of the vocabulary of D tabulated in vol i, the margins certainly show a considerable amount of phraseology of less frequent use common to 1-3 and 5-26 (see the parallels to 12 17 19 27-29 31 43 25 7 30 32^a). The evidence will be differently estimated according to varieties of antecedent expectation. Those who have been convinced of the highly composite character of other portions of the great documentary collections, e.g. the Levitical legislation, will have less difficulty in admitting a similar possibility in the case of D. Driver, after full discussion (*Deut* lxxvii-lxxiii), decides in favour of unity of authorship.

17 Interpreters differ whether the 'land of the Canaanites' sums up all the items previously named, or applies only to the strip of coast. In the former case it seems in conflict with the location of the Amorites in the central highlands. Under any interpretation the definite instruction to the Israelites to occupy the entire country from the Mediterranean to the Euphrates is not given on the same plane with the prophetic promises of 11²⁴ Gen 15¹⁴ Josh 1⁴. The passage may well be due to later expansion.

8 The imperative 'see' is in the singular as always in this formula 99 except in Josh 23²¹. Sam (9) plural.

* A somewhat similar retrospect may be found in 1 Sam 12 (E², Budde); and another in Judg 11:15-27 (EJ², Moore).

JE D'	D	D' P
16 2 ²⁸ 1	"officers, "according to your tribes. 16 1 And I charged your 'judges at that 'time, saying, Hear [the causes] between your 'brethren, and judge 'righteously between a man and his brother, and the stranger that is with him. 17 Ye shall not 'respect persons in judgement; ye shall hear the 'small and the great' alike; ye shall not be 'afraid of the face of man; for the judgement is God's: and the cause that is too 'hard for you ye shall bring unto me, and I will hear it. 18 And I commanded you at that 'time all the things which I ye should do.	w 83 x 67 y 25
a 1618	19 And we journeyed from 'Horeb, and went through all that 'great and terrible wilderness which ye saw, by the way to the 'hill country of the 'Amorites, "as Yahweh our God commanded us; and we came to 'Kadesh-barnea. 20 And I said unto you, Ye are come unto the 'hill country of the Amorites, "which Yahweh our God giveth unto us. 21 "Behold, Yahweh thy God hath 'set the land before thee: 'go up, take possession, as 'Yahweh, the God of thy fathers, hath "spoken "unto thee; 'fear not, neither be dismayed. 22 And ye came near unto me every one of you, and said, Let us send men before us, that they may 'search the land for us, and 'bring us word again of the way by which we must go up, and the cities unto which we shall come. 23 And the thing pleased me well: and I took "twelve men of you, one man for every 'tribe: 24 and they "turned and 'went up into the mountain, and came unto the valley of 'Eshcol, and "spied it out. 25 And they took of the 'fruit of the land in their hands, and brought it down unto us, and 'brought us word again, and said, It is a 'good land "which Yahweh our God giveth unto us. 26 Yet ye "would not go up, but 'rebelled against the commandment of Yahweh your God: 27 and ye "murmured in your tents, and said, Because Yahweh "hated us, he hath "brought us forth out of the land of Egypt, 'to deliver us into the hand of the "Amorites, "to destroy us. 28 Whither are we going up? our brethren have made our "heart to "melt, saying, The people is 'greater and taller than we; the cities are 'great and 'fenced up to heaven', and moreover we have 'seen the sons of the "Anakim there. 29 Then I said unto you, "Dread not, neither be afraid of them. 30 Yahweh your God who "goeth before you, he shall 'fight for you, according to 'all that he did for you in Egypt "before your eyes; 31 "and in the wilderness, where thou hast seen how that Yahweh thy God "bare thee, as a man doth bear his "son, in all the "way that ye went, "until ye came unto this place. 32 Yet "in this thing ye did not "believe Yahweh your God, 33 who "went before you in the way, to "seek you out a place to pitch your tents in, in fire by night, to shew you by what way ye should go, and in the cloud by day. 34 And Yahweh heard the voice of your words, and was wroth, and sware, saying, 35 'Surely there shall not one of these men "of this evil generation see the 'good land, which I "sware to give unto "your fathers, 36 "save Caleb the son of Jephunneh, he shall see it; and to him will I give the land that he hath 'trodden upon, and to his children: because he hath "wholly followed Yahweh. 37 "Also Yahweh was "angry with me for your sakes, saying, Thou also shalt not go in thither: 38 Joshua the son of Nun, which "standeth before thee, he shall go in thither: "encourage thou him; for he shall "cause Israel to inherit it. 39 "Moreover your little ones, which ye said should	z 55 ^a a' 29 ^a b' 69 ^c c' 54 d' 91 e' 64 ^c f' 44 ^c g' 112 ^a h' 69 ^b i' 117 j' 94 k' 28 ^b l' 52 m' 8 ^a n' 34 o' 3 p' 44 ^d q' 45 r' 12 s' 43 ^a t' 111 u' 18 v' 106 ^c w' 65
t 1619 Prov 24 ²³ 2821 ^f u Cp Ex 18 ²² v 18 ²² cp 32 ²⁷ w Num 22 ³⁸ x Ex 18 ²⁶		
x Cp Num 13 ^{9b}		
y Josh 2 ² z Num 13 ^{9b}		
a' Num 13 ³ b' Num 13 ^{17c} c' Num 13 ²⁸ d' Josh 14 ⁷ cp 32 ¹² e' Num 13 ²⁰ 23		
f' Ps 106 ²⁵ cp 1s 29 ²⁴ c' Num 14 ² g' 9 ²⁸ cp 44 ^a		
h' 20 ⁸ Josh 211 ⁵¹ i' 7 ⁵ j' 210 21 93 k' Num 13 ²⁸ l' 91 ⁴ cp 35 28 ²² Num 13 ²⁸ Josh 14 ¹³ m' Cp Num 13 ²⁸ n' 33 20 ⁴ 31 ⁶ Ex 13 ²¹ Num 14 ¹⁴ o' Cp Ex 10 ⁴ Num 11 ¹⁵ p' Cp 85 q' 83 Josh 24 ¹⁷ r' 97 11 ⁵ cp 26 ⁹ 297 s' Num 14 ¹¹ t' Num 10 ³³ u' Num 14 ²³ v' 41 ¹² Josh 11 ¹⁵		
v' Josh 14 ⁸ 14 Num 14 ²⁴ 32 ¹¹ a' w' Cp 10 ⁸ 17 ¹² ct Ex 24 ¹³		

121 As the main body of this discourse is conceived in the second person plural, the unexpected entrance of the singular here indicates to Steuernagel the activity of an annotator. The plurals in (9) are no doubt harmonistic. It may be added that the formulae differ slightly from those in 8: cp especially 8 'go in and possess the land' with 21 'go up, possess.'

31 The loose connexion here suggests that the text may have been expanded by another hand (or possibly by the same hand at another time), incorporating a reference to the divine care manifested in the subsequent wanderings, 'this place' meaning the Trans-jordanic encampment as in 9' 11⁵ 29' cp 26⁹. For the figure cp Ex 19⁴ Deut 32¹¹. In 33 the phrase 'who went before you' seems to be caught up from 30 'he goeth before you': for the word 'to seek out' cp Num 10³³: the reading of (9) 'to lead you' instead of 'to pitch your tents in' (involving the trans-

position of a letter) perhaps indicates further dependence on Ex 13²¹.

32 M Or, for all this thing.
32^a Probably a gloss; the words are omitted in (9), and are not represented in Num 14²², on which the passage is founded; they sound like a reminiscence of such passages as Num 14²⁷ 35 32¹².

32^b (9) 'their fathers.'

37 Another explanatory addition, cp 32²⁸, breaking the connexion resumed in 30^b with 'but your children.' Nothing is said of this in Num 14. It would seem that the death of Moses before the passage of the Jordan came to be regarded as the penalty for some offence, and there was great difficulty in connecting it with any specific occasion. The matter is not cleared up even by P Num 20¹².

39 These words do not occur in (9) and have probably been incorporated by a late editor from Num 14²¹ (cp 2⁹).

	JE D'	D	D' P
x' \oint = get you Num 14 ²⁵		be a prey, and your children, which this day have no knowledge of good or evil, they shall ^m go in thither, and unto them will I give it, and they shall possess it. ⁴⁰ *But as for you, ⁿ turn you, and ⁿ 'take your journey into the wilderness by the way to the Red Sea. ⁴¹ Then ye answered and said unto me, We have ^v 'sinned against Yahweh, we will go up and fight, according to all that Yahweh our God ^v 'commanded us. And ye girded on every man his weapons of war, and ^w 'were forward to go up into the mountain. ⁴² And Yahweh said unto me, Say unto them, ^w 'Go not up, neither fight; for I am not ^v 'among you; lest ye be smitten before your enemies. ⁴³ So I spake unto you, and ye hearkened not; but ye ^v 'rebelled against the ^w 'commandment of Yahweh, and were ^v 'presumptuous, and went up into the mountain. ⁴⁴ And the ^m 'Amorites, which dwelt in that mountain, came out against you, and chased you, as bees do, and ^w 'beat you down in Seir, even unto Hormah. ⁴⁵ And ye returned and wept before Yahweh; but Yahweh ^w 'hearkened not to your voice, nor ^w 'gave ear unto you. ⁴⁶ *So ye abode in ^w 'Kadesh many days, ^v 'according unto the days that ye abode [there].	
y' Num 14 ⁴⁰			x' 29 ^a
z' Num 14 ⁴²			y' 78 ^a
a'' Num 14 ⁴¹ b'' 17 ¹³ 18 ²⁰ Ex 21 ¹⁴ *			
c'' Num 14 ⁴⁵			
d'' Cp Ex 15 ²⁸			
e'' Num 20 ¹			
f'' Cp 9 ²⁵ 29 ¹⁵ \oint			
a Cp 140 Num 21 ⁴		2 ¹ Then we ^w 'turned, and took our journey into the wilderness by the ^w 'way to the Red Sea, as Yahweh spake unto me: and we compassed mount Seir many days. ² And Yahweh spake unto me, saying, ³ Ye have compassed this mountain ^v 'long enough: ^v 'turn you northward. ⁴ And command thou the people, saying, Ye are to ^v 'pass through the border of your brethren the ^v 'children of Esau, which dwell in Seir; and they shall be afraid of you: ^v 'take ye good heed unto yourselves therefore: ⁵ ^v 'contend not with them; for I will not give you of their land, no, not so much as for the ^v 'sole of the foot to tread on ^v : because I have given mount Seir unto Esau for a ^v 'possession. ⁶ Ye shall ^v 'purchase food of them for money, that ye may eat; and ye shall also buy water of them for money, that ye may drink. ⁷ *For ^v 'Yahweh thy God hath ^v 'blessed thee in all the ^v 'work of thy hand: he hath known thy walking through this great wilderness: ^v 'these forty years Yahweh thy God hath been with thee; thou hast ^v 'lacked nothing. ⁸ So we passed by from our brethren the children of Esau, which dwell in Seir, from the way of the Arabah from Elath and from Ezion-geber.	a 113
b 1 ⁶			
c Ct Num 20 ¹⁴⁻²¹			
d 8 22 29 cp 23 ⁷			
e 9 19 24 ^a			b 108 ^b
f 11 ²⁴ Josh 1 ³ cp 14 ⁹			
g Ct Num 20 ¹⁹			c 88 ^a
A 82 ⁴ cp 29 ⁵			d 1 ^a
i 8 ⁹			e 20 ^a
			f 119
j Num 21 ¹¹		And we ^w 'turned and passed by the way of the ^v 'wilderness of Moab. ⁹ And Yahweh said unto me, ^w 'Vex not Moab, neither ^v 'contend with them in battle: for I will not give thee of his land for a ^v 'possession; because I have given ^v 'Ar unto the children of ^m 'Lot for a ^v 'possession. (¹⁰ *The ^m 'Emim dwelt therein aforetime, a people ^v 'great, and tall ^v , as the ^m 'Anakim: ¹¹ these also are accounted ^v 'Rephaim, as the ^m 'Anakim; but the Moabites call them ^m 'Emim. ¹² The ^m 'Horites also dwelt in Seir aforetime, but the children of Esau ^v 'succeeded them; and they ^v 'destroyed them from before them, and dwelt in their stead; as Israel did unto the ^v 'land of his ^v 'possession, which Yahweh gave unto them.) ¹³ Now ^v 'rise up, ^v 'and get you over the ^v 'brook Zered. And we went over the brook Zered. ¹⁴ And the days in which we came from Kadesh-barnea, until we were come over the brook Zered, were thirty and eight years; until all the generation of the ^v 'men of war were ^v 'consumed from the midst of the camp, as Yahweh ^v 'swore unto them. ¹⁵ *Moreover the	
k 19 Ex 23 ²²			
l 18 29 Num 21 ¹⁵ 22			
m 19 Gen 10 ³⁷			g 4
n Gen 14 ⁶			h 5
o 20 cp 13 ⁶			
p 22 Gen 14 ⁶ 36 ²⁰⁻⁷			i 34 ^a
q 21 \oint = possessed cp 9 ¹ 11 ²⁵ al 88			j 69 ^c
r 24 cp 18 ¹² 8			
s \oint = valley Num 21 ¹²			k 77
			l 46
			m 107 ^b

¹⁰ This verse has been sometimes regarded as a subsequent insertion derived from Num 14²⁵. The derivation is unmistakable, but the verse may be needed at this point to explain 2¹.

⁴¹ M Or, deemed it a light thing.— \oint .

⁴⁶ On the chronological difficulty see Dillm and Driver in loc. The statement seems to be an attempt at harmonizing different traditions of the sojourn at Kadesh. The parallel in 9²⁵ where the peculiar phrase stands at a junction of earlier and later materials, points to a similar view concerning the present passage.

²⁷ This verse is perhaps due to an annotator who desires to explain the ability of the Israelites to purchase the necessary food and drink from the children of Esau. It represents their wealth as due to the successful prosecution of agriculture cp 14²⁹ 16¹⁵ 24¹⁹ 28¹²; but it forgets that the wanderings with their diet of manna were intended as a season of humiliation and

trial 8², not of accumulation and thrift. The sudden change from the plural to the singular, and the return to the plural in ⁸ should be noted.

⁹ The command here addressed to Moses is really as the parallels show ⁵ 18. 24. designed for Israel and not for Moses personally. The use of the singular here and in 18. 24^b 25 is in unexpected contrast with the plurals in 18 24^a: but in view of the language of 27. it seems perfectly natural, and it does not appear necessary to attribute these passages to another hand.

¹⁰ The antiquarian notes in this and succeeding passages 20-23 ²⁹ 11 are evidently not parts of the original narrative. Whether they were inserted by the author or by a later hand is doubtful.

¹¹ M See Gen 14⁵.

¹² Sam (S) add 'and take your journey' as in 24.

¹⁵ An explanatory addition (marked by the frequent particle of insertion \oint) to emphasize the cause of the complete destruc-

	JE D ^c	D	D ^c P
t. \S = <i>discomfit</i> 7 ²³ Ex 14 ²⁴		hand of Yahweh was against them, to 'destroy them from the midst of the camp, until they were 'consumed.	
u 9 ¹ cp 11 ³¹ r 3 ²⁹ 4 ⁴⁶ 11 ³⁰ 34 ⁶		16 So it came to pass, when all the 'men of war were 'consumed and dead from among the people, 17 that Yahweh spake unto me, saying, 18 "Thou art this day to pass over Ar, the border of Moab: 19 "and when thou comest nigh 'over against the children of Ammon, 'vex them not, nor 'contend with them: for I will not give thee of the land of the children of Ammon for a 'possession: because I have given it unto the children of Lot for a 'possession. (20 That also is accounted a land of 'Rephaim: 'Rephaim dwelt therein aforetime; but the Ammonites call them 'Zamzumim; 21 a people 'great, and many, and tall, as the 'Anakim; but Yahweh 'destroyed them before them; and they 'succeeded them, and dwelt in their stead: 22 as he did for the 'children of Esau, which dwell in Seir, when he 'destroyed the Horites from before them; and they 'succeeded them, and dwelt in their stead even unto this 'day: 23 and the 'Avvim which dwelt in villages as far as Gaza, the Caphtorim, which came forth out of 'Caphtor, 'destroyed them, and dwelt in their stead.) 24 'Rise ye up, take your journey, and pass over the valley of 'Arnon: 'behold, I have 'given unto thine hand Sihon the Amorite, king of Heshbon, and his land: 'begin to 'possess it, and 'contend with him in battle. 25 This day will I 'begin to put the 'dread of thee and the fear of thee upon the 'peoples that are under the whole heaven', who shall 'hear the report of thee, and shall tremble, and be in anguish because of thee.	n 99 o 5a
w 3 ¹⁴ cp 33 ^b x Josh 13 ^{3-†} y Am 9 ⁷ z Num 21 ¹⁵		26 And I 'sent messengers out of the wilderness of Kedemoth unto Sihon king of Heshbon with words of peace, saying, 27 'Let me pass through thy land: I will go 'along by the high way, I will neither 'turn unto the right hand nor to the left. 28 Thou shalt sell me food for 'money, that I may eat; and give me water for money, that I may drink: 'only let me pass through on my 'feet; 29 as the 'children of Esau which dwell in Seir, and the Moabites which dwell in Ar, did unto me; until I shall pass over Jordan into the 'land which Yahweh our God giveth us. 30 But Sihon king of Heshbon 'would not 'let us pass by him: for Yahweh thy God hardened his spirit, and made his heart 'obstinate, that he might 'deliver him into thy hand, 'as at this day. 31 And Yahweh said unto me, "Behold, I have 'begun to 'deliver up Sihon and his land before thee: 'begin to 'possess, that thou mayest 'inherit his land. 32 Then Sihon came out against us, 'he and all his people, unto battle at 'Jahaz. 33 And Yahweh our God 'delivered him up before us; and we 'smote 'him, and his 'sons, and all his people. 34 And we 'took all his cities at that 'time, and 'devoted every 'inhabited city, with the 'women and the little ones; we 'left none remaining: 35 'only the cattle we took for a 'prey unto ourselves, with the 'spoil of the cities which we had taken. 36 From Aroer, which is on the edge of the valley of 'Arnon, and [from] the 'city that is in the valley, even unto Gilead, there was not a city too 'high for us: Yahweh our God 'delivered up all before us: 37 'only to the land of the children of Ammon thou 'camest not near; 'all the side of the 'river Jabbok, and the cities of the hill country, and wheresoever Yahweh our God forbad us.	p 114 ^b q 84 r 69 ^c s 117 t 33 ^a u 100 ^a v 56 w 110 x 35 y 118 z 89 n 103 b' 10
A' Cp 6 i' Num 20 ^{19b}			
j' Ct Num 21 ²³ \S			
k' Num 21 ²³ l' Num 21 ³⁵ m' Num 21 ²⁵			
n' 3 ³ Num 21 ³⁵ Josh 8 ²² cp Deut 20 ¹⁶			
o' Num 21 ²⁴			
p' Josh 13 ⁹			
q' \S *			
r' 19 cp Num 21 ²⁴			
a Num 21 ³³		31 "Then we 'turned, and "went up the way to Bashan: and Og the	a 113

tion of the whole generation. Dillm brackets the entire passage 14b-16. Cp Num 14³³⁻³⁵ 32¹³.

21⁹ The reference in 20 suggests that the narrative may here have been curtailed cp 4-6. It is remarkable, also, later on, that there is no reference to Balaam.

20 Cp Gen 14⁵, Sayce, *Higher Criticism* 160, and Driver, *Deut* 40.

27 M. \S by the way, by the way.

30 M. \S strong.—In the bad sense 15^{7*}, in the good 32^{8*}, cp 10⁶.

33 M. Or, son. 34a So M. T utterly destroyed. Cp 35.

34b M. \S city of men.—3³ cp Judg 20^{8†}.

31 The narrative in 1-17 can hardly have proceeded continuously from one hand, as it bears numerous marks of supplementation, see 8N 14N 16N. The story of the conquest of Og does

not seem to have been part of the original traditions. (1) The only reference to it in Num 21³³⁻³⁵ is generally accepted as an abstract from Deut 31-7. If JE had contained it, why should the narrative have been suppressed in favour of a secondary version? (2) The account in Deut 31-7 has little or no independence; it follows step by step the story of the reduction of Sihon and the Amorites, employing parallel phrases, with slightly heightened detail in 5. But neither Og nor his kingdom is designated as of Amorite origin, and this title is significant in view of the title of Sihon 'king of the Amorites' 32. (3) It may be fairly urged that the summary in Josh 24⁸ does not include the capture of Bashan; and this inference is confirmed by the more detailed retrospect in Judg 11¹³⁻²², where the overthrow of Sihon is mentioned with the statement that 'Israel

JE D ^e	D	D ¹ P
b 2 ³²	king of Bashan ^b came out against us, ^b he and all his people, unto battle at ^e Edrei. ² And Yahweh said unto me, ^d Fear him not: for I have	b 56
c 1 ⁴	^e delivered ^b him, and all his people, and his land, into thy hand; and thou	c 5a
d 22 Josh 10 ⁸	shalt do unto him as thou didst unto ^e Sihon king of the Amorites, which	d 1 ^a
cp 44 ⁵	dwelt at Heshbon. ³ So Yahweh ^d our God ^e delivered into our hand Og	
e 1 ⁴ cp 233.	also, the king of Bashan, and ^b all his people: and we ^s smote him until	
f 233 Num 21 ³⁵	none was ^l left to him remaining. ⁴ And we ^l took all his cities at that	e 110
g 234	^e time; there was not a city which we took not from them; threescore	f 10
h 15: 1 Kings 4 ¹³	cities, ^b all the ^b region of Argob ^b , the kingdom of Og in Bashan. ⁵ All	g 35
i 128	these were cities ^f fenced with high walls, gates, and bars; beside the	
	^u unwalled towns a great many. ⁶ And we ^l devoted them, as we did	h 118
	unto Sihon king of Heshbon, ^l devoting every ^u inhabited city, with the	i 103
	^u women and the little ones. ⁷ But all the cattle, and the ^s spoil of the	j 89
	cities, we took for a ^l prey unto ourselves. ⁸ ^u And we took the land at that	k 3 ^c
j Josh 12 ^{1b}	^e time out of the hand of the ^u two kings of the Amorites that were ^b beyond Jordan,	l 21 ^a
	^f from the valley of Arnon unto mount Hermon; ⁹ (^l which ^l Hermon the Sidonians call	m 3 ^a
k Josh 12 ⁴ 13 ¹²	Sirion, and the ^u Amorites call it Senir;) ¹⁰ all the cities of the ^u plain, and all Gilead,	n 5
	and all Bashan, unto Salecah and Edrei, cities of the kingdom of Og in Bashan. ¹¹ (For	
l 236	only Og king of Bashan remained of the ^u remnant of the ^u Rephaim; behold, his bed-	o 112 ^a
	stead was a bedstead of iron; is it not in Rabbah of the children of Ammon? nine	
	cubits was the length thereof, and four cubits the breadth of it, after the cubit of a man.)	p 33 ^b
m Josh 12 ⁵ 13 ¹¹	¹² And this land we took in possession at that ^e time: ^u from ^l Aroer, which is	
	by the valley of Arnon, and half the hill country of Gilead, and the cities	
	thereof, gave I unto the Reubenites and to the Gadites: ¹³ and the rest	
	of Gilead, and all Bashan, the kingdom of Og, gave I unto the half ^e tribe	
	of Manasseh; ¹⁴ ^u all the ^b region of Argob. (All that Bashan is called the land	
	of ^u Rephaim.) ¹⁴ ^u Jair the son of Manasseh took all the ^b region of Argob, unto the border of the	
	^u Geshurites and the Maacathites; and called them, even Bashan, ^u after his own name, Havvoth-	
	jair, ^u unto this day. ¹⁵ ^u And I gave Gilead unto Machir.	
	¹⁶ ^u And unto the Reubenites and unto the Gadites I gave from Gilead	
	even unto the valley of Arnon, the middle of the valley, ^u and the border	

possessed all the lands of the Amorites' ²¹ but Og and his territory are unnamed. D^e is thus the first to relate this extension of the conquest, and to bestow on the half tribe of Manasseh half Gilead and the kingdom of Og. The distribution specified in 12^{13a} includes the new area, in contrast with 16 which seems to follow straight on 236. It was at a still later stage that Sihon and Og were grouped together as the 'two kings of the Amorites' cp 2³⁴ 4⁷ of 14.

³⁵ M Or, *country towns*.—Cp 5: 1 Sam 6¹⁸ Esth 9¹⁹ (Q'ri).

^{6a} So M. T *utterly destroyed*. Cp 234.

^{6b} M 5 *city of men*.—Cp 234.

⁸ The narrative in 8-17 evidently results from the amalgamation of different statements (see notes on 12¹⁴ 16). After the detailed recital of the conquests of the territories of Sihon and Og, it is not obvious why a fresh summary of the victories over the 'two kings of the Amorites' 8-11 should be appended. This expression seems a later generalization (cp 16^a); in the preceding text Og is not (like Sihon) designated as an Amorite cp 3² 234 14. The kings are described as 'beyond Jordan,' i.e. on the East, implying that the narrator was on the West side. But the phrase is used in 20 25 in its proper dramatic appropriateness in the person of Moses. These verses, therefore, can hardly be from the same hand (but cp Driver, *Deut* xliii). The other passages in which the word occurs in the same meaning cp 21, as well as the description of the 'two kings' cp 3², all belong to the later editorial redaction. It may be also noted that 'took' in 8 14 represents a different 5 compared with 4 234. Whether the archaeological notes in 9 11 are of the same date is not clear cp 10-13 20-23.

¹⁰ M Or, *table land*.—Cp 4⁴³ Josh 13⁹ 16. 21 20⁸.

¹² The allotment of the Trans-jordanic territories to Reuben and Gad is first described in the narrative at the base of Num 32, which has been reproduced under the influence of P. The data in the present passage are conflicting. According to 12, Gilead is divided. Half of it is included in the territory assigned to Reuben and Gad, and half is handed over to the half tribe of Manasseh. But in 15 Moses is represented as giving Gilead to Machir cp Num 32⁴⁰, the children of Machir being afterwards

known as a clan of the tribe of Manasseh. (Num 32³⁹ actually credits them with the conquest over the Amorites, as though the settlement took place from the West of Jordan in the age following Moses. As the half tribe of Manasseh is not mentioned in Num 32¹⁻³², it is probable that the original story contained no allusion to the settlement of the Manasseh clans.) The same writer can hardly have written both 12 and 15.

¹³ So M. T *all the region of Argob, even (M or, with) all Bashan*. (*The same is called &c.*)

^{14a} A further difficulty is raised by 14, which affirms that the region of Argob, handed over to the half tribe of Manasseh in 12, was taken by Jair-ben-Manasseh, who named 'them' Havvoth-Jair. This name, however, according to Num 32⁴¹ belonged to a group of villages in Gilead; while Judg 10⁴, deriving their designation from a later hero, also places them in Gilead. ¹⁴, therefore, proceeds from an attempt 'to harmonize 12 (which mentions Bashan) with Num 32³⁹ 41 (which is silent as to Bashan) by the assumption that the district stated in Num 32⁴¹ to have been conquered by Jair, was in Bashan' (Driver, *Deut* 55).

^{14b} M See Num 32⁴¹.

¹⁵ Derived editorially from Num 32⁴⁰, see 12^a.

^{16a} The description of the gift to the Reubenites and Gadites seems superfluous after 12, and most critics therefore regard it as supplemental. The language of 16, however, is harmonious with that of 236, and it is possible that this sequence represents the older form of the narrative, before the incorporation of the account of Og, for there seems no reason why an editorial expander should thus imperfectly reproduce statements already made. The gift of 16 is simply confined to the limits of Sihon's kingdom: these limits, however, are extended in 17, apparently by an annotator in conformity with Josh 12²⁻³. On the other hand, however, the emphasis conferred on the Reubenites and Gadites by their position at the opening of the verse implies some preceding mention of them: JE must have contained some narrative similar to that which lies at the base of Num 32, which stood between the conquest described in 231-27 and the gift specified in 16.

^{16b} M Or, *for a border*.

JE D ¹	D	D ¹ P
n 237 Josh 12 ² o Cp Josh 12 ³	[thereof]; even unto the river "Jabbok, which is the border of the children of Ammon; ¹⁷ the "Arabab also, and Jordan "and the border [thereof], from Chinnereth even unto the sea of the Arabab, the Salt Sea, under the "slopes of Pisgah "eastward.	q 6 ^a r 8
p Num 32 ¹⁷ .. y 5 sons et Ex 18 ²¹ 'able'	¹⁸ And I commanded "you at that "time, saying, Yahweh your God hath "given you this land to possess it: ye shall pass over "armed before your brethren the children of Israel, 'all the 'men of valour. ¹⁹ 'But "your wives and your little ones, and your cattle, (I know that ye have much cattle,) shall abide in your cities which I have given you; ²⁰ until Yahweh give "rest unto your brethren, as unto you, and they also possess the "land which Yahweh your God giveth them "beyond Jordan: then shall ye return every man unto his "possession, which I have given you.	s 69 ^a t 84 u 98 v 69 ^c w 21 ^b x 88 ^d
r Gen 42 ³¹ s 9 ²⁶ cp Josh 7 ⁷ Gen 15 ² 8 ^a t 2 ²⁵ u Cp Ex 15 ¹¹ v 5 ^a w 135	²¹ "And I commanded Joshua at that "time, saying, 'Thine eyes have seen 'all that Yahweh your God hath done unto these two kings: so shall Yahweh do unto all the kingdoms whither thou goest over. ²² Ye shall not "fear them: for Yahweh your God, he it is that "'fighteth for you.	y 43 ^d z 12 a' 45
x 16 23 5 y 34 ¹ cp Num 21 ²⁰ 23 ¹⁴ z Gen 13 ¹⁴ a' 31 ² Josh 12 ¹¹ 42 ²² cp Gen 32 ¹⁰ b' 31 ³ c' 46 34 ⁶ d' Cp 43 Num 25 ⁵	²³ And I "besought Yahweh at that "time, saying, ²⁴ O "Lord Yahweh, thou hast "begun to shew thy servant thy "greatness, and thy "strong hand: for "what god is there in heaven or in earth, that can do according to thy works, and according to thy "mighty acts"? ²⁵ Let me go over, I pray thee, and "see the good land that is "beyond Jordan, that goodly mountain, and Lebanon. ²⁶ But Yahweh was "wroth with me for your sakes, and hearkened not unto me: and Yahweh said unto me, Let it "suffice thee; speak no more unto me of this matter. ²⁷ Get thee up into the "top of Pisgah, and "lift up thine eyes westward, and northward, and southward, and eastward, and behold with thine eyes: for thou shalt not go over "this Jordan. ²⁸ But "command Joshua, and "encourage him, and strengthen him: for "he shall go over before this people, and he shall "cause them to inherit the land which thou shalt see. ²⁹ So we abode in the "valley over against "Beth-peor.	b' 55 ^c c' 80 ^b d' 106 ^a e' 65 a 2 ^b b 104 ^a c 63 d 71 ^b e 79 f 53 g 69 ^c h 16 i 29 ^b j 82 ^a
a 123 ^a	⁴¹ "And now, "O Israel, hearken unto the "statutes and unto the judgements, which "I "teach you, for to do them; that ye may "live, and "go in and possess the "land which "Yahweh, the God of your fathers, giveth you. ² Ye shall not "add unto the word" which I "command you, neither shall ye "diminish from it, that ye may "keep the commandments	

317^a M. Or, for a border.17^b M. Or, springs.

¹⁸ This appears to refer to an address to the tribes desiring to settle on the east of the Jordan cp Num 32. The circumstances leading to it are not here named. Is this another of the independent elements wrought into the narrative by D, or has his text been curtailed by omission in consequence of editorial manipulations of the previous passage?

²¹ Another of the passages marked by the vague phrase 'at that time.' Its position here has occasioned some perplexity, as there is no previous mention of such a command (e.g. in Num 32), and it appears to anticipate the instruction in ²⁸ 'command Joshua' cp 13⁸ and 31³ 7²². Moreover, is it certain that the exhortation in 21b²² was intended for Joshua? The plural in ²² implies an address to the people: in ²¹ ③ reads 'your eyes,' and 'the Lord our God,' while Sam omits 'your God': in ²² ② renders 'thou shalt not fear them.'

²⁸ ⑤ as in 21. T charge. Ct Num 27¹⁹.

⁴¹ The position of the great discourse in 41⁴⁰ has been much discussed (cp Driver, *Deut* lxix ff) and is not easy to determine. It depends in part on the view which may be taken of the character of 1-3, Dillm's theory of the original narrative-form of the Retrospect (cp 1⁶⁸) involving as its consequence another situation for the exhortation in 41⁴⁰. Even when this view is rejected, there are still peculiar phenomena requiring attention. (1) The tone of historical reminiscence is abandoned (save in 21.) for that of special warning 2. 15. . . Two themes receive forcible illustration, (i) the duty of Israel to cleave to Yahweh alone, and (ii) the divine unity and spirituality. The necessity of allegiance to Yahweh alone is emphasized by a reference to the incident

'in' (rather than 'because of' cp Driver *in loc*) Baal-peor³ supplying a link of attachment to 3²⁹ (did the text of 4³ originally run 'in Beth-peor,' and was it attracted afterwards to 'Baal-peor' by the following clause?). In 1-3, therefore, it is natural to see the hortatory sequel of 1⁴-3²⁹, and the summons to obey the statutes and judgements which are about to be announced¹ seems to point directly to 12. . . But (2) 6 affirms that 'statutes and judgements' to be observed in the land which Israel is about to enter (cp 1) *have been already taught*. Is the same situation implied in these passages? Is not 6 more appropriate to a concluding than to an introductory address? It is, indeed, proposed to explain the perfect by reference to previous statutes and judgements which Moses 'had, as occasion arose, impressed upon his people' (Driver, *in loc*). But they are apparently identified in 6 and 8 with 'all this law,' which elsewhere refers to the whole corpus of D's legislation. It is true that in 8 the phrase 'which I set before you this day' may again place the speaker before rather than after the main recital 12-26 cp 1. 40. But the phrase 'which I command you' 2⁴⁰ is employed with equal ease in the closing scenes in reference to the law which has been already enjoined e.g. 27¹⁰ 28¹³-15 30³ 31¹⁶: it therefore carries with it no precise implication of priority to the actual exposition. Dillm's conjecture that some of the participles in the discourse were originally perfects, which were editorially changed when it was transferred to its present place, seems therefore unnecessary: and the tenses throw no difficulty in the way of the possibility that the main section 5-40 originally stood among the final exhortations. Reasons will be offered hereafter (see 31²⁴) for connecting it with 31²⁴-29.

	JE D ¹	D	D ¹ P
		of Yahweh ⁴ your God which I ¹ command you. ³ ¹ Your eyes have seen what Yahweh ² did because of ¹ Baal-peor: for all the men that ² followed Baal-peor, Yahweh thy God hath ² destroyed them ² from the midst of thee. ⁴ But ye that did ² cleave unto Yahweh your God are ² alive every one of you this day.	k 1 ^a l 43 ^d m 79 n 85 ^b o 34 ^a p 78 ^c q 27
b Num 25 ¹⁻⁵			
c Cp 5 ³			
		. . . ⁵ ² "Behold, I have ² taught you ² statutes and judgements, even ² as Yahweh my God commanded me, that ye should do so in the midst of the land whither ye ² go in to ² possess it. ⁶ ² "Keep therefore and do them; for this is your wisdom and your ² understanding in the ² sight of the peoples, which shall hear all these ² statutes, and say, Surely this great nation is a ² wise and understanding people. ⁷ For what great nation is there, that hath ² a god so ² nigh unto them, as Yahweh our God is ² whensoever we call upon him? ⁸ And what great nation is there, that hath ² statutes and judgements so righteous as all ² this law, which ² I ² set before you this day? ⁹ ² "Only ² take heed to thyself, and ² keep thy soul ¹ diligently, lest thou ² forget the things ² which thine eyes saw, and lest they ² depart from thy heart ² all the days of thy life; but ² make them known unto thy children and thy children's children; ¹⁰ the day that thou stoodest before Yahweh thy God in ² Horeb, when Yahweh said unto me, ² Assemble me the people, and I will make them hear my words, ² that they may ² learn to ² fear me ² all the days that they live upon the earth ¹ , and that they may ² teach their children. ¹¹ And ² ye came near and stood under the mountain; and the ² mountain burned with fire unto the ² heart of heaven, with darkness, ² cloud, and thick darkness. ¹² And Yahweh spake unto you ² out of the midst of the fire: ye heard the voice of words, but ye saw no ² form; ² only [ye heard] a voice. ¹³ And he declared unto you his ² covenant, which he commanded you to perform, even the ten ² commandments; and he ² wrote them upon two tables of stone. ¹⁴ And Yahweh commanded me ² at that time to ² teach	r 90 s 20 ¹ t 88 ¹ u 82 ^a v 43 ^a w 104 ^b
d 5 ³ cp 58			
e 1 ¹³			
f Ps 145 ¹⁸			
g Cp 1 Kings 8 ²²			
A Cp 114 ^b			
i 31 ¹² cp 20 ^c			
j 5 ³ cp 40 62 32 ¹⁶			
Josh 3 ⁷			
k 12 ¹ 31 ¹³ cp 13 ^c			
l 52 ³ 91 ⁵			
m 5 ²³			
n 15. 22 25 5 ³ Rx			
20 ⁴ Num 12 ⁸			
Ps 17 ¹⁵ Job			
41 ⁶ †			
o 13 ⁶			
p 5 ²²			
			x 70 ^a y 100 ^b z 84 a' 108 ^a b' 48 c' 43 ^c d' 13 ^c e' 7 f' 71 ^a g' 44 ^a h' 79 i' 31 j' 110

4⁶ Stress has been already laid on indications of diversity of conception between 1-3 and 5-11. If the exhortation in 4⁵⁻¹⁰ is not to be associated with 1³⁻⁴, can it be attached to the second group of discourses? (1) It is probable that the author was acquainted with the narrative in 5; but he can hardly have been the same writer. He takes the same view 4¹⁰. concerning the identity of the assembly at Horeb with people whom Moses now addresses cp 5³. But the language of 11. adds fresh detail ('burned . . . to the heart of heaven') and emphasizes the main lesson 'ye saw no form.' The stress laid on the subsequent prohibition of any kind of idolatry implies that the command in 5 proved an insufficient safeguard: and it is difficult to suppose that the author of 5 would have himself prefixed to it a description of the same scene, and a series of injunctions so elaborate and detailed as those in 4¹⁰. . . These must, therefore, be regarded as supplemental. The apparent recognition of the legitimacy of the worship of the heavenly bodies for other nations 19, finds no counterpart in 5-26. It shows affinity with the ideas of 32⁹ (J), and suggests an effort to deal with the problem of the validity of other national worships which probably only forced itself on the mind of Israel when it was no longer on its own land. In that case this discourse may be regarded as an early utterance of the exilic polemic against participation in the Babylonian idolatries. The emphatic assertion of the sole deity of Yahweh 35 39 harmonizes with this view (see the parallels below) which is further supported by 27-31. Driver has already treated 29-31 as an interpolation by D² cp Deut lxxvi. It may be doubted whether the loose use of 'for' in 32 can bear the whole weight of this inference; the connexion does not seem improved by a reference back to 28 (for other instances of defective precision cp 11²² 30¹¹ 31²⁰). But this passage resembles others which there is reason to regard as secondary cp 30¹⁻¹⁰, and thus the general conclusion as to the probable date of the whole is strengthened. König, *Eintl* 213¹, suggests that 27-31 may be an insertion. Steuernagel treats 1-28 as pl, 29-40 as sing. (2) The linguistic indications in 5-40 are of two kinds: (i) as the margins show the discourse is steeped in the characteristic phraseology of the Deuteronomistic school; (ii) it contains a number of words and phrases found elsewhere in

D only in the concluding chapters, or belonging usually to P, or corresponding to the later religious vocabulary. Among these the following may be enumerated in their verse order: ⁶ understanding בִּינָה cp 32²⁸: ⁷ what great nation is there cp 2 Sam 7²³: ⁷ a god so nigh cp Ps 145¹⁸: ⁷ whensoever we call upon him cp 1 Kings 8²²: ⁹ keep thy soul¹ cp Prov 13³ 16¹ 19⁸: ⁹ make them known לְהַדְרִיחַ et with accus 8³ Josh 4²³: ¹⁶ figure סֶמֶל Ezek 8³ 2 Chron 33⁷ 15¹ cp Schrader, COT i 146 = Assyrian samulluv: ¹⁶ likeness Ex 25⁴⁰ Josh 22²⁸ pattern¹ P cp 2 Kings 16¹⁰ Ezek 8³ 10¹⁰ Is 41¹³ Ps 106³⁰ 144¹² 1 Chron 28¹¹. 18⁴: ¹⁶ male and female cp 107: ¹⁷ winged fowl Gen 7¹⁴ cp Ezek 17²³ 39⁴ 17 Ps 148¹⁰: ¹⁸ anything that creepeth cp 49: ¹⁸ hath divided cp 20²⁶: ²⁰ the iron furnace Jer 11⁴ 1 Kings 8²¹: ²⁰ a people of inheritance¹ cp 7⁶ 14² 26¹⁸ Jer 10¹⁶ 51¹⁹: ²⁶ beget 28¹ cp 30: ²⁸ shall have been long = 'become old' Lev 13¹¹ 26¹⁰: ²⁸ call heaven and earth to witness 30¹⁹ 31²⁸: ²⁷ scatter 28⁴ 30⁵ cp Jer 9¹⁶ 30¹¹ Ezek 22¹⁵: ²⁷ few Gen 34³⁰ cp Deut 28²² 5: ²⁷ lead you away 28³⁷: ²⁸ wood and stone 28³⁴ 64 29¹⁷ cp Is 37¹⁹ || 2 Kings 19¹⁸ Ezek 20²⁴: ²⁹ seek cp Jer 29¹³: ³⁰ tribulation 5³: ³⁰ come upon thee = 'find thee' 31¹⁷ 21 et 28²: ³⁰ latter days 31²⁹ cp Num 24¹⁴ Gen 49¹ Hos 3⁶ Is 2¹ &c: ³⁰ return 30²: ³¹ sail 31⁶ 8 Josh 1⁶: ³² create cp 48: ³² end of heaven 30⁴ cp Is 13⁵ Ps 10⁶ Neh 1⁹: ³⁴ assayed cp 28²⁶ 5 in different application 8² 16 13³: ³⁶ unto thee it was showed 5 only in Ex 25¹⁰ 26³⁰ Lev 13¹⁹ P: ³⁸ there is none else cp 32³⁹: Is 45²³ 46² Sam 7²²: ³⁷ with his presence ct 51⁵ 62¹ 75²⁶ 26⁸ cp Is 63⁹: ³⁹ lay it to thine heart 5 = 'call them to mind' 30¹ cp 1 Kings 8⁴⁷ Is 44¹⁹ 46⁸ Lam 3⁴¹. The general effect may be said to support the view of the unity of the discourse from 5 to 40 (Cornill, *Eintleitung* 38, divides into 1-5 and 6-40): but further to suggest its affinity with subsequent additions to D, and its occasional contact with the school which produced P.

7 M Or, God.

11a Ct 5²³ 27, where the people only come near to Moses, and desire him to approach the mountain.

11b A peculiar addition to 5²². For the form 21¹ cp 28⁶⁵ 29⁴ 19 (against 21¹ 59).

11 M 5 words.—Cp 10⁴.

JE D ^e	D	D ^e P
15-28 15b/	you ^b statutes and judgements, that ye might do them in the land whither ye ^k go over to ^b possess it. ¹⁵ ²¹ Take ye therefore good heed unto yourselves; for ye saw no manner of ^b form on the day that Yahweh spake unto you in ^b Horeb ^b out of the midst of the fire: ¹⁶ lest ye ^c corrupt yourselves, and make you a graven image in the ^b form of any ^d figure, ¹⁷ the ^b likeness of ^b male or female, the likeness of any beast that is on the earth, the likeness of any ^b winged fowl that flieth in the heaven, ¹⁸ the ^b likeness of any thing that ^b creepeth on the ground, the likeness of any fish that is in the ^b water under the earth: ¹⁹ ^b and lest thou lift up thine eyes unto heaven, and when thou seest the sun and the moon and the stars, even ^m all the ^b host of heaven, thou be ⁿ drawn away and ^b worship them, and serve them, which Yahweh thy God hath ^b divided unto ^b all the ^b peoples under the whole heaven. ²⁰ But Yahweh hath taken you, and ^b brought you forth out of the ^d iron furnace, out of Egypt, to be unto him a ^d people of inheritance, ^b as at this day. ²¹ Furthermore Yahweh was ^b angry with me for your sakes, and sware that I should not ^b go over Jordan, and that I should not go in unto that ^b good land, which Yahweh thy God giveth thee for an inheritance: ²² but ^b I must die in this land, I must not go over Jordan: but ye shall ^b go over, and possess that ^b good land. ²³ ^b Take heed unto yourselves, lest ye ^b forget the ^b covenant of Yahweh your God, which he made with you, and make you a graven image in the ^b form of any thing which Yahweh thy God hath forbidden thee. ²⁴ For Yahweh thy God is a ^b devouring fire, a ^b jealous God.	k' 54 ^b l' 108 ^b
4 25 31 29 5		
r Ex 25 ⁹ 40 Josh 22 ²⁸ s Cp 2107 t Gen 7 ¹⁴ u Cp 749 v 58 w 158a		
x 17 ³ cp Gen 21 ¹ y Cp 2926 z 225		
2 325		
a' 9 ³ cp Ex 24 ¹⁷ 5 b' Ex 20 ⁵ Deut 5 ⁹ c' Cp 230 d' 5 Lev 13 ¹¹ 26 ¹⁰ e' 9 ¹⁸ 31 ²⁹ cp 32 ¹⁶ 31 ² f' 30 ¹⁹ 31 ²⁸ cp 31 ¹⁷ Jer 11 ⁷ 42 ¹⁹		m' 10 n' 38 o' 23 ^a p' 14 q' 28 ^b r' 33 ^a s' 18 t' 69 ^{bd}
g' 28 ⁴ 30 ³ h' Gen 34 ³⁰ i' 28 ³⁷ j' 27 ¹⁵ 31 ²⁹ cp 119 ^b k' 28 ³⁶ 34 29 ¹⁷ cp 58 l' 31 ¹⁷ 31 m' 30 ³ n' Ex 34 ⁶ o' 31 ⁶ 8 Josh 15 ⁸ p' 28 ³⁶ 10 ¹⁰ cp 20 ¹⁹ q' 9 ⁷ 5 r' Cp 248 s' 5 Niph Ex 11 ⁶ Deut 27 ⁹ 5 ²⁶ t' 2 Sam 7 ²³		u' 54 ^a v' 69 ^b
u' 268 34 ¹² v' Ex 25 ⁴⁰ 26 ³⁰ Lev 13 ⁴⁹ w' 82 13 ³ x' 39 7 ⁹ cp 10 ¹⁷		w' 37 ^b x' 86 ^b y' 73 ^b z' 34 ^b
	25 When thou shalt ^b beget children, and children's children, and ye shall have been ^d long in the land, and shall ^c corrupt yourselves, and make a graven image in the ^b form of any thing, and shall ^b do that which is evil in the sight of Yahweh thy God, to ^b provoke him to anger: ²⁶ I ^b call heaven and earth to witness against you this day, that ye shall soon utterly ^b perish from off the land whereunto ye ^b go over Jordan to ^b possess it; ye shall not ^b prolong your days upon it, but shall utterly ^b be destroyed. ²⁷ And Yahweh shall ^b scatter you among the peoples, and ye shall be left ^k few in number among the nations, whither Yahweh shall ^b lead you away. ²⁸ And there ye shall serve gods, the ^b work of men's hands, ^k wood and stone, which neither see, nor hear, nor eat, nor smell. ²⁹ But if from thence ye shall seek Yahweh thy God, thou shalt find him, if thou search after him with all thy ^b heart and with all thy soul. ³⁰ When thou art in ^d tribulation, and all these things are ^b come upon thee, ^b in the latter days thou shalt ^m return to Yahweh thy God, and ^b hearken unto his voice: ³¹ for Yahweh thy God is a ^b merciful God; he will not ^b fail thee, neither ^b destroy thee, nor forget the ^b covenant of thy fathers ^b which he sware unto them. ³² For ask now of the days that are past, which were before thee, ^b since the day that God ^b created man upon the earth, and from the one end of heaven unto the other, whether ^b there hath been [any such thing] as this great thing is, or hath been heard like it? ³³ Did ever people ^b hear the voice of God speaking ^b out of the midst of the fire, as thou hast heard, and live? ³⁴ Or hath God assayed to ^b go and take him a nation from the midst of [another] nation, by ^b temptations, by ^d signs, and by wonders, and by war, and by a ^b mighty hand, and by a stretched out arm, and by ^b great terrors, according to ^b all that Yahweh your God did for you in Egypt ^b before your eyes? ³⁵ Unto thee it ^b was shewed, that thou ^b mightest know that Yahweh ^b he is God; ^b there is none else beside him. ³⁶ Out of heaven he made thee to hear his voice, that he might ^b instruct thee: and upon earth he made thee to see his great fire; and	a' 59 b' 58 c' 107 ^a d' 101 ^a e' 80 ^b f' 13 g' 48 ^a h' 66

430 M Or, if in the latter days thou return.—Cp 31²⁹.34 M Or, trials. Or, evidences.—Cp 7¹⁹ 29³². Same root as 'assayed': with divine subject 82¹⁶ 13³.

	JE D'	D	D' P
r' Ex 33 ¹⁴ a" 3 ²⁹ Ex 32 ¹¹		<p>thou hearest his words ^{b'}out of the midst of the fire. ³⁷ And because he ^{1'}loved thy fathers, therefore he ^{1'}chose their seed after them, and ^{1'}brought thee out with his ^{2'}presence, with his ^{a''}great power, out of Egypt; ³⁸ to ^{1'}drive out nations from before thee ^{m''}greater and mightier than thou, to ^{n''}bring thee in, to give thee their land for an inheritance, ^{r'}as at this day. ³⁹ Know therefore this day, and ^{b''}lay it to thine heart, that Yahweh he is ^{c''}God in heaven above and upon the earth beneath: ^{d'}there is none else. ⁴⁰ And thou shalt keep his ^bstatutes, and his commandments, which ^{1'}I command thee this day, that it may ^{a''}go well with thee, and with thy children after thee, and that thou mayest ^{r'}prolong thy days upon the ¹land, which Yahweh thy God giveth thee, for ever. [->30¹¹]</p>	<p>i" 74^a j" 26^b k" 28^b l" 30^b m" 55^b n" 24</p>
b" 30 ¹ c" Josh 2 ¹¹ cp Deut 5 ⁸		<p>⁴¹ ^mThen Moses ^{d'}separated three cities ^{v'}beyond Jordan ^{o''}toward the sunrise; ⁴² that the manslayer might flee thither, which slayeth his neighbour ^{f''}unawares, and hateth him not in time past; and that fleeing unto one of these cities he might live: ⁴³ [namely], ^{o''}Bezer in the wilderness, in the ⁴plain country, for the Reubenites; and Ramoth in Gilead, for the Gadites; and Golan in Bashan, for the Manassites.</p>	o" 116 ^a
41-45 ¹ Lahg d" 19 ³ cp Num 35 ¹⁴ e" 5 Josh 12 ¹ Judg 21 ¹⁹ f" 19 ⁴ Josh 20 ³ 5 ⁴ g" Josh 20 ³ h" 617 20 ³ 104 ^d		<p>⁴⁴ ^mAnd this is the law which Moses set before the children of Israel.</p>	p" 27 ^a
i" 3 ²⁹ cp 15		<p>⁴⁵ ^mThese are the ^{h'}testimonies, and the ^bstatutes, and the judgements, which Moses spake unto the children of Israel, when they ^{q'}came forth out of Egypt; ⁴⁶ ^{v'}beyond Jordan, in the ^{1'}valley over against Beth-peor, in the land of Sihon king of the Amorites, who dwelt at Heshbon, whom Moses and the children of Israel smote, when they ^{q'}came forth out of Egypt; ⁴⁷ and they ^{j''}took his land in possession, and the land of Og king of Bashan, the ^{r''}two kings of the Amorites, which were ^{v'}beyond Jordan toward the sunrise; ⁴⁸ from ^{u''}Aroer, which is on the edge of the valley of Arnon, even unto mount Sion (the same is ^{1'}Hermon), ⁴⁹ and all the ^{m''}Arabah ^{v'}beyond Jordan eastward, even unto the sea of the Arabah, under the ^{m''}slopes of Pisgah.</p>	q" 28 ^a
j" 3 ⁸		<p>⁵¹ And Moses called unto ^aall Israel, and said unto them, ^bHear, O Israel, the ^cstatutes and the judgements which I ^espeak in your ears</p>	<p>r" 3^c s" 8 a 2^a b 2^b c 104^a</p>
a Jer 28 ⁷			

⁴⁴ These three verses mark a pause in the narrative, and seem designed to separate the introductory discourse 1⁸-4⁴⁰ from 5... (Driver). They have been often ascribed to R^d. But D does not contemplate the assignment of any cities east of the Jordan cp 19⁷...; these are first specified in Num 35¹⁴ P. The directions there given are executed in Josh 20, a passage evidently based on D and P, where ⁸ seems to be the source of ⁴⁵ above. It seems better, therefore, to refer these verses to a later writer acquainted with P as well as D, who here represents Moses as himself carrying out the arrangements previously commanded by Yahweh through him. The linguistic affinities with D are thus sufficiently explained.

⁴⁵ M. Or, table land.

⁴⁶ G & F omit and. This verse has been often regarded as a connecting link between 1⁸-4⁴⁰ and 4⁴⁰-49. The phrase 'set before' § as in Ex 19⁷ 21¹, cf above ⁸, suggests that possibly this is a remnant of an earlier title. The designation 'children of Israel' is 'contrary to the general usage of D' (Driver), which prefers 'all Israel' cp 2. Cp 4⁴⁰. 29¹ 33¹: 31¹⁸ 23¹⁷ 24⁷ seem to refer only to males: 10⁶ 31¹⁹ 22¹. do not belong to D: 1⁸ 32⁵¹ 34⁸ = P.

⁴⁵ The elaborate title in 4⁴⁰-49 appears to be 'the work of a writer who either (a) was not acquainted with 1⁸-4⁴⁰, or (b) disregarded it' (Driver, Deut 80). It has been already suggested (cp 1¹⁸, Introd X 4a) that before the incorporation of D with JE the book may have existed in different forms, eg with a long introduction or with a short one. Both introductions would be founded on the same prior material, but it would not necessarily follow that the writer of the second form was either ignorant or neglectful of the other: considerations of convenience might have decided the matter. In collecting the separate documents for final amalgamation, the two forms have been preserved by the editors side by side. The looseness of the junction at the beginning of 4⁴⁷ has given occasion to the surmise (König, Driver) that 4⁴⁷-49 is a subsequent amplification (Dillm assigns the whole 4⁴⁰-49 to R^d: so Steuern 46-49). The description of Sihon and Og as the 'two kings of the Amorites' lends a slight confirmation to this conjecture, if the view advanced in 3³⁸ be accepted. To what, however, was this title prefixed? Was it to the Code

proper 12-26, or the Code preceded by the homilies 5-11? Either is possible, for even in its shortest form the law-book must have been introduced with some kind of title; 12¹ implies a speaker and an audience; these are identified by ⁴⁵ which may well have been the nucleus of the whole (observe the peculiar use of 'testimonies' elsewhere in Hex only Deut 6¹⁷ 20¹). On the probable community of authorship between the exhortations and the discourse of legislation cp 5¹⁸.

⁴⁹ M. Or, springs.

⁵¹ The discourses in 5-11 are here treated as substantially homogeneous. This does not exclude the possibility of occasional expansion by other hands, or of the incorporation of material from different sources. Nor does it imply that they were of necessity all composed at one time. But it indicates that they are marked by pervading unity of thought and style, and cannot be dissolved into any constituents distinguished by varieties of idea or expression. The recital of the Horeb covenant, here based on the Ten Words, leads to the first great sermon on the sublime text 6⁴ 'Yahweh our God, Yahweh is one.' A second follows 9¹ on the duty of humble obedience 10¹³, illustrated by reference to the repeated acts in which Israel had provoked Yahweh, and concluding with threats against the apostates and promises for the faithful 11¹⁸-28. It may be freely recognized that throughout these exhortations the writer has the actual code of laws imaginatively before him 5¹ 31¹ 61¹. 81¹ &c. The commandments have indeed been already divinely enjoined 6¹⁷ 24¹, where the speaker does not seem to be alluding to their private communication to himself upon the mount 5³¹. The homilies may therefore be regarded as later than the main groups of the laws: but they are written in the same style, and from the same point of view. (1) The allusions to the circumstances of the Exodus and the wanderings seem all conceived in a common spirit cp 5¹⁵ 62¹. 7¹⁹ 9²⁶ 11²⁻⁴ 26²; the day of the assembly at Horeb 5²² 9¹⁰ 10⁴ 18¹⁶ (cp Kuen, Hex § 7⁹, on the resemblance between 18¹⁶-20 and the hortatory introduction) marks the same era of revelation in each group. The situation of speaker and people is described in like terms: Israel is about to go over the Jordan to possess the land which Yahweh had sworn to their fathers to give them 6¹ 11¹⁸ 11²⁰. The time is specified continually as 'this day' 5¹ 9¹ 12¹ 15⁶ &c. In both sec-

JE	D'	D	D' P
b Cp 4 ²² 11 ²⁻⁷ 1816 ct 135 214-16		this day, that ye may ^d learn them, and ^e observe to do them. ² Yahweh ^f our God made a ^g covenant with us in ^h Horeb. ³ Yahweh made not this ⁱ covenant with our fathers, but with ^j us, even us, who are all of us here ^k alive this day. ⁴ Yahweh spake with you ^l 'face to face in the mount ^m 'out of the midst of the fire, ⁿ '(I ^o stood between Yahweh and you ^p 'at that time, to shew you the word of Yahweh: for ye were afraid because of the fire, and went not up into the mount;) saying,	d 77 ^a e 82 ^a f 81 ^a g 31 ^a h 7 i 79 ^a j 63 k 110
c 34 ¹⁰ Ex 33 ¹¹ cp Gen 32 ³⁰ other- wise Num 12 ⁸ 14 ¹⁴ d Cp Ex 19 ¹⁶⁻¹⁸		⁶ "I am Yahweh thy God, which ^l 'brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the ^m 'house of ⁿ 'bondage. ⁷ ^l 'Thou shalt have none ^o 'other gods ^p 'before me. ⁸ ^l 'Thou shalt not make unto thee a graven image, [the likeness of] ⁿ 'any ^o 'form that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth: ⁹ thou shalt not ^p 'bow down thyself unto them, nor serve them: for I Yahweh thy God am a ^q 'jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, and upon the third and upon the fourth generation of them that hate me; ¹⁰ and shewing mercy unto ^r 'thousands, of them that ^s 'love me and ^t 'keep my commandments.	l 28 ^b m 61 n 10 o 23 ^a p 82 ^c
7 L 58 ^a e Cp 23 85 8-10 L 56 ^c f 412 16.		¹¹ ^l 'Thou shalt not take the name of Yahweh thy God ^m 'in vain: for Yahweh will not hold him guiltless that taketh his name ⁿ 'in vain. ¹² ^l 'Observe the sabbath day, to keep it holy, ^m 'as Yahweh thy God commanded thee. ¹³ Six days shalt thou labour, and do all thy work: ¹⁴ but the seventh day is a sabbath unto Yahweh thy God: [in it] thou shalt not do any work, ⁿ 'thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, nor thy ^o 'manservant, nor thy ^p 'maidservant, nor thine ox, nor thine ass, nor any of thy cattle, ^q 'nor thy ^r 'stranger that is ^s 'within thy gates; that thy ^t 'manservant and thy maidservant may rest as well as thou. ¹⁵ And thou shalt ^u 'remember that thou wast a servant in the land of Egypt, and Yahweh thy God ^v 'brought thee out thence by a ^w 'mighty hand and by a stretched out arm: therefore Yahweh thy God commanded thee to ^x 'keep the sabbath day.	q 29 ^a r 109 ^a s 75 t 51 ^a u 80 ^b
14 L 28 ^c j Cp 105 ^c		¹⁶ ^l 'Honour thy father and thy mother, ^m 'as Yahweh thy God ⁿ 'com- manded thee: that thy days may be ^o 'long, and that it may ^p 'go well with thee, upon the ^q 'land which Yahweh thy God giveth thee.	v 73 ^a w 116 ^a x 69 ^c
k Cp 97 ct Ex 20 ¹¹		¹⁷ ^l 'Thou shalt do no murder. ¹⁸ ^l 'Neither shalt thou commit adultery. ¹⁹ ^l 'Neither shalt thou steal. ²⁰ ^l 'Neither shalt thou bear false witness against thy neighbour. ²¹ ^l 'Neither shalt thou covet thy neighbour's wife; neither shalt thou desire thy neighbour's house, his field, or his ^o 'manservant, or his maidservant, his ox, or his ass, or any thing that is thy neighbour's.	y 20 ^a
l 6 = do 14 cp 16 ¹ Ex 31 ¹⁶ 16 L 18 ^c m Ex 20 ¹²		²² These words Yahweh spake unto all your ^o 'assembly in the mount ^p 'out of the midst of the fire, of the ^q 'cloud, and of the ^r 'thick darkness, with a great voice: and he added no more. ^s 'And he wrote them upon two	
17 L 28 ^b 18 L 11 ^f 19 L 38 ^c 20 L 41 ^c 21 L 31 ^b 21 [18 in 6]			
n Ex 19 ¹⁶ o Ex 20 ²¹ cp 411			

tions Israel is a peculiar people ⁷ 14² 26¹⁸ cp Ex 19⁵⁺⁷, already consecrated by Yahweh's choice ⁷ 14² 21 cp 26¹⁸, a religious conception of great importance: in both sections this divine election imposes on Israel a relentless severity to idolaters, ^l'thine eye shall not pity' &c 7¹⁶ 13⁸ 9¹³ 21 25¹². If the preacher sometimes drops into the form of command e.g. 7⁵ || 12³, 7¹⁶ || 12³⁰ the legislator in his turn enforces his statutes with exhortations e.g. 12²⁸ 13¹⁸ 14² 15¹⁶ 16²⁰ cp 17¹⁷ 20 || 8¹³, warning his hearers that the divine education begun in the wilderness 8³ will be continued under new circumstances 13³. (2) A large number of expressions will be found common to 5-11 and 12-26 which nowhere appear in 1-4, cp 2^b 9 13^a 20 23^b 29³ 30 37^a 41^b 42^b 43^b 50 51 60 61 68^c 69^a 76 95 105^a 115^a cp ^l'say in thine heart' 7¹⁷ 8¹¹ 9⁴ 18²¹, ^l'from under heaven' 7²⁴ 9¹⁴ 25¹⁶. These coincidences of thought and phrase seem best explicable on the hypothesis of unity of authorship; and the homilies of 5-11 may therefore be regarded as the production of the compiler of the main portion of the Code, prefixed by him at a later literary stage than the first collection of the Laws (cp *Introd* X 4a i 92) and connected with the tradi-

tional scheme by the title in 4¹⁶. It is not, however, necessary to suppose that they were all written at one time, or originally designed for their present order. Peculiar phenomena noticeable in 7 and in 9-10 will be discussed as they appear.

⁵ This verse has been regarded as a later parenthetical insertion, for in 22. 10⁴ cp 4¹² the divine Words are spoken to the whole people. In Ex 19⁹ Moses alone is designated to receive them, and it is possible that the Deuteronomic representation has been thus combined and harmonized with the earlier passage.

^{6a} M See Ex 20².

⁷ M Or, *beside me*.

¹¹ M Or, *for vanity or falsehood*.

¹⁴ D's use of this term follows E, cp 22⁹⁹: so in 21 12¹² 18 15¹⁷ 16¹¹ 14 ct 28⁶⁸.

²² These words leap forward to the result of the first forty days' sojourn in the mount cp 9⁹. They have no place in the corresponding narrative Ex 20¹⁸⁻²¹, and may be due to an annotator who desires to complete the narrative, and thus anticipates the statement in 9⁹.

JE	D'	D	D' P
p 411 9 ¹⁵		tables of stone, and gave them unto me. ²³ And it came to pass, when ye heard the voice out of the midst of the darkness, while the ² mountain did burn with fire, that ye ¹ came near unto me, even all the ¹ heads of your ¹ tribes, and your ¹ elders; ²⁴ and ye said, Behold, Yahweh our God hath shewed us his ¹ glory and his ¹ greatness, and we have heard his voice ¹ out of the midst of the fire: we have seen this day that ¹ God doth speak with man, and he liveth. ²⁵ Now therefore why should we ¹ die? for this great fire will consume us: if we hear the voice of Yahweh our God any more, then we shall die. ²⁶ For who is there of ¹ "all flesh, that hath heard the voice of the living God speaking ¹ out of the midst of the fire, as we have, and lived? ²⁷ Go thou near, and hear all that Yahweh our God shall say: and speak thou unto us all that Yahweh our God shall speak unto thee; and we will hear it, and do it. ²⁸ And Yahweh ¹ heard the voice of your words, when ye spake unto me; and Yahweh said unto me, I have heard the voice of the words of this people, which they have spoken unto thee: they have ¹ "well said all that they have spoken. ²⁹ ¹ "Oh that there were such an heart in them, that they would ¹ fear me, and ¹ keep all my commandments always, that it might be ¹ "well with them, and with their children ¹ "for ever! ³⁰ Go say to them, Return ye to your tents. ³¹ But as for thee, stand thou here by me, and I will speak unto thee all the ¹ "commandment, and the ¹ statutes, and the judgements, which thou shalt ¹ "teach them, that they may do them in the ¹ "land which ¹ "I give them to ¹ "possess it. ³² Ye shall ¹ "observe to do therefore ¹ "as Yahweh your God hath commanded you: ye shall not ¹ "turn aside to the right hand or to the left. ³³ Ye shall ¹ "walk in all the way ¹ "which Yahweh your God hath commanded you, that ye may ¹ "live, and that it may be ¹ "well with you, and that ye may ¹ "prolong your days in the land which ye shall possess.	x 57 a' 119 ^a b' 45 ^b c' 55 ^c
q Ct 4 ¹¹			
r Ex 33 ¹⁸ 22 Num 14 ²²			
s 4 ³⁸			
t 18 ¹⁶ Ex 20 ¹⁹			
u Ct 2 ²¹ b			
v 134			
w 18 ¹⁷			
			d' 44 ^a e' 110 ^a f' 13 ^a g' 29 ^d h' 71 ^b i' 60 ^c j' 88 ^a k' 114 ^b l' 115 ^b m' 73 ^a n' 73 ^b
			a 29 ^c b 104 ^a c 29 ^a d 15 ^a e 71 ^b f 54 ^a g 44 ^b h 82 ^c i 29 ^b j 63 ^a k 13 ^c l 73 ^c m 29 ^b n 82 ^a o 116 ^b p 91 ^a q 60 ^a r 74 ^b s 59
a 81 30 ¹⁶ 5		⁶¹ "Now this is the ¹ commandment, the ¹ statutes, and the judgements, ¹ which Yahweh ¹ your God commanded to ¹ teach you, that ye might do them in the land whither ye ¹ go over to possess it: ² that thou mightest ¹ fear Yahweh thy God, to ¹ keep all his ¹ statutes and his commandments, ¹ which ¹ "I command thee, thou, and thy son, and thy son's son, ¹ all the days of thy life; and that thy days may be ¹ prolonged. ³ ¹ "Hear therefore, O Israel, and ¹ observe to do it; that it may be ¹ "well with thee, and that ye may ¹ "increase mightily, as Yahweh, the ¹ "God of thy fathers, hath ¹ promised unto thee, ¹ "in a ¹ land flowing with milk and honey.	
4 152 ^a		⁴ ¹ "Hear, O Israel: ¹ "Yahweh our God is one Yahweh: ⁵ and thou shalt ¹ love Yahweh thy God ¹ "with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and ¹ "with all thy might ^b . ⁶ ¹ "And these words, ¹ which I command thee this day, shall be upon thine ¹ heart: ⁷ and thou shalt ¹ teach them diligently unto thy children, and shalt ¹ talk of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up. ⁸ ¹ "And thou shalt ¹ bind them for a sign upon thine hand, and they shall be for frontlets between thine eyes. ⁹ And thou shalt ¹ write them upon the door posts of thy house, and upon ¹ thy gates.	
b 2 Kings 23 ²⁵ 6-9 LXXa c 11 ¹⁸ cp 4 ⁹ d 5 ¹ ct 11 ¹⁹ e 11 ¹⁹		¹⁰ And it shall be, ¹ when Yahweh thy God shall ¹ bring thee into the land which he ¹ sware unto thy fathers, to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, to give thee; great and goodly ¹ cities, which thou buildedst not,	u 51 v 24 w 107 ^a
8 LXXa f 11 ¹⁸ cp Ex 13 ¹⁶			
g 1120			
h 7 ¹ 1129 cp Ex 13 ⁵			
i 9 ¹			

⁵²⁹ M Or, *Oh that they had such an heart as this always, to fear me, and keep all my commandments, that &c.*

⁶¹ This passage seems designed to lead direct to the announcement of the commandments communicated to Moses on the mount ⁵³¹. It closely resembles the title in ¹²¹ prefixed to the actual code. It may be surmised, therefore, that it once stood much nearer to the legislation, before the addition of the homilies 64-11. In that case ³ may be an editorial connexion, preparing the way for 4...

³ 5 has no preposition, and the rendering of the text is 'illegitimate' (Driver). Dillm supposes the words to have

strayed from the end of 1: Driver suggests that a preceding clause has been omitted, such as 'in the land which Yahweh thy God is giving thee' cp 27³: (5) adds 'to give thee.'

⁴⁶ (5) inserts here a special title, 'These are the statutes and judgements which Yahweh commanded the children of Israel when they came forth out of the land of Egypt;' cp 4¹⁶. This indicates the feeling that 5-63 is really distinct from the two homilies 64-89-11.

^{4b} M Or, *Yahweh our God, Yahweh is one. Or, Yahweh is our God, Yahweh is one. Or, Yahweh is our God, Yahweh alone.*

JE	D ^a	D	D ^a P
12-15 15ap		11 and houses full of all good things, which thou filledst not, and cisterns hewn out, which thou hewedst not, vineyards and olive trees, which thou plantedst not, and thou shalt eat and be full; 12 then beware lest thou forget Yahweh, which brought thee forth out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage. 13 Thou shalt fear Yahweh thy God; and him shalt thou serve, and shalt swear by his name. 14 Ye shall not go after other gods, of the gods of the peoples which are round about you; 15 for Yahweh thy God in the midst of thee is a jealous God; lest the anger of Yahweh thy God be kindled against thee, and he destroy thee from off the face of the earth.	x 41b y 108a z 48 a' 28b b' 61 c' 23a d' 85a e' 78a f' 17 g' 34a
j 811		16 Ye shall not tempt Yahweh your God, as ye tempted him in Massah. 17 Ye shall diligently keep the commandments of Yahweh your God, and his testimonies, and his statutes, which he hath commanded thee. 18 And thou shalt do that which is right and good in the sight of Yahweh: that it may be well with thee, and that thou mayest go in and possess the good land which Yahweh sware unto thy fathers, 19 to thrust out all thine enemies from before thee, as Yahweh hath spoken.	h' 37a i' 53 j' 69b
k 1020a		20 When thy son asketh thee in time to come, saying, What mean the testimonies, and the statutes, and the judgements, which Yahweh our God hath commanded you? 21 then thou shalt say unto thy son, We were Pharaoh's bondmen in Egypt; and Yahweh brought us out of Egypt with a mighty hand: 22 and Yahweh shewed signs and wonders, great and sore, upon Egypt, upon Pharaoh, and upon all his house, before our eyes: 23 and he brought us out from thence, that he might bring us in, to give us the land which he sware unto our fathers. 24 And Yahweh commanded us to do all these statutes, to fear Yahweh our God, for our good always, that he might preserve us alive, as at this day. 25 And it shall be righteousness unto us, if we observe to do all this commandment before Yahweh our God, as he hath commanded us.	k' 80b l' 101a m' 3a n' 104b o' 44a p' 116b q' 13a r' 72 s' 33a
l 137 1714		71 When Yahweh thy God shall bring thee into the land whither thou goest to possess it, and shall cast out many nations before thee, the Hittite, and the Girgashite, and the Amorite, and the Canaanite, and the Perizzite, and the Hivite, and the Jebusite, seven nations greater and mightier than thou; 2 and when Yahweh thy God shall deliver them up before thee, and thou shalt smite them; then thou shalt devote them; thou shalt make no covenant with them, nor shew mercy unto them: 3 neither shalt thou make marriages with them; thy daughter thou shalt not give unto his son, nor his daughter shalt thou take unto thy son. 4 For he will turn away thy son from following me, that they may serve other gods: so will the anger of Yahweh be kindled against you, and he will destroy thee quickly. 5 But thus shall ye deal with them; ye shall break down their altars, and dash in pieces their pillars, and hew down their Asherim, and burn their graven images with fire. 6 For thou art a holy people unto Yahweh thy God: Yahweh thy God hath chosen thee to be a peculiar people	t 2413 et Gen 156 u' 104b v' 44a w' 116b x' 13a y' 72 z' 33a
m 59			a 19 b 24 c 24 d 24a
n Ex 172b 7 Num 1422			e 55b f 100a g 35 h 31b
o 922 cp 33b			i 23b j 17 k 34a l 93
p 20 46a			m 60a n 26a o 60b
q 94 Josh 236 ct Num 3520 22a			
20-25 110b			
r Ex 1314 Sam 6 add and it shall be			
s 44 71a 113 292 3411			
t 2413 et Gen 156			
1-4 15d1			
a Josh 310 2411 cp Ex 3b			
2 151a			
b Ex 233 cp 3412			
3 150c			
c Josh 2312 cp Gen 349a			
d Cp Ex 3416a			
e 123 Ex 3413			
f 125 Ex 2324 3415			
g 125a			
h 25 123			
i 111a			
j 143			

71a Some parts of this chapter bear a very close resemblance to Ex 23²³⁻³³ as the following table of parallels (sometimes in phraseology, sometimes in thought) will show:—

Ex 23 ²³	Deut 7 ¹
24	4
25	15
26	14
27	23
28	20
29	22
31b	23
32	2
33b	16b

1b M. 5 pluck off.—Cp 22 Ex 35 Josh 518 'put off,' and in

another form 2 Kings 16⁸†. Elsewhere *nashal* Deut 19⁸ 'slip,' 28¹⁰ 'cast,' is a different word (Driver, Deut 96).

2 So M. T utterly destroy.

4 The address of Moses passes into the word of Yahweh cp 1114. 173 2820 29⁶.

5a Cp 123 Ex 3413. The verse appears to interrupt the context. The 'devotion' of the entire population has been ordained in 2, but the command 'thus shall ye do unto them' seems to assume their continued existence, and only requires the destruction of their sacred objects. It may be noticed further that while 4a and 6 are cast in the singular, 5 breaks suddenly into the plural (cp Staerk, Deut 66): 4a seems the Deuteronomic equivalent of Ex 3416b, and 4b may be an editorial expansion.

5b M. Or, obelisks.

5c M. See Ex 3413.

JE D ^r	D	D ^r P
j 10 ¹⁸ 21 ¹¹ 5 Gen 34 ^{8a}	unto himself, "above 'all peoples that are upon the face of the earth.	P 14
k 4 ⁸⁶	7 Yahweh did not 'set his love upon you, nor "choose you, because ye	q 74 ^a
l 12 5 ¹⁰	were more in number than any people; for ye were the fewest of	r 82 ^{aa}
m 5 ¹⁰	'all peoples: 8 but because Yahweh 'loveth you, and because he would	s 107 ^a
n 32 ¹¹ 5	'keep the oath which he 'sware unto your fathers, hath Yahweh 'brought	t 24 ^b
o 5 ⁹	you out with a "mighty hand, and 'redeemed you out of the "house of	u 80 ^b
p 23 ²¹	bondage, from the hand of Pharaoh king of Egypt. 9 "Know therefore	v 95
	that Yahweh thy God, "he is God; the faithful God, which 'keepeth	w 61
	'covenant and 'mercy with them that 'love him and 'keep his command-	x 68 ^a
	ments to a "thousand generations; 10 and "repayeth them that 'hate	
	him to their face, to 'destroy them: he will not be 'slack to him that	y 86 ^a
	hateth him, he will repay him to his face. 11 Thou shalt therefore	
	'keep the 'commandment, and the 'statutes, and the judgements, "which	z 29 ^d
	I command thee this day, to do them.	z' 104 ^a
	12 And it shall come to pass, because ye hearken to these judgements,	z' 95 ^b
	and "keep, and do them, that Yahweh thy God shall 'keep with thee	c' 82 ^b
q 284 18 51 [†] cp Ex 13 ¹³	the 'covenant and the 'mercy which he 'sware unto thy fathers: 13 and	d' 22 ^a
	he will 'love thee, and "bless thee, and "multiply thee: he will also	e' 81
r Ex 23 ³⁶	bless the 'fruit of thy body and the fruit of thy ground, thy "corn and	f' 50
s Ex 23 ³⁵	thy wine and thine oil, the "increase of thy kine and the young of thy	g' 30
t Ex 15 ²⁶	flock", in the land which he 'sware unto thy fathers to give thee.	
u 280 [†]	14 Thou shalt be blessed above 'all peoples: there shall not be male or	h' 64
v 15 ^{7b}	'female barren "among you, or among your cattle. 15 And Yahweh will	i' 68 ^b
	'take away from thee all sickness; and he will 'put none of the evil	j' 43 ^b
w Ex 23 ³⁴ 33	"diseases of Egypt, "which thou knowest, upon thee, but will lay them	
x Ex 23 ³³	upon all them that hate thee. 16 "And thou shalt consume "all the	k' 6a
z 817 9 [†] 18 ²¹	peoples which Yahweh thy God shall 'deliver unto thee; 'thine eye	l' 38 ^b
y Cp 97	shall not pity them: neither shalt thou 'serve "their gods; for that will	m' 12
z 4 ⁹ 43 ^o	be a "snare unto thee. 17 If thou shalt "say in thine heart, These	n' 101 ^a
	nations are more than I; "how can I 'dispossess them? 18 thou shalt	o' 80 ^a
	not be afraid of them: thou shalt well "remember what Yahweh thy	
a' Ex 23 ³⁸	God "did unto Pharaoh, and unto all Egypt; 19 the great "temptations	p' 86 ^a
u' 2820 22 Josh 23 ¹³	"which thine eyes saw, and the "signs, and the wonders, and the "mighty	q' 44 ^d
	hand, and the stretched out arm, whereby Yahweh thy God 'brought	r' 78 ^a
	thee out: so shall Yahweh thy God do unto "all the peoples of whom	s' 55 ^a
	thou art afraid. 20 Moreover Yahweh thy God will send the "hornet	t' 76
22-24 Lgfc	among them, "until they that are left, and "hide themselves, "perish	u' 34 ^b
c' Ex 23 ³⁰	from before thee. 21 Thou shalt not be "affrighted at them: for	v' 86 ^a
d' 2821	Yahweh thy God is "in the midst of thee, a "great God and a terrible.	
e' Ex 23 ²⁹	22 "And Yahweh thy God will cast out those nations before thee by	w' 9 ^a
f' 2830 5 ^a cp 21 ⁸	"little and little: thou "mayest not "consume them "quickly, lest the	x' 9 ^b
Ex 23 ²⁷	"beasts of the field increase upon thee. 23 But Yahweh thy God shall	
g' 9 ¹⁴ 25 ¹⁹ 29 ²⁰	'deliver them up before thee, and shall "discomfit them with a great	
h' 11 ²⁵ Josh 1 ⁶	discomfiture, until they be "destroyed. 24 And he shall 'deliver their	
cp Deut 9 ²	kings into thine hand, and thou shalt make their name to "perish "from	
25 Lged 8ha	under heaven: there shall no man be "able to "stand before thee, until	
i' 5 ²¹	thou have "destroyed them. 25 "The graven images of their gods shall	
j' 5 [†] cp 16 12 ⁸⁰	ye burn with fire: thou shalt not "covet the silver or the gold that is	
k' 13 ¹⁷ Josh 61 ⁷	on them, nor take it unto thee, lest thou be "snared therein: for it is an	
l' 7 ¹ cp 35	"abomination to Yahweh thy God: 26 "and thou shalt not bring an	
m' 23 ⁷	"abomination into thine house, and become a "devoted thing like unto	
	it: thou shalt utterly "detest it, and thou shalt utterly "abhor it; for	
	it is a devoted thing.	

7^s M. Or, out of.—Cp 14.19 M. Or, trials. See 4³⁴ 29^s.

20 M. Or, hide themselves from thee, perish.

22 So M. T at once.—The apparent contradiction with 9^s has given rise to the suggestion that this verse is due to another hand. It is probable that the writer here sounds himself on his earlier model Ex 23²⁹. The difficulty rather lies in the languageof 9^s, 'quickly, as Yahweh hath spoken unto thee.' To what divine promise does this refer? No such expectation is encouraged in Ex 23²⁸⁻³¹. Must it not be concluded that the preacher does not always remain at exactly the same point of view? Or may we suppose that other exhortations now lost once justified the hope?24 A different Hebrew word for 'stand' is used in the corresponding formula Josh 10⁶ 21⁴² 23[†].

JE	D'	D	D' P
a ϕ = <i>incroline</i> 6 ⁵		8 ¹ All the commandment "which I command thee this day shall ye 'observe to do, that ye may 'live, and "multiply, and 'go in and possess the land which Yahweh 'sware unto your fathers. ² And thou shalt 'remember all the way which Yahweh 'thy God hath 'led thee 'these forty years in the wilderness, that he might 'humble thee, to 'prove thee, to know what was in thine heart, whether thou wouldest 'keep his commandments, or no. ³ And he humbled thee, and suffered thee to hunger, and 'fed thee with manna, 'which thou knewest not, neither did thy fathers know; that he might make thee know that man doth not live by bread only, but by every thing that 'proceedeth out of the mouth of Yahweh doth man live. ⁴ Thy 'raiment waxed not old upon thee, neither did thy foot swell, 'these forty years. ⁵ And thou shalt 'consider in thine heart, that, as a man 'chasteneth his son, so Yahweh thy God chasteneth thee. ⁶ And thou shalt 'keep the commandments of Yahweh thy God, to 'walk in his ways, and to "fear him. ⁷ For Yahweh thy God "bringeth thee into a 'good land, a land of brooks of water, of fountains and depths, springing forth in valleys and hills; ⁸ a land of wheat and barley, and vines and fig trees and pomegranates; ⁹ a land of oil olives and honey; ⁹ a land wherein thou shalt eat bread without 'scarceness, thou shalt not lack any thing in it; a land whose stones are iron, and out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass. ¹⁰ And thou shalt 'eat and be full, and thou shalt bless Yahweh thy God for the 'good land which he hath given thee. ¹¹ 'Beware, 'lest thou 'forget Yahweh thy God, in not "keeping his commandments, and his judge-ments, and his 'statutes, "which I command thee this day: ¹² lest when thou hast 'eaten and art full, and hast built goodly houses, and dwelt therein; ¹³ and when thy herds and thy flocks multiply, and thy silver and thy gold is multiplied, and all that thou hast is multiplied; ¹⁴ then 'thine heart be lifted up ^t , and thou 'forget Yahweh thy God, which 'brought thee forth out of the land of Egypt, out of the "house of bondage; ¹⁵ who 'led thee through the 'great and terrible 'wilderness, [wherein were] "fiery serpents and scorpions, and 'thirsty ground where was no water; who brought thee forth water out of the "rock of 'flint; ¹⁶ who 'fed thee in the wilderness with manna, 'which thy fathers knew not; that he might 'humble thee, and that he might 'prove thee, to 'do thee good at thy 'latter end: ¹⁷ and thou 'say in thine heart, My power and the might of mine hand hath gotten me this wealth. ¹⁸ But thou shalt 'remember Yahweh thy God, for it is he that giveth thee power to get wealth; that he may 'establish his "covenant which he sware unto thy fathers, 'as at this day. ¹⁹ ² And it shall be, if thou shalt 'forget Yahweh thy God, and 'walk after other gods, and 'serve them, and worship them, I 'testify against you this day that ye shall surely 'perish. ²⁰ As the nations which Yahweh "maketh to perish before you, so shall ye 'perish; "because ye would not "hearken unto the voice of Yahweh your God.	a 29 ^b b 82 ^a c 72 ^a d 53 e 107 f 97 g 1 ^a h 82 ^c i 68 ^c j 68 ^a k 66 l 115 ^a m 44 ^a n 24 o 69 ^b p 41 ^b q 108 ^a r 48 s 104 ^a t 28 ^b u 61 v 55 ^a w 31 x 23 ^a y 85 z 23 ^b a' 86 ^b b' 86 ^a c' 58 ¹ a 2 ^b b 53 c 55 ^b d 4 e 68 ^b f 68 ^a g 1 ^a h 34 ^a i 39 ^b j 86 ^a k 93 l 91 m 24 n 88 ¹
b 15 29 ^b			
c 27			
d Cp 16 ct 214.			
e 135			
f 16 13 ^a cp 219a			
g 16 cp Ex 1615			
h Cp 23 ²³ Num 30 ¹²			
i 29 ^b			
j 61 ²			
k 17 ²⁰			
l 19			
m Num 21 ⁶			
n Ex 17 ⁶ Num 20 ^{8b}			
o 3213 ^a			
p 2863 30 ⁶ ϕ ^a			
q Cp 4 ²⁰			
r 7 ¹⁷			
s 9 ⁸ cp 260			
t 25a7			
u 4 ²⁶ ϕ			
v 7 ¹²			
w 218			
x 610			
y 128			
z 724			
a 31 ³			
b 424			
c ϕ ^a			
d ϕ = <i>say</i> 717			
e 619			

9⁴ These words are omitted by ϕ , and are probably an accidental anticipation of the phrase in ⁵.

	J E D ^a	D	D' P
j 95 ^{2a} et Gen 15 ¹⁶		from before thee. ⁵ Not for thy righteousness, or for the uprightness of thyne heart, dost thou 'go in to possess their land: but for the 'wicked- ness of these nations Yahweh thy God doth 'drive them out from before thee, and that he may 'establish the word which Yahweh 'sware unto thy fathers, to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob. ⁶ 'Know therefore, that Yahweh thy God 'giveth thee not this good land to possess it for thy righteousness; for thou art a 'stiffnecked people. ⁷ "Remember, 'forget thou not, how thou "provokedst Yahweh thy God to wrath in the wilderness: from the day that thou wentest forth out of the land of Egypt, 'until ye came unto this place, ye "have been 'rebellious against Yahweh. ⁸ Also in Horeb ye "provoked Yahweh to wrath, and Yahweh was 'angry with you to have 'destroyed you. ⁹ "When I was 'gone up into the mount to receive the 'tables of stone, even the 'tables of the 'covenant which Yahweh made with you, then I abode in the mount 'forty days and forty nights; I did neither "eat bread nor drink	
k 81 ⁸ cp 27 ²⁸ §			o 17 ²
l 13 Ex 32 ⁹ 33 ¹ § 34 ^{9a} cp Deut 31 ²⁷			p 5 ²
m 7 ¹⁸			q 97 ^b
n 8 ²² Hiph ^a			r 94
o 131			s 18
p § 24 31 ²⁷			t 31
q Ex 24 ^{12a} r 4 ¹³ Ex 24 ¹² s 11 15 ^a cp 19 t 11 18 25 Ex 24 ^{12b} u 18 Ex 34 ^{28a}			

^{9b} The retrospect in 9^b-10¹¹ is now involved in so much confusion as to render its analysis very difficult. It is obviously founded on the combined narrative in Ex 32-34, but the earlier materials are treated with remarkable freedom, (1) in respect of language, and (2) in the unexpected combination of different passages. The dependence of D on JE and the fresh phraseology with which he has enriched the story, may be indicated by the following parallels, where the common matter is printed in italics.

Deut 9¹³⁻¹⁵

13 And Yahweh said unto me, saying, *I have seen this people, and, behold, it is a stiffnecked people;* ¹⁴ desist from me, that I may destroy them, and blot out their name from under heaven: *and I will make of thee a nation mightier and greater than they.* ¹⁵ And I turned and came down from the mount, and the mount burned with fire: *and the two tables of the covenant [were] on my two hands.*

Cp further the parallels to 15 17 21 &c. In 21 27 cp 18 observe 'your sin' *חַטֹּאתֵינוּ* as in Ex 32³⁰, elsewhere in D only 19¹⁵, otherwise usually *חַטֹּאתֵינוּ* 15⁹ 19¹⁵ 21²² 22²¹ 23²² 24¹⁵. A further illustration of the amalgamation of literary or traditional material from widely sundered sources, may be seen in the parallels to 26-29.

Deut 9²⁶⁻²⁹

26 And I prayed unto Yahweh, and said, O Lord Yahweh, destroy not thy people and thine inheritance, which thou hast redeemed through thy greatness, *which thou hast brought forth out of Egypt with a mighty hand.* ²⁷ Remember thy servants Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; look not unto the stubbornness of this people, nor to their wickedness, nor to their sin: ²⁸ lest the land whence thou broughtest us out say, *Because Yahweh was not able to bring them in to the land which he promised unto them, and because he hated them, he hath brought them out to kill them in the wilderness.* ²⁹ Yet are they thy people and thine inheritance, *which thou hast brought forth with thy great power and with thy stretched out arm.*

It may, however, be doubted whether the homiletic address in 9-21 has not received additional illustrations from an annotator.

Ex 32⁹ 10 15

9 And Yahweh said unto Moses, *I have seen this people, and, behold, it is a stiffnecked people.* ¹⁰ Now therefore let me alone, that my wrath may wax hot against them, and that I may consume them: *and I will make of thee a great nation.* ¹⁵ And Moses turned and went down from the mount, and the two tables of the testimony [were] in his hand.

Ex 32¹¹ 13

11 And Moses besought Yahweh his God, and said, Yahweh, why doth thy wrath wax hot against thy people, *which thou hast brought forth out of the land of Egypt with great power and with a mighty hand?* ¹³ Remember Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, thy servants. . .

Num 14¹⁶ 16¹³

. . . *Because Yahweh was not able to bring this people in to the land which he swore unto them, therefore he hath slain them in the wilderness.*

16¹³ . . . *to kill us in the wilderness.*

Ex 32¹¹

which thou hast brought forth with great power and with a mighty hand.

Such seems to be the source of the references in 22. . which break the continuity of 31 36 (7 25), and are related with a brevity compared with which the lengthy recital of the great apostasy seems quite disproportionata. It is possible that the passage 18-20 may owe its position to a similar cause, the antecedents of 17 21 in Ex 32¹⁰, being continuous:—

Deut 9¹⁷ 21

17 And I took hold of the two tables, and I cast them from on my two hands, and I brake them before your eyes. . . ²¹ And I took your sin, the calf which ye had made, and I burned it with fire and stamped it, grinding it very small, until it was crushed fine as dust: and I cast the dust into the brook thereof that descended out of the mount.

The dislocations of order in 9²⁰⁻²⁹, however, compared with Ex 32 suggest that the recital has been rearranged. According to the sequence of JE the retrospect would have more nearly assumed the following form: 8⁹ (1 Ex 34²⁸) 10 (Ex 31¹⁸) 11-14 26-29 15-17 21 18-20. But 20 finds its sequel in 10^{10b}, and 26-29 10b 11 seem to have been deliberately removed to the end of the story, to exhibit the instructions for departure in immediate sequence on the divine condescension to the prayer of Moses. The question is in this case complicated by the reference to the period of forty days cp 9¹⁸ 25 10¹⁰. How many such mountain-sojourns are intended? In Ex 24 32-34 only two are named 24^{18b} and 34^{28a} on occasion of the first and second gift of the tables bearing the Ten Words. There is no mention of any third period corresponding to that of intercession in 9¹⁸ where the allusion to fasting seems dependent on 9⁹, which in its turn appears to rest on Ex 34^{28a}, and to be transferred as a complementary detail from the second sojourn to the first. Ex 32³², however, does contain a reference to an intervening ascent for purposes of prayer and atonement, and this has been sometimes reckoned at the same length of forty days. This was the interpretation of the Rabbis; so Reuss among moderns; Dillmann, Montet, Oetli, Driver, and Steuarnagel, however, only recognize two periods and identify 18 25 with Ex 34²⁸. But the freedom with which D handled the older traditions may well have led him to allot the same duration for the great intercession; and it is still possible that 9¹⁸⁻²⁰ with its strong Deuteronomistic phraseology may be founded on this incident. Addis inclines to the view of Koster that 'as the words stand they seem to indicate a fast not mentioned elsewhere, viz one at the foot of the Mount.' The allusion in 20 to the divine anger with Aaron implies the presence in the older traditions of elements which have been since eliminated. (On the apparent return to the forty days of intercession in 10¹⁰ cp 10^{10a}.) There remains the insertion 22-25, which reads like an addition from the same hand in further illustration of 9⁷. If this was an afterthought, interpolated at a later stage, it may have been in part the cause of the redistribution of the elements of the narrative, and have called into existence 25 to resume the main story.

Ex 32^{19b} 20

19^b And Moses' anger waxed hot, and he cast the tables from his hand, and he brake them under the mount. And he took the calf which they had made, and he burned it with fire, and ground it until it was crushed fine, and strewed it upon the water, and made the children of Israel drink of it.

JE D ^e	D	D ^r P
r 5: g ^{ave} 11	water. ¹⁰ And Yahweh ^e delivered unto me the two tables of stone	
w Ex 31 ^{18b}	"written with the finger of God; and on them [was written] according	u 79
x 54 ¹⁰⁴	to all the words, which Yahweh ^e spake with you in the mount "out	v 20 ^a
y 104 ¹⁸¹⁰	of the midst of the fire in the "day of the "assembly. ¹¹ "And it came	
12-21 L5e/	to pass at the end of 'forty days and forty nights, that Yahweh gave me	
z Ex 32 ⁷	the two tables of stone, even the 'tables of the covenant. ¹² "And	
	Yahweh said unto me, 'Arise, get thee down ^e quickly from hence; for	w 28 ^b
	thy people which thou hast "brought forth out of Egypt have corrupted	x 114 ^a
	themselves; they are ^e quickly "turned aside out of the way "which	y 29 ^b
a' Ex 32 ⁹	I commanded them; they have made them a molten image. ¹³ "Further-	
b' Ct Ex 32 ¹⁰ 5	more Yahweh spake unto me, saying, "I have seen this people, and,	
c' 29 ²⁰ cp 25 ¹⁹	behold, it is a 'stiffnecked people: ¹⁴ ^b let me alone, that I may ^e destroy	
d' 17 ¹⁴ ct Ex 32 ¹⁰	them, and ^e blot out their name from under heaven: and I will ^e make	
e' 52 ²³	of thee a nation 'mightier and greater than they. ¹⁵ So I ^e turned and	
f' 5 = saw Ex 32 ¹⁹	came down from the mount, and the "mount burned with fire: and the	
g' Ex 32 ⁸	two 'tables of the covenant were in my two hands. ¹⁶ And I ^e looked,	
	and, behold, ye had sinned against Yahweh your God; ye had made	
	you a "molten calf: ye ^e had "turned aside ^e quickly out of the way which	
	Yahweh had commanded you". ¹⁷ And I took hold of the two tables,	
	and ^e cast them out of my two hands, and brake them "before your	
	eyes.	
i' 10 ¹⁰	¹⁸ "And I fell down before Yahweh, "as at the first, 'forty days and	
j' 21 cp 9 ⁹	forty nights; I did neither "eat bread nor drink water; because of all	
	your ^e sin which ye sinned, in ^e doing that which was evil in the sight	
	of Yahweh, to provoke him to anger. ¹⁹ For I was afraid of the anger	
	and hot displeasure, wherewith Yahweh was wroth against you to	
	^e destroy you. But Yahweh hearkened unto me that time also. ²⁰ And	
	Yahweh was very 'angry with Aaron to have ^e destroyed him: and	
	I ^e prayed for Aaron also the "same "time.	
k' 26 cp Gen 20 ⁷ 17	²¹ And I ^e took your ^e sin, the calf which ye had made, and burnt it with	
l' Ct 19 5	fire, and stamped it, grinding it "very small, until it was as fine as dust:	
m' Ex 32 ²⁰	and I cast the dust thereof into the brook that descended out of the	
	mount.	
n' Num 11 ¹⁻³	²² "And at "Taberah, and at "Massah, and at "Kibroth-hattaavah, ye	
o' 616 Ex 17 ¹⁻⁷	"provoked Yahweh to wrath. ²³ And when Yahweh sent you from	
p' Num 11 ⁴⁻²⁴	"Kadesh-barnea, saying, "Go up and possess the "land which I have	
q' 119b 21	given you; then ye 'rebelled against the commandment of Yahweh	
	your God, and ye ^e believed him not, nor ^e hearkened to his voice. ²⁴ Ye	
r' 132	^e have been 'rebellious against Yahweh from the day that I knew you.	
s' Cp 146	²⁵ So I fell down before Yahweh the 'forty days and forty nights "that	
t' 34	I fell down; because Yahweh had said he would ^e destroy you.	
u' 31	²⁶ And I ^e prayed unto Yahweh, and said, O "Lord Yahweh, " ^e destroy	
v' 29 cp 1 Kings 851 ⁷ 'inheritance' op Ex 34 ⁹	not thy "people and thine inheritance", which thou hast ^e redeemed	
w' Ex 32 ¹¹	through thy "greatness, "which thou hast brought forth out of Egypt	
x' Ex 32 ¹³	with a "mighty hand. ²⁷ "Remember thy servants, Abraham, Isaac,	
y' 51	and Jacob; look not unto the "stubbornness of this people, nor to their	
z' 5 cp 8	"wickedness, nor to their sin: ²⁸ lest the "land whence thou broughtest	
aa' Cp Ex 32 ¹²		

⁹¹¹ This verse has been sometimes treated as a doublet of ¹⁰. Dillm and Driver, however, see in it an addition to the statement in ¹⁰, viz that the gift of the tables took place at the end of the forty days. Horst, on the other hand, *RHR* xvi 32, joins ⁹⁶ with ¹⁰ and ^{9b} with ¹¹.

¹³ 5 = And Yahweh said unto me saying. The opening words are identical with those of ¹²: cp Ex 32⁷ 9. Steuarnagel supposes the harmonist to have added ¹² to Deut from Ex 32⁷, and to have incorporated Deut 9¹³ by a reverse process in Ex 32⁹. 5 has a curious addition, 'And the Lord said unto me, I have spoken unto thee once and twice saying, I have seen &c.'

¹⁸ Cp 9⁹. The reference to Aaron in ²⁰ is probably founded on material not now preserved in JE, where the expostulation of Moses with Aaron Ex 32²² is followed by the massacre of three

thousand of the idolaters at the hands of the sons of Levi ²⁵⁻²⁹, and the guilty Aaron unexpectedly disappears from the scene.

²² Cp 9⁹. The further reminiscences of Israel's rebellious temper (here marked as a possible addition by a later hand, though they may be due simply to the expansive manner of D) are brought back to the Horeb scenes by a second reference to the forty days' intercession. It may be noted that the English 'so' ²⁵, like 'also' ⁸, 'furthermore' ¹³, and 'so' ¹⁵, only represents the Hebrew particle usually translated 'and' e.g. ¹⁸ ¹⁰ ⁹. It is possible that ²⁵ originally belonged to D's retrospect of Israel's offence, and that only the words 'the forty days and forty nights that I fell down' were added by the annotator for purposes of identification.

J E D ^a	D	D ^a P
<p>^b Num 14¹⁶</p> <p>^c 1²⁷</p> <p>^d ^g = kill Num 16¹⁸ et Ex 32¹²</p> <p>^e 4³⁷ ^g = might Num 14¹³</p> <p>1-5 2400^b</p> <p>a Cp Ex 34^{1a}</p> <p>b Ex 34^{1b}</p> <p>c Ct Ex 37¹</p> <p>d Ex 34⁴</p> <p>e Ex 34^{28b}</p> <p>f g¹⁰</p> <p>g. 211b</p> <p>h Ct Num 33²¹⁻²³</p> <p>A Ct Num 33²⁸</p> <p>cp 20²⁸</p> <p>h. 211a¹</p> <p>i Cp 90</p> <p>j Ct Num 36¹⁸</p>	<p>us out say, ^b Because Yahweh was not able to ^mbring them into the land which he promised unto them, and because he ^ehated them, he hath brought them out to ^dslay them in the wilderness. ²⁹ Yet they are thy ^gpeople and thine inheritance, which thou broughtest out by thy great ^epower and by thy stretched out arm.</p> <p>10¹ ^hAt ^athat time Yahweh said unto me, ^aHew thee two tables of stone like unto the first, and come up unto me into the mount, and make thee an ark of wood. ² And I will ^bwrite on the tables the words that were on the first tables which thou brakest, and thou shalt put them in the ark. ³ So ^cI made an ark of acacia wood, and ^dhewed two tables of stone like unto the first, and went up into the mount, having the two tables in mine hand. ⁴ And ^ehe wrote on the tables, according to the first writing, the ten ^mcommandments, ^jwhich Yahweh spake unto you in the mount ^bout of the midst of the fire in the day of the ^cassembly: and Yahweh gave them unto me. ⁵ And I ^dturned and came down from the mount, and put the tables in the ark which I had made; and there they be, ^aas Yahweh commanded me.</p> <p>6 ^hAnd the children of Israel ^gjourneyed from ^aBeeroth Bene-jaakan to Moserah: there ^bAaron died, and there he was buried; and Eleazar his son ministered in the priest's office in his stead. ⁷ From thence they journeyed unto Gudgodah; and from Gudgodah to Jotbathah, a land of brooks of water.</p> <p>8 ^hAt ^athat time Yahweh separated the ^ctribe of ^dLevi, to bear the ^eark of the ^ccovenant of Yahweh, to ^dstand before Yahweh to ^jminister unto</p>	<p>a 110</p> <p>b 79</p> <p>c 20^a</p> <p>d 113</p> <p>e 29^a</p> <p>f 112^a</p> <p>g 19</p>

10¹ The next section 10¹⁻¹¹ raises further embarrassments. It is not connected with the preceding theme of Israel's rebelliousness: it has the air of an addition suggested by the desire to complete the well-known story. The recital of 1-4 is plainly founded on Ex 34¹⁻⁴, and describes the preparation of the ark, which seems to have been eliminated from J's narrative to make way for the elaborate record of P Ex 37¹⁻⁹. After recounting the ascent of Moses with the two new tables to receive the divine inscription of the Ten Words, it relates the deposition of the sacred stones in the ark, and the appointment of the tribe of Levi to carry it ⁵. But 9²⁹ left Moses in prayer upon the mount, while 10¹⁻⁸ shows him active down below. Where is the connecting link of this abrupt transition? The sequel of 9²⁹ does not appear until 10^{10b}, while 11 is the Deuteronomic parallel to the corresponding instructions in Ex 32²⁴ 33¹. The story in 1-5 8-9 in its present position is clearly out of place chronologically; though its appearance may be due to the author's desire for completeness so as to omit no available material; but this might be equally characteristic of an annotator. (On the contrast of this account of the ark with the narrative of P cp *Introd* i 30 57: concerning the Levitical priesthood implied in ⁸ cp *Introd* i 53.) The passage is connected with the foregoing narrative by occasional identities of phrase cp ^{4b} 9^{10b}, ^{5a} 9^{15a} (though on the other hand the use of 'at that time' ¹ ⁸ has a curious likeness to the style of 1-3). The junction with 10^{10b} 11 is effected by 10^a, which would naturally follow ³ cp Ex 34²⁸. In its original position 10^a referred to the sojourn of Moses on the mount at the renewal of the Ten Words: where it now stands it describes the intercession of 9²⁹⁻³⁰ which is at last successful 10^{10b}.

⁴ M. ^g words.—This clause may be a later explanation (cp Steuermann). ^g omits 'in the day of the assembly.'

^{5a} These verses, though Kuenen declared them inseparable from the rest, certainly seem out of place here. They suddenly carry the story forward without warning many stages on the march from Horeb, although the instructions to begin the journey are not recited till 11. Departing from the method of address in the preceding discourse, they lapse into the narrative form in the third person (on 'children of Israel' see 4^{14b}). In recounting the death of Aaron and the appointment of Eleazar in his place, as the apparent occasion for the selection of the tribe of Levi to carry the ark ⁸, it is overlooked that the sacred chest must have needed bearers as soon as the tribes started for the promised land, so that P connects the choice of Levi with Sinai

itself. But if ⁶ does not belong to its present setting, whence was it derived? It cannot be drawn from P's record of the Israelite journeys, for it is in open conflict with it:—

Deut 10⁶.

Num 33²¹⁻²³ 28

⁶ And the children of Israel journeyed from Beeroth Bene-jaakan to Moserah: there Aaron died, and there he was buried; and Eleazar his son ministered in the priest's office in his stead. ⁷ From thence they journeyed unto Gudgodah; and from Gudgodah to Jotbathah, a land of brooks of water.

³¹ And they journeyed from Moseroth, and pitched in Bene-jaakan. ³² And they journeyed from Bene-jaakan, and pitched in Hor-haggidgad. ³³ And they journeyed from Hor-haggidgad, and pitched in Jotbathah. . . . ³⁸ And Aaron went up into Mount Hor at the commandment of Yahweh, and died there.

These discrepancies make it impossible to derive the passage in D from P, yet it has all the air of an extract from a longer itinerary. Traces of such an itinerary are found in Num 21¹², where they seem to belong to E. With this ascription cp the formula 'died and was buried there' Num 20^{1b}. Bacon and Driver further see an analogy to the mention of Eleazar's appointment as priest in E's reference to his death Josh 24²³. By what editorial process this brief specimen survived among the dislocated fragments of E's list of Israel's journeys, and found its way into the historical annotations attached to one of D's homilies, it is not possible to form any definite conception. The incorporation of P's narrative of the death of Aaron in Num 20^{22b-29} may have led to the removal of E's brief record of the same event; and a later scribe may have found a place for it in connexion with the tradition of the consecrated tribe to which Moses and Aaron both belonged.

^{5b} M. Or, *the wells of the children of Jaakan*.

^{6b} From what source is this statement derived? Hardly from J, which recognized priests before the Sinai-covenant Ex 19²², and connects the consecration of Levi with the massacre recorded in Ex 32²⁸. The reference to Levi's function as ark-bearer suggests that this arrangement was part of the institutions connected with the tent of meeting cp Ex 33¹⁻¹¹: E seems to have recognized the Levitical priesthood cp Deut 33⁸⁻¹¹; but in the combination with P the provisions of E were suppressed. The language of ⁶, however, is characteristically Deuteronomic.

JE D ^c	D	D ^c P
k 21 ⁵ et Num 62 ⁸ l 121 ² 14 ^{27b} 181 m 18 ² Josh 13 ¹⁴ n 9 ⁵ o 9 ¹⁹ cp Ex 32 ¹⁴ p Ct Ex 32 ³⁴ 33 ¹	him, and to ¹ bless in his name, ² unto this day. ⁹ ¹ Wherefore Levi hath no ³ portion nor inheritance with his brethren; Yahweh is his ⁴ inheritance, ⁵ according as ⁶ Yahweh thy God spake unto him.	h 33 ^b i 9 ¹ j 17 k 53 l 107 ¹
19-16 Lili q 4 ¹ r Cp Mic 6 ⁸	¹⁰ And I stayed in the mount, as at the first time, ¹¹ forty days and forty nights: and Yahweh ¹² hearkened unto me that time also; Yahweh ¹³ would not destroy thee. ¹⁴ And Yahweh said unto me, ¹⁵ Arise, take thy journey before the people; and they shall ¹⁶ go in and possess the land, which I ¹⁷ swore unto their fathers to give unto them ¹⁸ .	m 44 ^a n 115 ^a o 74 ^b p 23 ^c q 59 r 82 ^c s 104 ^a t 90 ^b u 116 ^b v 84 w 74 ^a x 26 ^a y 14 z 33 ^a a' 55 ^a
s 1 Kings 827 ¹ t Chron 26 618 u Ps 6883 1484 v Neh 9 ⁵ w 7 x 18 y 36 ^b z Jer 44 ¹ a Ps 136 ² b Ps 24 ¹⁸ 10 ²¹ al c 2880 ct 117 161 ⁹ d 6 e 6 = 61/1 161 ⁹ f 27 ²⁵ Ex 23 ⁸ g 18. L28 h Cp 24 ¹⁷ i 61 ³ j Cp Jer 17 ¹⁴	¹² ¹² And now, Israel, ¹³ what doth Yahweh thy God require of thee, but to ¹⁴ fear Yahweh thy God, to ¹⁵ walk in all his ways, and to ¹⁶ love him, and to ¹⁷ serve Yahweh thy God with all thy ¹⁸ heart and with all thy soul, ¹⁹ to ²⁰ keep the commandments of Yahweh, and his ²¹ statutes, ²² which I command thee this day for thy ²³ good? ²⁴ Behold, unto Yahweh thy God belongeth the heaven, and the ²⁵ heaven of heavens, the earth, with all that therein is. ²⁶ Only Yahweh had a ²⁷ delight in thy fathers to ²⁸ love them, and he ²⁹ chose their ³⁰ seed after them, even you ³¹ above ³² 'all peoples, as ³³ at this day. ³⁴ Circumcise therefore the ³⁵ foreskin of your heart ³⁶ , and be no more stiffnecked. ³⁷ For Yahweh your God, he is ³⁸ God of gods, and Lord of lords ³⁹ , the ⁴⁰ 'great God, the ⁴¹ 'mighty, and the terrible, which ⁴² 'regardeth not persons, nor taketh ⁴³ 'reward. ⁴⁴ He doth execute the ⁴⁵ 'judgement of the ⁴⁶ 'fatherless and widow, and ⁴⁷ loveth the stranger, in giving him food and raiment. ⁴⁸ ⁴⁹ Love ye therefore the stranger: for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt. ⁵⁰ Thou shalt ⁵¹ 'fear Yahweh thy God; him shalt thou ⁵² 'serve; and to him shalt thou ⁵³ 'cleave, and by his ⁵⁴ 'name shalt thou swear. ⁵⁵ He is thy ⁵⁶ 'praise, and he is thy God, that hath done for thee these ⁵⁷ 'great and terrible things, which thine ⁵⁸ 'eyes have seen. ⁵⁹ Thy fathers went down into Egypt with ⁶⁰ 'threescore and ten persons; and now Yahweh thy God hath made thee as the ⁶¹ 'stars of heaven for multitude. ⁶² ⁶³ Therefore thou shalt ⁶⁴ 'love Yahweh ⁶⁵ 'thy God, and ⁶⁶ 'keep his ⁶⁷ 'charge, and his ⁶⁸ 'statutes, and his judgements, and his commandments, ⁶⁹ 'always. ⁷⁰ And ⁷¹ 'know ye this day: for [I speak] not with your children which have not known, and which have not seen the ⁷² 'chastisement of Yahweh your God, his ⁷³ 'greatness, his ⁷⁴ 'mighty hand, and his stretched out arm, ⁷⁵ and his ⁷⁶ 'signs, and his works, which he ⁷⁷ 'did in the midst of ⁷⁸ 'Egypt unto Pharaoh the king of Egypt, and unto all his land; ⁷⁹ and what he did unto the ⁸⁰ 'army of Egypt, unto their horses, and to their chariots; how he made the water of the Red Sea to ⁸¹ 'overflow them as they pursued after you, and how Yahweh hath ⁸² 'destroyed them ⁸³ 'unto this day; ⁸⁴ and what he ⁸⁵ 'did unto you in the wilderness, ⁸⁶ 'until ye came unto this place; ⁸⁷ and what he did unto ⁸⁸ 'Dathan and Abiram, the sons of Eliab, the son of Reuben; how the ⁸⁹ 'earth opened her mouth, and swallowed them up, and their households, and their tents, and every ⁹⁰ 'living thing that ⁹¹ 'followed them, in the midst of ⁹² 'all Israel: ⁹³ but ⁹⁴ 'your eyes have seen all the great ⁹⁵ 'work of Yahweh which he ⁹⁶ 'did. ⁹⁷ Therefore shall ye ⁹⁸ 'keep all the ⁹⁹ 'commandment ¹⁰⁰ 'which I command thee this day, that ye may be ¹⁰¹ 'strong, and ¹⁰² 'go in and possess the land, whither ye ¹⁰³ 'go over to ¹⁰⁴ 'possess it; ¹⁰⁵ and that ye may ¹⁰⁶ 'prolong your days upon the land, which Yahweh ¹⁰⁷ 'swore	b' 105 ^a c' 44 d' 27 e' 55 ^a f' 43 ^c a 74 ^b b 1 ^a c 82 ^c d 104 ^a e 13 ^a f 68 ^a g 55 ^c h 80 ^a i 101 ^c j 12 k 86 ^d l 33 ^b m 2 ^a n 43 ^d o 29 ^d p 29 ^b q 106 ^b r 53 s 54 t 56 u 73 ^b v 107 ^a

10⁹ (9) according as he spake, omitting 'Yahweh thy God.'

11 The proposal of Bacon (*Triple Trad* 258) to detach 10¹⁻¹¹ and place it before 16¹, overlooks the fact that 9²⁵⁻²⁹ would then be broken off abruptly without any close; 10¹⁰ would be obviously out of place; while 10¹ would be unintelligible without some previous explanation to lead up to it and fix the occasion. It would be therefore necessary to suppose that the beginning of the retrospect was lost. The view of Horst, *RHR* xvi 32 f, overcomes the immediate difficulty of separating 10¹⁻¹¹ from its context, by transporting the whole series of reminiscences to the opening of the introductory survey 1-3. This involves, however, other perplexities, for what preceded the story of the Golden Calf in its altered position? The

announcement of the Ten Words would be the only possible prelude, and this is already described in 5. Is that also severed from its natural sequel? The group of recollections is surely more in harmony with its surroundings where it stands. In spite of some misproportion in detail it forms a suitable arraignment against Israel which is fitting in its context. But there would be no appropriateness in opening the great address with such a series of charges, as though this was the chief issue of the wanderings.

12 On the 'stranger' ('sojourner,' or *gēr*) see Driver's note in loc. This verse appears to be derived from Lev 19³⁴, and has been regarded as a later insertion here. Cp Ex 22²¹ 23².

112 M Or, instruction.—Cp 4³⁸.

	JE D'	D	D' P
k 1 ^o		unto your fathers to give unto them and to their 'seed, a land 'flowing with milk and honey. ¹⁰ For the land, whither thou 'goest in to 'possess it, is not as the land of Egypt, from whence ye came out, where thou sowedst thy seed, and 'wateredst it with thy foot', as a 'garden of herbs: ¹¹ but the land, whither ye 'go over to 'possess it, is a land of hills and 'valleys, [and] drinketh water of the rain of heaven: ¹² a land which Yahweh thy God 'careth for; the 'eyes of Yahweh thy God are always upon it, from the beginning of the year even unto the end of the year.	w 69 ^a
l 5†		¹³ And it shall come to pass, if ye shall 'hearken diligently unto my 'commandments 'which I command you this day, to 'love Yahweh your God, and to 'serve him with all your 'heart and with all your soul, ¹⁴ that 'I will 'give the rain of your land in its season ^q , the 'former rain and the latter rain', that thou mayest gather in thy 'corn, and thy wine, and thine oil. ¹⁵ And I will give grass in thy fields for thy cattle, and thou shalt 'eat and be full. ¹⁶ ¹⁶ Take heed to yourselves, lest your heart be 'deceived, and ye turn aside, and 'serve other gods, and 'worship them; ¹⁷ and the 'anger of Yahweh be kindled against you, and he 'shut up the heaven', that there be no rain, and that the land yield not her 'fruit; and ye 'perish 'quickly from off the 'good land which Yahweh giveth you. ¹⁸ ¹⁸ Therefore shall ye lay up 'these my words in your heart and in your soul; and ye shall bind them for a sign upon your hand, and they shall be for frontlets between your eyes. ¹⁹ ¹⁹ And ye shall 'teach them your children, talking of them, when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up. ²⁰ And thou shalt write them upon the door posts of thine house, and upon thy 'gates: ²¹ that your days may be multiplied, and the days of your children, upon the land which Yahweh 'sware unto your fathers to give them, as the days of the 'heavens above the earth. ²² For if ye shall diligently 'keep all this 'commandment 'which I command you, to do it; to 'love Yahweh your God, to 'walk in all his ways, and to 'cleave unto him; ²³ then will Yahweh 'drive out all these nations from before you, and ye shall 'possess nations 'greater and mightier than yourselves. ²⁴ Every place whereon the 'sole of your foot shall 'tread shall be yours: from the 'wilderness, and 'Lebanon, from the river, the river Euphrates, even unto the 'hinder sea shall be your border. ²⁵ There 'shall no man be able to stand before you: Yahweh your God shall 'lay the fear of you and the dread of you upon all the land that ye shall 'tread upon, as he hath 'spoken unto you.	x 29 ^d y 23 ^c z 59 a' 30 b' 41 ^b c' 108 ^a d' 25 ^b e' 17
m 1 Kings 21 ^{2†}		²⁶ ²⁶ Behold, 'I 'set before you this day 'a 'blessing and a 'curse; ²⁷ the blessing, if ye shall hearken unto the 'commandments of Yahweh your God, 'which I command you this day: ²⁸ and the 'curse, if ye shall not hearken unto the 'commandments of Yahweh your God, but 'turn aside out of the way 'which I command you this day, to 'go after other gods, 'which ye have not known.	f' 93 g' 69 ^a
n 8 ⁷		²³ ²³ And 'it shall come to pass, when Yahweh thy God shall 'bring	h' 71 ^b i' 51
o Ps 33 ¹⁸ 34 ¹¹			j' 82 ^a k' 115 ^a l' 27 m' 39 ^b n' 55 ^b o' 111
p 15 ⁵ 28 ¹ cp Ex 15 ²⁶ 19 ⁵ 23 ²⁸			p' 91 q' 99 r' 63 s' 100 ^b t' 22 ^b u' 32 v' 114 w' 85 x' 68 ^c y' 24
q 28 ¹²			
r Jer 5 ^{24†}			
s Job 31 ²⁷ cp Ex 22 ¹⁶			
t Cp 1 Kings 8 ²⁵ 2 Chron 6 ^{28†}			
u 5 = increase 32 ³² Lev 26 ⁴ 26 ^a			
v 4 ³⁰ Josh 23 ¹⁶			
w 1 ¹¹ 1 ¹¹			
x 6 ⁸⁻⁹ 12-21 140 ^c			
y Ps 89 ²⁹			
z Cp 88 ^b			
a 2 ⁵			
a' Josh 1 ⁴			
b' 1 ⁷			
c' 7 ²⁴			
d' 5 = put 2 ²⁸			
e 28-28 15 ^a			
f 610			

11¹² M 5 seeketh after.—Jer 30¹⁷ Ezek 34⁶.

14 Cp a similar transition to the divine speaker 7^a.

18 5 = and. The passage thus introduced closely resembles one in 6⁸⁻⁹, which in its turn shows affinity with Ex 13¹⁶. But whereas 6⁸⁻⁹ is expressed throughout in the sing, this passage runs chiefly in the pl. The variations in 19^b 20 may be due to reminiscence, or to spontaneous alternation of number. The repetition is suggestive of the manner in which common materials may have been worked up at different times, in similar but not identical forms.

24 M That is, western.—34² Zech 14⁸ Joel 2^{20†}.

26 An anticipatory allusion to the blessings and curses in 28 cp 30¹ 15. Cp 29^a.

29 A similar allusion to the ceremony enjoined in 27¹¹. Are the 'blessing' and the 'curse' in 29 to be identified with those named in 26-29? It is no more certain here than in the case of

27¹², and 28. The connexion seems to be verbal, rather than material. Dillm (with Valetton) regards the passage as imported from some other connexion, perhaps after 27¹⁻⁵. It may be doubted, however, whether it really fits the subsequent context any better; and it has rather the air of an addition suggested to a later scribe by the associated ideas of 'blessing' and 'curse.' Kautsch and Steuernagel treat 31, also as secondary. But a conclusion to the homilies seems needed after 26-28 (cp Addis), and 32 leads up to the opening of the code in 12¹. The interrogative form in 30 cp 31¹ implies the archaeological annotator rather than the speaker; or it may have grown out of the hint of the passage of the Jordan 31. (It is somewhat curious that at 29 the plural 'ye' should give way to 'thou,' to be resumed in 31.) Dillm, having once proposed to remove 29, applies his suggestion further to 26-28. But the participle in 26 is not so definite as the perfects in 30¹ 15 (cp 4^b), and like the phrases in

JE D ^a	D	D ^a P
f' 27 ¹²	thee into the land whither thou 'goest to 'possess it, that thou shalt set the 'blessing upon mount 'Gerizim, and the "curse upon mount Ebal.	
g' 17 Num 13 ²⁹ h' 219 i' Gen 12 ⁶	³⁰ Are they not 'beyond Jordan, behind the way of the going down of the sun, in the land of the "Canaanites which dwell in the Arabah, "over against Gilgal, beside the "oaks of 'Moreh ?	a' 21 ^b
	³¹ For ye are to 'pass over Jordan to 'go in to possess the land "which Yahweh your God giveth you, and ye shall possess it, and dwell therein.	a" 69 ^c
	³² And ye shall "observe to do all the "statutes and the judgements which "I 'set before you this day.	b" 82 ^a c" 104 ^a
a Cp 4 ⁴⁸ 5 ¹ 6 ¹	12 ¹ "These "are the "statutes and the judgements, which ye shall	a 104 ^a

7¹¹ 8¹ 11³² may point forwards as well as backwards. The transposition of 26-28, therefore, seems to be unnecessary. It seems the more needless (with Horst) to reject the whole of 26-32.

³⁰ M Or, *terebinthas*.

12^{1a} The essential elements of the Deuteronomic legislation are usually discovered in 12-26. This is the proper 'law' 1⁵; it bears its own title 12¹: and to this the homilies in 5-11 continually point. It may be asked (1) does the Code present itself as a complete and homogeneous whole? Or (2) does it show traces of the aggregation of dissimilar materials, or (3) exhibit signs of the combination or juxtaposition of different legal drafts embodying the same principles? A few observations are here offered on these points: a discussion of the special affinities of the laws of D with those of JE and P with an examination of their historical relations will be found in the *Introd* IX.

(1) The code in its present form is bound together by a number of recurring phrases, ascribing its several parts to a common situation, the approaching entrance of Israel into the land given to their fathers e.g. 12¹ 9³⁰ 20²⁰ 15¹ 17¹⁴ 18⁹ 19¹ 14²⁰ 21¹ 23³⁰ 24¹ 25¹⁵ 19²⁶. Allusions to the Egyptian bondage cp 97, promises of long life and prosperity as the result of obedience 73, 116, and references to the place which Yahweh shall choose 87, further indicate a pervading unity of thought and style. Similarly the laws exhibit various common terms and formulae, such as 'abomination' 9, 'thine eye shall not pity' 43^b, 'if there be found' 49, 'and it be sin unto thee' 102, 'the stranger, the fatherless and the widow' 105, 'hear and fear' 13¹¹ 17¹³ 19³⁰ 21²¹. But (2) the unity thus implied includes beneath it great diversity both of contents and expression. The first half of the code deals with the fundamental theocratic obligations of the holy people, and the great civil and religious powers instituted for its guidance, judge, priest, king, and prophet 12-18. The second portion, however, especially 20-25, is of a very miscellaneous character. On the one hand it contains groups of regulations, such as those for the conduct of war 20 21¹⁰ 23⁹, which are highly elaborated: on the other, it inserts a brief solitary precept such as 22³⁰ which forms but a single case in a whole list of similar prohibitions elsewhere; or as in 25¹⁶ enunciates a general prophetic principle in the midst of a set of specific rules for social justice. One series is distinguished by the regular appearance of the 'elders' 19¹² 21² 19²² 25⁷: another is concerned with humanity to animals 22¹⁻⁴ 6, and kindness to slaves, debtors, and the poor 23¹⁵ 19²⁶ 24¹⁰ 14¹⁹ 19¹⁰; a third deals with family difficulties and the relations of the sexes 21¹⁵ 18¹ 22¹³⁻²⁹ 24¹⁻⁵ 25⁵; a fourth lays down rules of exclusion from the holy community 23¹⁻⁸. These groups sometimes exhibit points of contact, as in the case of the 'elders' who have their place in the family incidents as well as in more elaborate judicial arrangements; or, again, in the exemption of the newly married from military service 24⁵. But it does not appear possible to discriminate them clearly from one another on grounds either of contents or form. The laws are cast in various types of command and prohibition (e.g. 2nd masc sing, positive 22¹², negative 22¹ 4⁹⁻¹¹; conditional 21¹⁰ 22⁸ 23⁹ &c.: 3rd masc sing or pl negative 23¹⁻³ 24¹⁶, conditional 21¹⁵ 22¹³ 22²⁴ 24⁷ 25¹ 5¹¹). The technical terms and expressions do not seem restricted to special classes; thus 'abomination' covers offences as far apart as idolatry and magic, unchastity, and the use of false weights and measures. A literary analysis of these chapters, therefore, appears highly artificial and precarious, if not absolutely impossible. But it

may be doubted whether the entire collection was really included in Josiah's law-book. The materials in 12-18 are on the whole closely connected with each other (see, however, 14¹⁸) in spite of occasional indications of doubling or misplacement. In 17⁴ 18⁹ a formula enters which does not recur again until 26¹. Is it possible that the paragraphs thus introduced were originally closer to each other? The main contents of 19 (apart from 14 which is quite isolated) are not incongruous with the preceding group and touch it at many points cp 19¹ 12²⁹, and parallels with 19⁴ 7¹³ and 15-21. But such indications are rarer in 20-25. May it not be conjectured that in its earliest form the Code was considerably shorter, and only received into itself much of the material in 20-25 by later processes of incorporation which can no longer be traced in detail?*

(3) The probability that the Deuteronomic legislation contains elements from various sources is increased by the evidence of the coexistence of different forms of the same law side by side, and the occasional blending of separate regulations into one. Apart from signs of later redactional activity (cp 13^{3b-4} 15¹⁻⁶ 17¹⁶ 18¹ 18¹⁵ 19⁶ 17²⁰⁻⁴ 17²¹ 2²⁴), it appears plain, for example, that the fundamental principle of the unity of the sanctuary is embodied in at least two different drafts cp 12²⁸. The law directed against the worship of other gods in 13 has a counterpart in 17³⁻⁷. The annual tithe 14²²⁻²⁷ applied to agricultural produce passes without recognition in 26, which provides liturgical treatment for the firstfruits of the ground 1-11 cp 18⁴, and the triennial tithe 12-18 cp 14²². Two tests of false prophecy are offered 13¹⁻⁵ and 18²⁰⁻²²: but the criterion which is disallowed in 13² (the actual verification of a prediction) is made the basis of discrimination in 18²². Not only are there separate laws on the same subject which are not conceived quite in the same mould, but it is probable that varying details have been sometimes wrought into one combined text. In some cases the editorial process has apparently been limited to simple explanation or addition cp 15¹⁻⁸ and 4-6 17¹⁸ 19⁶ 17²⁰⁻⁴ 21⁶ 26⁴: in others, the harmonist's activity has welded diverse materials into complete union cp 16¹⁻⁸ 17²⁻⁷ 8-12 18¹⁻⁵. It is probably to the derivation of the laws from various shorter collections that the occasional separation of precepts on related subjects is to be ascribed e.g. blemished animals 15⁴¹ and 17¹, loans 15¹⁻⁸ 23¹⁹, pledges 24⁶ and 10-13, rectitude in the administration of justice 16¹⁸ 24¹⁷, the release of the newly married from military service 20⁷ 24⁵. On the other hand 23¹⁷ and 18, though conjoined, appear to treat the temple-prostitute from different points of view (the forms of the prohibitions, also, vary, and 'the house of Yahweh thy God' 18 occurs nowhere else in Deut cp Ex 23¹⁹ || 34²⁶).

(4) If the Deuteronomic Code 12-26 may thus be regarded as bearing on its face signs of compilation from different sources, is it possible to determine their general character? Many laws are plainly related to regulations in J E and P^h (cp the margins and *Introd* IX i 2a) i.e. the Code includes materials from the collections of both Judah and Ephraim. But many more have no parallel elsewhere (cp *Introd* i 73^a). Some, like those dealing with a supreme court of appeal 17⁹⁻¹³, the monarchy 17¹⁴⁻²⁰, prophecy 18⁹⁻²², are concerned with great historical institutions, and must be explained in connexion with their age. Others, as in the cases of seduction to idolatry 13, enforce under the form of law and penalty profound religious principles, or, like those dealing with behaviour in war 20 23⁹⁻¹⁴, attempt to express certain ideas rather than to regulate actual practice. On the other hand, the

* Staerk has attempted, *Deut* 111-119, to reconstruct the original code. Such efforts are not without interest, but are too hypothetical to require special notice, still less to command general assent.

b 4¹⁰ cp 13
 2-13 10a:1
 2 15a/1
 c 18¹⁴ cp 88b
 d Jer 3⁶ cp 230
 e 15g
 f 7b Ex 34¹³

4-14 17aj

f 5+
 6- 17bapc
 g Cp 11 12 27 Ex
 2084
 h Ex 10²⁶ 1812
 i 17 14 22
 j 11 17 cp 118f
 k 11 17 23 31
 l 17 1610 2338
 m 17 14 22 1519+

n Cp Judg 17⁶
 2125
 o Cp Num 1038
 Gen 4918a
 p 2519 Josh 231

q Gen 23⁶ Ex
 154b
 12 111kz

r Cp 90d
 s 10b
 13-18 110a: 113a
 t Cp 1110

observe to do in the land which Yahweh, the God of thy fathers, hath given thee to possess it, all the days that ye live upon the earth.

2 Ye shall surely destroy all the places, wherein the nations which ye shall possess served their gods, upon the high mountains, and upon the hills, and under every green tree: 3 and ye shall break down their altars, and dash in pieces their pillars, and burn their Asherim with fire; and ye shall hew down the graven images of their gods; and ye shall destroy their name out of that place. 4 Ye shall not do so unto Yahweh your God. 5 But unto the place which Yahweh your God shall choose out of all your tribes to put his name there, even unto his habitation shall ye seek, and thither thou shalt come: 6 and thither ye shall bring your burnt offerings, and your sacrifices, and your tithes, and the heave offering of your hand, and your vows, and your freewill offerings, and the firstlings of your herd and of your flock: 7 and there ye shall eat before Yahweh your God, and ye shall rejoice in all that ye put your hand unto, ye and your households, wherein Yahweh thy God hath blessed thee.

8 Ye shall not do after all the things that we do here this day, every man whatsoever is right in his own eyes: 9 for ye are not as yet come to the rest and to the inheritance which Yahweh thy God giveth thee. 10 But when ye go over Jordan, and dwell in the land which Yahweh your God causeth you to inherit, and he giveth you rest from all your enemies round about, so that ye dwell in safety; 11 then it shall come to pass that the place which Yahweh your God shall choose to cause his name to dwell there, thither shall ye bring all that I command you; your burnt offerings, and your sacrifices, your tithes, and the heave offering of your hand, and all your choice vows which ye vow unto Yahweh: 12 and ye shall rejoice before Yahweh your God, ye, and your sons, and your daughters, and your menservants, and your maidservants, and the Levite that is within your gates, forasmuch as he hath no portion nor inheritance with you.

13 Take heed to thyself that thou offer not thy burnt offerings in every place that thou seest: 14 but in the place which Yahweh shall choose in one of thy tribes, there thou shalt offer thy burnt offerings, and there thou shalt do all that I command thee. 15 Notwithstanding thou mayest kill and eat flesh within all thy gates, after all the desire

ritual enjoined for the expiation of undiscovered murder 21¹⁻⁹ probably rests on very ancient usage; and the group of laws dealing with the family and the sexes 21¹⁵⁻²¹ 21²³⁻²¹ 24¹⁻⁴ 25⁶⁻¹⁰ must embody much antique custom. So doubtless do regulations like 23²⁴, and 25¹¹. The section on exclusion from 'Yahweh's assembly' 25¹⁻⁸ seems by its peculiar terminology (cp Num 16²) to be drawn from some corpus of priestly law analogous to that which has supplied the materials of 14¹⁻²⁰. To a similar source may probably be assigned the laws which bear on different kinds of defilement 21²², 23⁹⁻¹⁴ 17., or the payment of vows 23²¹, and leprosy 24⁸. On the question how far the older nucleus of law can occasionally be disengaged from the homiletic envelopment of the Deuteronomic editors cp *Intrud* i 74 and *Table of Laws*.

12^{1b} *Mar!* *your fathers, hath given you*, probably harmonizing. It is possible that ¹ combines two introductions to the different drafts in 2-12 and 13-28 couched in the pl and sing address respectively.

² The first 'statute' regulates the conduct of public worship. All idolatrous sanctuaries are to be abolished, and the sacrifice which constituted the essence of the cultus is to be offered at one centre only. The difficulties introduced into domestic usage by this destruction of all local altars lead to modifications of ancient custom connected with the slaughter of animals from the flock or herd. Such is a summary of ²⁻²⁴. But the question has been asked by a long succession of critics from Vater and Stähelin whether this law is throughout from the same hand. In outward form it falls at once into two sections ²⁻¹² and ¹³⁻²⁸ marked respectively by the prevailing use of the plural and the singular address. In these two divisions the fundamental principle is repeated on ¹³ and ⁴, ¹⁷, and ⁶. But further, each

section contains its own repetitions. In 2-13 lie parallel commands 8-7 and 11., and they are introduced by separate profaces 2-4 and 8-10. Is it likely that the same author would thus reproduce himself? Or if unity of authorship be conceded here, what reason can be alleged why the prohibition and command 4. in the plural should be renewed 15. in the singular? In 13-26 the plural is rare occurrence [13^{5b-6a} 14¹ 4-11a¹ 17¹⁶ 18¹⁵ 19¹⁹ 20³⁻⁴ 18^{12,24} 23⁴ 24⁸. 25¹⁷]: in some cases it may be accidental, in others it enters where there is independent reason for recognising (or at least suspecting) an interpolating hand. The employment of the plural in an elaborate legislative passage like 2-13 has no parallel elsewhere in the Code (though frequent enough in the homilies) except in 14¹ 4-21, and it suggests that the two main sections of 12 may be regarded as different drafts of the same law. The further appearance of duplicates within 2-13 finds a counterpart in the doublets 15. and 21., and 17. and 26.. The probability that these latter at least are independent, is shown by the apparent insertion of 16 in order to bring the first statement up to a level with the second. The concession in 15 needed a warning against possible abuse: this was perhaps added editorially in 16a, and a later copyist may have attached 16b = 24b to complete the parallel with 23.. In that case 20-27 may be regarded as a fresh and detailed treatment of a difficulty arising out of 13., inadequately met by 15 (so also, substantially, Addis, who points out that the clause in 21 'as I have commanded thee' refers to 15: Steuern ascribes both the clauses in 21 and 16. to later copyists). The text of these amalgamated laws has probably received many harmonizing touches.

³ **M** Or, *obelisks*.—Cp Ex 23²⁴.

^{ba} On the grammatical difficulty see the Commentaries.

5b (S) omits this clause. I Sam (S)^{BABAR} *we shall come*

JE	D ^c	D	D ^c P
w 16 ¹⁷		of thy soul, "according to the "blessing of Yahweh thy God which he hath given thee: the "unclean and the clean may eat thereof, as of the gazelle, and as of the hart. ¹⁶ ¹⁷ Only ye shall not "eat the blood; "thou shalt pour it out upon the earth as water. ¹⁷ Thou "mayest not eat within thy "gates the "tithe of thy "corn, or of thy wine, or of thine oil, or the "firstlings of thy herd or of thy flock, nor any of thy "vows which thou vowest, nor thy "freewill offerings, nor the "heave offering of thine hand: ¹⁸ but thou shalt "eat them before Yahweh thy God in the "place which Yahweh thy God shall choose, "thou, and thy son, and thy daughter, and thy "manservant, and thy maidservant, and the Levite that is within thy "gates: and thou shalt "rejoice before Yahweh thy God in "all that thou puttest thine hand unto. ¹⁹ ¹⁹ Take heed to thyself that thou forsake not the Levite "as long as thou livest upon thy land.	a' 22 ^b
x 22 15 ²²			b' 76
16 L69a			c' 30
y 28 25 15 ²³			
z 34b 15 ²⁵			
19 L113b			d' 13 ^b
20-22 L6a ¹		²⁰ ²⁰ When Yahweh thy God shall "enlarge thy border", as he hath "promised thee, and thou "shalt say, I will eat flesh, because "thy soul desireth" to eat flesh; thou mayest eat flesh, "after all the desire of thy soul. ²¹ If the "place which Yahweh thy God shall choose to put his name there be too "far from thee, then thou shalt kill of thy herd and of thy flock, which Yahweh hath given thee, "as I have commanded thee, and thou shalt "eat within thy "gates, "after all the desire of thy soul. ²² Even as the "gazelle and as the hart is eaten, so thou shalt eat thereof: the unclean and the clean shall eat thereof alike. ²³ ²³ Only be sure that thou "eat not the blood: for the "blood is the life; and thou shalt not eat the life with the flesh. ²⁴ Thou shalt not eat it; "thou shalt pour it out upon the earth as water. ²⁵ Thou shalt not eat it; that it may "go well with thee, and with thy "children after thee, when thou shalt "do that which is right in the eyes of Yahweh. ²⁶ ²⁶ Only thy "holy things which thou hast, and thy rows, thou shalt take, and go unto the "place which Yahweh shall choose: ²⁷ and thou shalt "offer thy burnt offerings, the flesh and the blood, upon the "altar of Yahweh thy God: and the blood of thy sacrifices shall be "poured out upon the "altar of Yahweh thy God, and thou shalt eat the flesh.	e' 91
a' Cp 19 ⁸ Ex			
34 ²⁴			f' 116 ^a
b' 17 ¹⁴			g' 37 ^a
c' 14 ²⁰			
d' 14 ²⁴			
23-25 L69b			
e' Lev 17 ¹¹			
f' 28 4 ⁴⁰			
26. L7a ¹ Sh ¹			
g' Ch 7 ⁸⁸			
h' 5 = do 16 ¹			
et 13 cp 7 ¹¹⁷			
i' Ct Lev 15 3 ² ul			
14 ⁸			
29-31 L5d ^c			
j' 19 ¹ cp Josh			
11 ²¹ 23 ⁴			
k' 5 Cp 7 ^{16b} 25			
l' Cp 4			
m' 16 ^{22b}			
n' Cp Jer 7 ³¹ 19 ¹⁰			
2 Kings 16 ³ ul			
32 [13 in 5]			
o' 4 ²			
1-18 L5h ²			
1-5 L111 ¹			
a 24 ¹⁰ cp 18 ¹⁸			
b 5 5 cp Jer 23 ²⁶			
c 8 ²			
d 5 = go 2d			
		28 "Observe and hear all these words "which I command thee, that it may "go well with thee, and with thy "children after thee for ever, when thou "doest that which is good and right in the eyes of Yahweh thy God. ²⁹ "When Yahweh thy God shall "cut off the nations from before thee, whither thou "goest in to possess them, and thou possessest them, and dwellest in their land; ³⁰ "take heed to thyself that thou be not "ensnared "to follow them, after that they be "destroyed from before thee; and that thou inquire not after their gods, saying, "How do these nations "serve their gods? "even so will "I do likewise. ³¹ "Thou shalt not do so unto Yahweh thy God: for every "abomination to Yahweh, "which he hateth, have they done unto their gods; for even their "sons and their daughters do they burn in the fire to their gods. ³² "What thing soever I command you, that shall ye "observe to do: thou shalt not "add thereto, nor diminish from it. ³³ "If there "arise in the "midst of thee a prophet, or a "dreamer of dreams, and he give thee a "sign or a wonder, ² and the "sign or the wonder come to pass, "whereof he spake unto thee, saying, Let us "go after other gods, "which thou hast not known, and let us "serve them; ³ thou shalt not hearken unto the words of that prophet, or unto that dreamer of dreams: "for Yahweh "your God "proveth you, to know whether ye "love Yahweh your God "with all your heart and with all your soul. ⁴ Ye shall "walk after Yahweh your God, and "fear him, and "keep his commandments, and "obey his voice, and ye shall "serve him, and "cleave unto him.	

12¹⁶ The sudden change to the plural probably implies an editorial addition cp 2². In 16^b ⑤ reads another plural *ye shall* pour, but cp 24.

30^b M Or, that I also may do likewise.

13⁵ This explanation, followed by the exhortation in 4 cp 8² 18

6⁶ 10¹², may be a later hortatory insertion. It interrupts the connexion of 3^a and 5, and breaks suddenly into the address. The variations of number in ⑤ 3 and 5 afford evidence either of indifference to the exactness in different copies of 5.

JE D ^c	D	D ^c P
<p>6 9¹² 16 11²⁸ cp 125</p> <p>f 2854 cp 86†</p> <p>g Cp Josh 15¹⁸</p> <p>h 27¹⁸ 24 2857*</p> <p>i 614 ;</p> <p>j 2864</p> <p>k Cp Jer 13¹⁴ 15¹⁸ Ezek 5¹¹ 74 ul l 177</p> <p>m 17⁵ 22²¹ 24 Josh 7²⁵ 2826</p> <p>n Cp 69^c</p> <p>o 174</p> <p>p 6*</p> <p>q Cp 2013</p> <p>r 6 omits</p> <p>s Cp Num 254 Josh 617</p> <p>t Ex 32¹² Josh 736 6</p> <p>u Gen 43¹⁴*</p> <p>v 30⁸ Ex 33¹⁹*</p> <p>w Hos 16. al</p> <p>1 Lska a Cp Ex 422.</p> <p>b 6 ct Lev 21⁵</p> <p>c Lev 21⁵*</p> <p>d 2614</p> <p>e 211j</p> <p>f 7⁶</p>	<p>⁵ And that prophet, or that dreamer of dreams, shall be put to death ; because he hath spoken "rebellion against Yahweh your God, which "brought you out of the land of Egypt, and "redeemed thee out of the "house of bondage, to "draw thee aside out of the "way "which Yahweh thy God commanded thee to walk in. So shalt thou "put away the evil from the "midst of thee.</p> <p>⁶ If thy brother, the son of thy mother, or thy son, or thy daughter, or the "wife of thy bosom", or thy "friend, which is as thine own soul, "entice thee "secretly, saying, Let us go and "serve other gods, "which thou hast not known, thou, nor thy fathers ;</p> <p>⁷ "of the "gods of the peoples which are round about you, nigh unto thee, or far off from thee, "from the one end of the earth even unto the other end of the earth ;</p> <p>⁸ thou shalt not "consent unto him, nor hearken unto him ; neither shall "thine eye pity him, neither shalt thou "spare, neither shalt thou conceal him : ⁹ but thou shalt surely kill him ; thine hand shall be "first upon him to put him to death, and afterwards the hand of all the people". ¹⁰ And thou shalt "stone him with stones, that he die ; because he hath sought to "draw thee away from Yahweh thy God, which "brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the "house of bondage. ¹¹ And "all Israel shall "hear, and fear", and shall do no more any such wickedness as this is in the "midst of thee".</p> <p>¹² If thou shalt hear tell "concerning one of thy cities, "which Yahweh thy God giveth thee to dwell there, saying, ¹³ Certain "base fellows are gone out from the "midst of thee, and have "drawn away the inhabitants of their city, saying, Let us go and "serve other gods, "which ye have not known ; ¹⁴ then shalt thou "inquire, and "make search, and ask "diligently ; and, "behold, if it be truth, and the thing certain, that such "abomination is wrought" in the "midst of thee ; ¹⁵ thou shalt surely "smite the inhabitants of that city with the edge of the sword, "devoting it, and all that is therein "and the cattle thereof, with the edge of the sword". ¹⁶ And thou shalt gather all the "spoil of it into the midst of the street thereof, and shalt burn with fire the city, and all the "spoil thereof "every whit, "unto Yahweh thy God : and it shall be an "heap for ever ; it shall not be built again. ¹⁷ "And there shall cleave nought of the devoted thing to thine hand : that Yahweh may "turn from the fierceness of his anger, and "shew thee mercy", and "have compassion upon thee, and "multiply thee, as he hath "sworn unto thy fathers ; ¹⁸ when thou shalt "hearken to the voice of Yahweh thy God, to "keep all his commandments which I "command thee this day, to "do that which is right in the eyes of Yahweh thy God.</p> <p>¹⁴ ¹ Ye are the "children of Yahweh "your God : ye shall not "cut yourselves, nor make any "baldness between your eyes for the "dead. ² For "thou art an "holy people unto Yahweh thy God, and Yahweh hath "chosen thee to be a "peculiar people unto himself, "above "all peoples that are upon the face of the earth.</p>	<p>o 28^b</p> <p>p 95</p> <p>q 61</p> <p>r 28</p> <p>s 29^a</p> <p>t 92^a</p> <p>u 78^a</p> <p>v 17</p> <p>w 43^b</p> <p>x 2^a</p> <p>y 58^b</p> <p>z 116^a</p> <p>a 9^b</p> <p>b 35</p> <p>c 103</p> <p>d' 81</p> <p>e' 107^b</p> <p>f' 29^b</p> <p>g' 37^a</p> <p>a r</p> <p>b 60</p> <p>c 26^a</p> <p>d 14</p>

13⁵ M 6 turning aside.—19¹⁶ cp Jer 28¹⁶ 29²³.

⁶ Or, 'neighbour.' Two words are employed in the code 12-26 for fellow-countryman, 'neighbour' and 'brother.' For 'brother' cp 25. 'Neighbour' is found in 15³ 19⁴. 11 14 22²⁴ 28 23²⁴. 24¹⁰ 27¹⁷ 24. The differences of usage may possibly point to diversities of original material : but it does not seem possible to found any literary analysis upon them.

⁷ A comparison with ² and ¹⁵ makes it probable that this verse is an editorial expansion : it echoes phrases found elsewhere 6¹⁴ 28⁴, the plural 'you' being in its place in 6¹⁴ though incongruous here, and the reference to the temptations to remote foreign idolatries more appropriate to Israel in exile than in the land of Canaan.

¹¹ On the suggestion that 17²⁻⁷ once stood between 13⁶⁻¹¹ and 12-18 cp 17²⁸.

¹² M Or, in. ¹⁵ M 6 sons of worthlessness.—Cp 15⁹ 6*.

¹⁶ So M. T destroying it utterly.—Cp Ex 22²⁰.

18^a M Or, as a whole burnt offering.—Cp 33¹⁰ Lev 6²².

18^b M Or, mound. 6 tel.—Josh 8²⁴†.

¹⁴ In 1-21 different elements seem to have been combined. The phraseology of ¹ is peculiar, and the usages which it forbids seem still to have been practised without reproach in the latest days of the monarchy cp Jer 16⁶ Ezek 7¹⁰. Parallels will be found in P^b Lev 19²⁶⁻²⁸ and 21⁶. The sequel in ² is identical with ⁷, and may have been editorially reproduced. In ³ the common form of Deuteronomic prohibition in the 2nd sing is resumed. But the catalogue in 4-20 is throughout couched in the plural cp 13²⁸, and both in form and contents appears alien to the style and matter of the Code. The conclusion of the dietary laws 21^a belongs to the same group : but the final injunction against seething a kid in its mother's milk 21^b is found in the short codes of both J and E Ex 34²⁶ 23¹⁹. The clause 21^b completes ³, supplying the reason for the prohibition of unhal- lowed food, as in Ex 22³¹. ² M Or, out of.

JE	D ^e	D	D ^e P
3-20 16a- f Lev 11:2-23 g 1215 h 1 Kings 434 i 51 j 1s 51:204 k 6-8 16ba l Cp Lev 11:3 m Lev 11:4-8	3 ^{ML} Thou shalt not eat any ^a abominable thing, 4 ^N These are the ^f beasts which ye shall eat: the ox, the sheep, and the goat, ⁵ the ^h 'hart, and the ^g 'gazelle', and the ^h 'roe-buck, and the ⁱ 'wild goat, and the ^j 'pygarg, and the ^k 'antelope, and the ^l 'chamois. ⁶ ^L And every beast that ^k 'parteth the hoof, and hath the hoof cloven in two, [and] ⁷ 'cheweth the cud, among the beasts, that ye shall eat. ⁷ ^N Nevertheless these ye shall not eat of them that chew the cud, or of them that have the hoof cloven: the camel, and the hare, and the ^m 'coney, because they chew the cud but part not the hoof, they are unclean unto you: ⁸ and the swine, because he parteth the hoof but cheweth not the cud, he is unclean unto you: of their flesh ye shall not eat, and their carcasses ye shall not touch'. 9 ^M These ye shall eat of all that are in the waters: whatsoever hath fins and scales shall ye eat: ¹⁰ and whatsoever hath not fins and scales ye shall not eat; it is unclean unto you ^m . 11 Of all clean birds ye may eat. ¹² ^N But these are they of which ye shall not eat: the ⁿ 'eagle, and the ^o 'gier eagle, and the ospray; ¹³ and the glade, and the falcon, and the kite after its kind; ¹⁴ and every raven after its kind; ¹⁵ and the ostrich, and the night hawk, and the seamew, and the hawk after its kind; ¹⁶ the little owl, and the great owl, and the horned owl; ¹⁷ and the pelican, and the vulture, and the cormorant; ¹⁸ and the stork, and the heron after its kind, and the hoopoe, and the bat. ¹⁹ ^O And all winged creeping things are unclean unto you: they shall not be eaten. ²⁰ Of all clean fowls ye may eat. 21 ^a ^L Ye shall not eat of any thing that dieth of itself: thou mayest give it unto the ^p 'stranger that is within thy ^q 'gates, that he may eat it; or thou mayest sell it unto a ^r 'foreigner. 21 ^b ^N for thou art an ^s 'holy people unto Yahweh thy God. Thou shalt not ^t 'seethe a kid in its mother's milk. 22 ^L Thou shalt surely tithe all the ^u 'increase of thy seed, that which cometh forth of the field year by year. ²³ ^L And thou shalt ^v 'eat before Yahweh thy God, in the ^w 'place which he shall choose to cause his name to ^x 'dwell there, the tithe of thy ^y 'corn, of thy wine, and of thine oil, and the ^z 'firstlings of thy herd and of thy flock; that thou mayest ^{aa} 'learn to ^{ab} 'fear Yahweh thy God ^{ac} 'always. ²⁴ And if the ^{ad} 'way be too long for thee, so that thou art not able to carry it, because the ^{ae} 'place is too ^{af} 'far from thee, which Yahweh thy God shall choose to set his name there, when Yahweh thy God shall ^{ag} 'bless thee: ²⁵ ^L then shalt thou turn it into money, and bind up the money in thine hand, and shalt go unto the ^{ah} 'place which Yahweh thy God shall choose: ²⁶ and thou shalt bestow the money for whatsoever thy soul ^{ai} 'desireth, for oxen, or for sheep, or for wine, or for strong drink, or for whatsoever thy soul asketh of thee: and thou shalt ^{aj} 'eat there before Yahweh thy God, and thou shalt ^{ak} 'rejoice ^{al} 'thou and thine household: ²⁷ and the ^{am} 'Levite that is within thy	6 9 ^b f 51 g 47 h 41 ^a i 87 j 40 k 30 l 71 ^a m 44 ^a n 13 ^a o 22 ^a p 96 ^b q 109 ^b	

14³ G Sam ye shall.

⁴ The relation of this list 4-20 to that of Lev 11:2-23 has been much discussed, as the facts do not seem to point to any very decisive conclusion. That the style and phraseology belong rather to P than to D is generally recognized cp 'kind' 13 15 18 19 18^k and 'creeping things' 19 (= *swarm* §) 157. It is believed, therefore, that the list has been derived by D from the priestly schools, and embodies regulations which had probably been already reduced to writing. The question whether those regulations were then current in the form contained in Lev 11 is less easy to decide. On the one hand Deut 14⁴ specifies the common lawful animals which Lev does not mention; on the other hand the parallels to 7-10 are much fuller and 14-20 is much briefer than Lev 11:20-23. If the Deuteronomie version is on the whole an abridgement of the Levitical, why should 4-6 supply detail omitted by the prior list: and if, on the other hand, the Deuteronomie list is supplementary, why should it conclude so abruptly? The difficulty points to the view that neither is directly dependent on the other, but that both are derived separately from an

earlier form; D then classes the forbidden foods under the familiar term 'abomination' 3 cp 29, while P prefers the words 'detest' and 'detestation' Lev 11:10-13 20 23 41 43 (§ as in Deut 7³⁶). On other grounds, however, there is some reason to think Deut 11:3-21 earlier than Lev 11. For the supplement in 21 prohibits the Israelite from eating the flesh of any animal that has died of itself, but allows it to be given to the 'stranger.' In Lev 17¹⁵ the 'stranger' (as elsewhere in P, see *Laws*) is placed on the same footing as the Israelite, and the practice of eating such food is recognized for all persons on condition of subsequent purification from the defilement which it involved 'till the evening.' Now the regulation of Lev 11³⁰ modifies the stringency of the Deuteronomie precept in the same manner, and presumably, therefore, belongs to a later date. Hommel, *Expos Times* 1897 July p 473, suggests that the substitution of 'stranger' for 'dogs' Ex 22³¹ is due to a redactor of the time of Ezra, when aversion to everything foreign had reached its climax.

⁶ M § bringeth up.

¹² M See Lev 11¹⁵ &c.

⁷ M See Lev 11¹⁵.

²⁰ The sequel of 2, cp Ex 22³¹.

	JE D ^c	D	D ^c P
x 12 ¹⁹		'gates, thou shalt not forsake him; for he hath no portion nor inheritance with thee.	
y \oint = <i>forasmuch</i> as 12 ¹²		²⁸ At the end of every three years thou shalt bring forth all the tithe of thine increase in the same year, and shalt lay it up within thy gates:	r 205 ^b
z Cp 264 10 \oint		²⁹ and the 'Levite, because he hath no portion nor inheritance with thee, and the 'stranger, and the fatherless, and the widow, which are within thy gates, shall come, and shall eat and be satisfied; that Yahweh thy God may bless thee in all the work of thine hand which thou doest.	s 41 ^b
1-8 L 23 ^{2c} 9j ^c		¹⁵ At the end of every seven years thou shalt make a release.	
a 31 ¹⁰		² And this is the manner of the release: every creditor shall release that which he hath lent unto his neighbour; he shall not exact it of his neighbour and his brother; because Yahweh's release hath been proclaimed.	a 25
b 31 ¹⁰ †		³ Of a foreigner thou mayest exact it: but whatsoever of thine is with thy brother thine hand shall release.	b 47
c 19 ⁴ \oint cp Josh 5 ⁴		⁴ Howbeit there shall be no poor with thee; (for Yahweh will surely bless thee in the land which Yahweh thy God giveth thee for an inheritance to possess it; if only thou diligently hearken unto the voice of Yahweh thy God, to observe to do all this commandment which I command thee this day.	c 64
d \oint †		⁶ For Yahweh thy God will bless thee, as he promised thee: and thou shalt lend unto many nations, but thou shalt not borrow; and thou shalt rule over many nations, but they shall not rule over thee.	d 22 ^a
e 24 ¹⁰ \oint °		⁷ If there be with thee a poor man, one of thy brethren, within any of thy gates in thy land which Yahweh thy God giveth thee, thou shalt not harden thine heart, nor shut thine hand from thy poor brother:	e 69 ^a
f \oint = unto Yahweh 51 ⁴ 161		⁸ but thou shalt surely open thine hand unto him, and shalt surely lend him sufficient for his need [in that] which he wanteth.	f 88 ^a
g 7 9 11 24 ¹⁴ Ex 23 ⁶ 11 ^a		⁹ Beware that there be not a base thought in thine heart, saying, The seventh year, the year of release, is at hand; and thine eye be evil against thy poor brother, and thou give him nought; and he cry unto Yahweh against thee, and it be sin unto thee.	g 55 ^a
h 8 \oint † cp 28 ¹²		¹⁰ Thou shalt surely give him, and thine heart shall not be grieved when thou givest unto him: because that for this thing Yahweh thy God shall bless thee in all thy work, and in all that thou puttest thine hand unto.	h 59 ^a
i 24 ¹⁰ \oint †		¹¹ For the poor shall never cease out of the land: therefore I command thee, saying, Thou shalt surely open thine hand unto thy brother, to thy needy, and to thy poor, in thy land.	i 29 ^a
7-11 L 2ab ^b		¹² If thy brother, an Hebrew man, or an Hebrew woman, be sold unto thee, and serve thee six years; then in the seventh year thou shalt let him go free from thee.	j 91
j \oint = make obstinate 230		¹³ And when thou lettest him go free from thee, thou shalt not let him go empty:	k 51
k \oint °		¹⁴ thou shalt furnish him liberally out of thy flock, and out of thy threshing-floor, and out of thy winepress:	l 108 ^a
l 11 cp Ps 104 ²⁸		¹⁵ And thou shalt remember that thou wast a bondman in the land of Egypt, and Yahweh thy God redeemed thee: therefore I command thee this thing to-day.	m 108 ^a
145 ¹⁶		¹⁶ And it shall be, if he say unto thee, I will not go out from thee; because he loveth thee and thine house, because he is well with thee;	n 108
m Cp 13 ¹⁵		¹⁷ then thou shalt take an awl, and thrust it through his ear unto the door, and he shall be thy bondman for ever.	o 11
n 31 ¹⁰		¹⁸ It shall not seem hard unto thee, when thou lettest him go free from	p 97
o 288 ⁴ 88†			q 95
p 24 ¹⁵			r 109 ^b
q \oint = evil cp 90 ^a			
r 24 ¹² 14. Ex 22 ²⁵			
18-18 L 23 ^{2c} 9j ^d			
s Ex 21 ²			
t Ct Ex 21 ⁷			
u 16 ¹³			
v 12 ¹⁵			
w Ex 21 ⁵			
x Ct Ex 21 ⁶			
y \oint in thine eyes Josh 9 ²⁵			

15³ M Or, release: save when there etc.

⁴ An additional utterance of enthusiastic piety, in conflict with 7-11 (especially with 11a) and hardly to be ascribed to the same discourse (Addis, however, urges that the original author describes an ideal distribution of wealth, consequent on ideal obedience). In view of the stylistic resemblances there seems reason in Kuenen's suggestion that the qualification may be an afterthought of the writer's own. With ⁶ cp 12²⁸ 13¹⁸. For further

laws in protection of the poor cp 23¹⁹. 24¹⁰.

¹² Some critics have regarded the extension of manumission to women as an afterthought, not contemplated by the original D who here founds himself on the 'Judgements' of Ex 21². Cp the additional clause in favour of the bondwoman in 17b. It is, however, impossible to determine whether the reference to female slaves was incorporated by D himself, or was a supplement.

17a So M. \oint as in 15. T servant. 17b So M. T maid-servant.—Cp 75.

JE D ^a	D	D ^a P
	thee; for to the double of the hire of an hireling hath he served thee six years: and Yahweh thy God shall 'bless thee in all that thou doest.	
19. 18b: 10a ¹ 12 ^b cp Ex 22 ³⁰ a' Cp 286d	19 ^L All the 'firstling males that are born of thy herd and of thy flock thou shalt 'sanctify unto Yahweh thy God: thou shalt do no work with the firstling of thine ox, nor shear the firstling of thy flock.	
21 261b U' 17 ¹ cp 32 ⁵ Lev 22 ³⁰ C' Cp 18202 22 16a ¹ D' 12 ¹⁵ 23 16c	20 Thou shalt 'eat it before Yahweh thy God year by year in the 'place which Yahweh shall choose, 'thou and thy household. 21 ^L And if it have any ^b 'blemish, [as if it be] lame or blind, 'any ill blemish whatsoever, thou shalt not 'sacrifice it unto Yahweh thy God. 22 ^L Thou shalt 'eat it within thy 'gates: 'the unclean and the clean [shall eat it] alike, as the gazelle, and as the hart. 23 ^L Only thou shalt not eat the blood thereof; thou shalt pour it out upon the 'earth as water.	a 41 ^a t 87 u 10
1-17 19ac 10a:1 1. 19dc a 5=do cp 515 12 ²⁷ b Ex 34 ¹⁸ 13 ⁴ c Ex 12 ³¹ d 13 ²¹ e C' Ex 12 ³⁻⁶ f 19e f Ex 13 ⁶⁻⁷ 34 ¹⁸ g Ex 3 ⁷ h Ex 12 ¹¹ 1e 52 ¹⁸ i Cp 18 97 j Ex 13 ⁷	16 ¹ ^L Observe the month of Abib, and 'keep the passover unto Yahweh 'thy God: 'for in the month of Abib Yahweh thy God 'brought thee forth out of Egypt 'by night. 2 And thou shalt 'sacrifice the passover unto Yahweh thy God, of the 'flock and the herd, in the 'place which Yahweh shall choose to cause his name to 'dwell there.	a 1 ^a b 28 ^b c 87 d 40
4b-7 170c 9dc k Ex 23 ¹⁸ 34 ²⁵	3 ^L Thou shalt eat no leavened bread with it; 'seven days shalt thou eat unleavened bread therewith, even the bread of 'affliction; for thou camest forth out of the land of Egypt in 'haste: that thou mayest 'remember the day 'when thou camest forth out of the land of Egypt 'all the days of thy life. 4 And 'there shall be no leaven seen with thee in all thy borders seven days; 'neither shall any of the flesh, which thou sacrificest the first day at even, 'remain all night until the morning.	e 26 ^a f 13 ^o
l 2311 2413 Josh 829 1 Kings 22 ³⁴	5 'Thou mayest not sacrifice the passover within any of thy 'gates, 'which Yahweh thy God giveth thee: 6 but at the 'place which Yahweh thy God shall choose to cause his name to 'dwell in, there thou shalt sacrifice the passover at even, 'at the going down of the sun, at the season that thou	g 76 h 51 i 69 ^o

15²² Possibly an addition from 12^{15b} cp 12²².

23a Another possible supplement cp 12²².

23b T ground. 5 as in 12²⁴.

16¹ The Calendar of feasts 1-17 rests on the briefer laws in J Ex 34¹⁸. cp E 23¹⁴., with which it agrees in specifying three annual festivals in contrast with the longer series in Lev 23. Some differences of terminology may be observed, e.g. 'weeks' 10 and 'booths' 13; but a more important divergence is noticeable in 1-6. E does not mention the passover at all, and in J the reference to it is probably an editorial adaptation Ex 34²⁵ cp 23¹⁵. But D combines it 1-6 with the feast of unleavened bread. Closer examination makes it probable that the entire calendar 1-17 comprises different elements which have not been perfectly fused together. This is especially manifest in 1-6, which unites two separate sets of instructions, (1) relating to the celebration of unleavened bread in the home, and (2) enjoining the observance of the passover at the central sanctuary. The latter involved an act of sacrifice, and the fundamental law in 12 required therefore that it should be performed only at the temple in Jerusalem. The principal stress falls on this ordinance 1, 6-7; and the analogy of the laws in 12 suggests that these passages were originally consecutive. They conclude with the direction that on the morning after the passover sacrifice the worshipper shall return home (cp Driver, *Deut* 104). But with the month Abib was also connected the feast of Mazzoth (or unleavened bread) Ex 13⁴⁻⁷. This feast is now formally combined with the passover in 3. The command seems based on two previous passages, and its affinities may be tabulated thus:—

Deut 16

3^a Thou shalt eat no leavened bread with it.

3^b Seven days shalt thou eat unleavened bread with it, even the bread of affliction; for thou camest forth out of the land of Egypt in haste: that thou

Ez

23^{18a} 34^{25a} Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leavened bread.

13^{6a} Seven days thou shalt eat unleavened bread.

Deut 16

mayest remember the day when thou camest forth out of the land of Egypt all the days of thy life.

1^a And there shall be no leaven seen with thee in all thy borders seven days;

1^b neither shall any of the flesh, which thou sacrificest the first day at even, remain all night unto (5) the morning.

13^{7b} And there shall be no leaven seen with thee in all thy borders:

34^{25b} neither shall the sacrifice of the feast of the passover remain unto (5) the morning.

23^{18b} neither shall the fat of my feast remain all night until (5) morning.

The language of Deut 16¹ 'in all thy borders' shows that the scene of celebration was the home, in contrast with the place of Yahweh's choice 2^a. That was originally also, it would seem, the locality likewise of the sacrifice which may now no more be slaughtered within the gates or offered at the nearest sanctuary. In uniting the regulations for the two feasts the compiler has added the words 'with it' in 3^b; but in 1^b the words 'the first day at even' were probably in some older authority. They seem to refer to the first of the seven days of Mazzoth, as if the passover were connected with the beginning of Mazzoth. The transfer of the passover to Jerusalem involved a dislocation, so that D arranges for it to precede the beginning of Mazzoth which was to be kept in the home. This is actually specified in the Levitical calendar Lev 23⁵, no doubt on the basis of prior usage. For other older elements in D's calendar cp 16^{1a}. In that passage the passover is unnamed. But in the record of Josiah's reformation the new way of celebrating the passover is specially emphasized 2 Kings 23²¹⁻²², while Mazzoth is naturally ignored, being still observed on the old lines. Whether the incongruous elements in 3. and 16. were incorporated by the author of the code himself, or represent a later effort of amalgamation (Steuern assigns them to E) can hardly be determined, but it seems safest to attribute them to the hand which made so much use of older laws.

JE D'	D	D' P
m Judg 7 ^o 19 ^o al	'camest forth out of Egypt. ⁷ And thou shalt 'seethe and eat it in the	j n3
s L90e	'place which Yahweh thy God shall choose: and thou shalt 'turn in the	
n 514	morning, and go unto thy ^m tents.	
9-12 L90c	⁸ ^m Six days thou shalt eat unleavened bread: and on the seventh day shall be	
o 2326†	'a solemn assembly to Yahweh thy God; thou shalt 'do no work [therein].	
p 2326 cp Ex	⁹ ^m Seven weeks shalt thou number unto thee: from the time thou	
226*	beginnest to put the 'sickle to the 'standing corn shalt thou begin to	
10 L86†	number seven weeks. ¹⁰ ^m And thou shalt 'keep the feast of 'weeks unto	
q Ex 3422	Yahweh thy God 'with a tribute of a freewill offering of thine hand,	
11. L2dA	which thou shalt give, according as Yahweh thy God 'blesseth thee:	k 22*
	¹¹ 'and thou shalt 'rejoice before Yahweh thy God, 'thou, and thy son,	l 96
	and thy daughter, and thy 'manservant, and thy maidservant, and the	m 109*
	'Levite that is within thy 'gates, 'and the stranger, and the fatherless,	n 75
	and the widow, that are in the 'midst of thee, in the 'place which	o 105*
	Yahweh thy God shall choose to cause his name to 'dwell there.	p 78*
	¹² 'And thou shalt 'remember that thou wast a bondman in Egypt:	
13-17 L91c	and thou shalt 'observe and do these 'statutes.	q 82*
r Ex 2316 3422	¹³ ^m Thou shalt 'keep the feast of 'booths seven days, after that thou hast	r 104*
s 1514	'gathered in from thy 'threshing-floor and from thy winepress': ¹⁴ and	
	thou shalt 'rejoice in thy feast, 'thou, and thy son, and thy daughter,	
t Ex 2314 §	and thy 'manservant, and thy maidservant, and the 'Levite, and the	
u §=when	stranger, and the fatherless, and the widow, that are within thy 'gates.	s n9
v 142b	¹⁵ Seven days shalt thou 'keep a feast unto Yahweh thy God in the 'place	
w 142b	which Yahweh shall choose: 'because Yahweh thy God shall 'bless thee	
x §=only 2829	in all 'thine increase, and in all the 'work of thine hands, and thou shalt	
y L90c	'be 'altogether joyful. ¹⁶ ^m Three times in a year shall all thy 'males	
z 2013 Ex 2317	'appear before Yahweh thy God in the 'place which he shall choose; in	
aa 3422† et 107	the feast of unleavened bread, and in the feast of weeks, and in the	
ab Ex 2317 3422	feast of 'booths: and they shall not appear before Yahweh 'empty:	
ac cp 1203	¹⁷ every man 'shall give as he is able, 'according to the 'blessing of	t 22*
ad Ex 2316b 3420b	Yahweh thy God which he hath given thee ^a .	
ae 121b	¹⁸ ^m Judges and 'officers shalt thou make thee in all thy 'gates, 'which	u 67
af L42b I	Yahweh thy God giveth thee, 'according to thy tribes: 'and they shall	v 82
ag 18b-20 L40c	judge the people with 'righteous judgement. ¹⁹ Thou shalt not 'wrest	w 113*
ah Cp 116	judgement; thou shalt not 'respect persons: neither shalt thou 'take	
ai Cp 2417 2719	a gift; for a 'gift doth blind the eyes of the wise, and pervert the 'words	
aj Ex 236	of the righteous'. ²⁰ 'That which is altogether just shalt thou follow, that	
ak 117	thou mayest 'live, and inherit the land 'which Yahweh thy God giveth	x 72
al 1017	thee.	
am Ex 238	²¹ ^m Thou shalt not plant thee an 'Asherah [of] 'any kind of tree	y 10
an L58j	beside the 'altar of Yahweh thy God, which thou shalt make thee.	z 16
ao Cp 76	²² Neither shalt thou set thee up a 'pillar; which Yahweh thy God hateth.	

16⁷ So M. T *roast*. The word is that employed in 14²¹. In Ex 12⁹ it is forbidden to eat the paschal lamb 'sodden in water.' On the question of apparent contradiction cp Driver *in loc*.

^{8a} As it is specified in ⁸ that unleavened bread shall be eaten seven days (instead of six), and D does not elsewhere use the term 'solemn assembly' cp Lev 23³⁶ Num 29^{36*}, this verse is probably from another hand. The word ^msolemn assembly' is not necessarily Levitical cp Lev 23^{36*}: but it certainly implies a meeting at the sanctuary: and that seems inconsistent with the instructions in ⁷ to return home. Sam has *hag* 'feast' as in Ex 13⁶; § appears to combine both terms. Cp the additional words of definition in Sam and § after 'work.'

^{8b} M See Lev 23³⁶.

¹⁰ M Or, after the measure of the &c.—§†.

¹¹ In ¹⁴ the needy of all kinds are included in the great annual feast of rejoicing for the fruits of the earth; but they are not named as participants in the spring festival ¹⁻⁶. As the enumeration of the household-community seems completed with the Levites, it has been conjectured that their mention here (cp ¹⁴) is supplemental cp 12¹² 18 14²⁶. (cp Staerk, Deut 12).

¹² This verse seems only loosely connected with the preceding

context: there is no definite reminiscence attached to 'weeks' like that in ⁸: and the closing reference to obedience sounds premature in the middle of an uncompleted series (cp Staerk, Deut 54).

^{15a} Founded on Ex 34²² cp 23¹⁷. It will be noticed that in the enumeration of the feasts the passover ¹ is omitted, and unleavened bread ³ alone is named. Moreover only males are required to attend, as in the older law; whereas ¹¹ and ¹⁴ prescribe the presence of whole households, together with their poor dependants. Further the phraseology of ¹⁷ differs from that of ¹⁰, being, indeed, in each case unique.

¹⁷ M § according to the gift of his hand.—§†.

¹⁹ M Or, cause.

²⁰ M § Justice, justice.

²¹ The laws in 16²¹. 17¹ seem unconnected with each other, as well as with what precedes; the affinities of 17¹ are with 15²¹. The natural continuation of 16²⁰ concerning the administration of justice is in 17².. providing a metropolitan court of appeal. The prohibition of Asherahs beside altars dedicated to Yahweh belongs to the older cultus before the unity of the sanctuary was enforced in 12. On the independent character of 17²⁻⁷ cp 17²⁹.

²² M Or, obelisk.—Cp 7⁶.

JE	D'	D	D' P
1 L61c		17 ¹ 'Thou shalt not sacrifice unto Yahweh 'thy God an ox, or a sheep, wherein is a 'blemish, [or] 'any evil-favouredness: for that is an 'abomination unto Yahweh thy God.	a 1 ^a
a 15 ²¹			b 10
			c 9 ^a
2-7 L56f		2 ² 'If there be 'found in the 'midst of thee, 'within any of thy 'gates 'which Yahweh thy God giveth thee, man or woman, that doeth that which is 'evil in the sight of Yahweh thy God, in 'transgressing his 'covenant, ³ and hath gone and 'served other gods, and worshipped them, or the 'sun, or the moon, or any of the host of heaven', which I have not commanded; ⁴ and it be told thee, and thou hast heard of it, 'then shalt thou inquire 'diligently, and, behold, if it be 'true, and the thing certain, that such 'abomination is wrought in Israel; ⁵ then shalt thou 'bring forth that man or that woman, which have done this evil thing, unto thy 'gates, even the man or the woman; and thou shalt 'stone them with stones, that they die. ⁶ ¹³ At the mouth of two witnesses, or three witnesses, shall he that is to die be put to death; at the mouth of one witness he shall not be put to death. ⁷ The hand of the witnesses shall be 'first upon him to put him to death, and afterward the hand of all the people'. So thou shalt 'put away the evil from the 'midst of thee.	d 49
b 21 ¹ 22 ²² 24 ⁷ cp			e 78 ^b
c 16 ⁵			f 51
d Josh 7 ¹¹ 15			g 69 ^c
e 23 ¹⁶			h 37 ^b
f 4 ¹⁹			i 31
g 13 ¹⁴			j 23 ^b
h 21 ¹⁹ 22 ²⁴			k 116 ^c
i 13 ¹⁰			l 9 ^b
j 19 ¹⁵			
k 13 ⁹			
		8 ⁸ 'If there arise a matter too 'hard for thee in judgement, between blood and blood, between plea and plea, and between stroke and stroke, being matters of controversy within thy 'gates: then shalt thou arise, and get thee up unto the 'place which Yahweh thy God shall choose; ⁹ ² and thou shalt come unto the 'priests the Levites, and unto the 'judge 'that shall be in those days: and thou shalt inquire; and they shall 'shew thee the sentence of judgement: ¹⁰ and thou shalt do according to the tenor of the sentence, which they shall 'shew thee from that 'place which Yahweh shall choose; and thou shalt 'observe to do according to all that they shall 'teach thee: ¹¹ according to the tenor of the law which they shall 'teach thee, and according to the judgement which they shall tell thee, thou shalt do: thou shalt not 'turn aside from the sentence which they shall 'shew thee, to the right hand, nor to the left. ¹² ² And the man that doeth 'presumptuously, in not hearkening unto the priest that 'standeth to minister there 'unto Yahweh thy God, or unto the 'judge, 'even that man shall die: and thou shalt 'put away the evil from Israel.	m 92 ^a
8-13 L4b 108j			n 78 ^b
l Cp 30 ¹¹ 31 ¹⁷			
9 Lnhicg			o 87
m 19 ¹⁷ 26 ⁵ Josh			p 90
n 10 ⁵			q 67
o 11 24 ⁸ cp 33 ¹⁰			r 82 ^a
p Ex 24 ¹²			
12 Lnhc			s 114 ^b
p 18 ²² 31 ¹⁷ cp 14 ⁸			
q 10 ⁸			
r 18 ²⁰ 31 ¹⁷			

17¹ This section has often been regarded as one of the series of cases expounded in 13; as dealing with village apostasy it has been suggested that it would fitly stand between the family ⁶⁻¹¹ and the city ¹²⁻¹⁸. But closer examination of the phraseology does not support this view. The opening formula reappears in 21¹ 22²² 24⁷, passages which are marked by the emphatic recognition of the 'elders,' and by the formula of 'putting away' the evil from the theocratic community cp 21⁹ 22²¹. ²⁴ 24⁷ and 17¹ (also 13⁵). Other terms without parallel in 13 will be seen in 'transgressing his covenant,' worshipping 'the sun or the moon or any of the host of heaven,' 'such abomination is wrought,' 'bring forth unto thy gates' cp 22¹⁶ 21²⁴. No witnesses are required in 13⁹; whereas in 7 they are to take the lead in carrying out the sentence. The formula in 6 is apparently derived from 10¹⁵; and this stress on the importance of judicial testimony further marks this law as belonging to a different cycle from the cases described in 13 (cp Staerk, *Deut* 6, and Steuern, *Deut* 22).

⁸ The arrangements here indicated seem to be the natural sequel of 16¹⁹⁻²⁰. But the passage is probably not quite homogeneous, for the confused text of 9-11 appears due to the combination of different drafts of the same law. Already in 9 3 has four pairs of terms instead of three (as if separate sources had contained two each). In 9-11 the repetitions are so numerous that they can only be explained on some hypothesis of amalgamation. Two authorities are named, (1) the Levitical priests and (2) the judge. Are these the same? Or was there to be a civil tribunal by the side of the ecclesiastical? And if so, what were to be their relations? On these topics cp Dillm and

Driver *in loc*, and Nowack, *Hebr Archael* i 323. But it will be made probable elsewhere that the priests are editorially associated with the secular functionaries cp 10¹⁷ 20². ²¹ ⁵, and a similar union may perhaps be traced here. The doublets in ¹⁰ and ¹¹ may then be sorted thus:—

I.

9^b And they (so 3 Sam cp 19¹⁸) shall inquire and they shall shew thee the sentence of judgement, ^{10a} and thou shalt do according to the tenor of the sentence which they shall shew thee from that place which Yahweh shall choose: ^{11b} thou shalt not turn aside from the sentence which they shall shew thee, to the right hand nor to the left.

Here I is based on the 'judgement' of the civil judge, while II rests on the 'teaching' or 'law' (3 torah) of the priests. These are set side by side in ^{9a} but in the sources behind the combination they were distinct. 3 apparently endeavoured to simplify the difficulty by omitting *unto the priests the Levites and* ⁹ (though Steuern suggests a possibility of confusion through the doublets ^{7a}) and curtailing ¹¹. (Cp Staerk 14 and Steuern *in loc*.)

¹² 3 as in 10¹⁵ 21⁵. T before. 3 in the name of. Cp 18⁷.

II.

10^b And thou shalt observe to do according to all that they shall teach thee: ^{11a} according to the tenor of the teaching which they shall teach thee (E adds *and according to the judgement which they shall tell thee*) shalt thou do. ¹² And the man that doeth presumptuously in not hearkening unto the priest that standeth to minister there before Yahweh thy God (E adds *or unto the judge*), even that man shall die.

JE	D ^c	D	D ^c	P
14 ¹³ 5	13 And all the people shall 'hear, and fear, and 'do no more presumptuously.			t 58 ^a
14-20 L ⁴ kd	14 14 When thou art "come unto the land 'which Yahweh thy God giveth thee, and shalt possess it, and shalt dwell therein; and "shalt say, I will set a king over me, like as all the nations that are "round about me; 15 thou shalt in any wise set him king over thee, whom Yahweh thy God shall "choose: one from among thy 'brethren shalt thou set king over thee: "thou mayest not put a "foreigner over thee, which is not thy brother. 16 Only he shall not multiply horses to himself, nor cause the people to return to Egypt, to the end that he should multiply horses: "forasmuch as Yahweh hath "said unto you, Ye shall henceforth return no more that way. 17 Neither shall he multiply wives to himself, that his 'heart turn not away: neither shall he greatly multiply to himself "silver and gold:			u 58
t 261 cp 18 ⁹ 5	18 18 And it shall be, when he sitteth upon the throne of his kingdom, that he shall write him a copy of "this law in a book, out of [that which is] "before the 'priests the Levites: 19 and it shall be with him, and he shall read therein 'all the days of his life: that he "may 'learn to "fear Yahweh his God, to keep "all the words of "this law and these statutes, to do them.			v 25
u 12 ³⁰	20 that his "heart be not lifted up above his 'brethren, and that he 'turn not aside from the commandment, to the right hand, or to the left: to the end that he may "prolong his days in his kingdom, he and his children, in the "midst of Israel.			w 76
v 614	18 18 And it shall be, when he sitteth upon the throne of his kingdom, that he shall write him a copy of "this law in a book, out of [that which is] "before the 'priests the Levites: 19 and it shall be with him, and he shall read therein 'all the days of his life: that he "may 'learn to "fear Yahweh his God, to keep "all the words of "this law and these statutes, to do them.			x 70 ^a
w Cp 26	20 that his "heart be not lifted up above his 'brethren, and that he 'turn not aside from the commandment, to the right hand, or to the left: to the end that he may "prolong his days in his kingdom, he and his children, in the "midst of Israel.			y 15 ^c
x 14 ²¹ 47	18 18 And it shall be, when he sitteth upon the throne of his kingdom, that he shall write him a copy of "this law in a book, out of [that which is] "before the 'priests the Levites: 19 and it shall be with him, and he shall read therein 'all the days of his life: that he "may 'learn to "fear Yahweh his God, to keep "all the words of "this law and these statutes, to do them.			z 71 ^a
y Cp 28 ⁸⁸ Ex 13 ¹⁷	20 that his "heart be not lifted up above his 'brethren, and that he 'turn not aside from the commandment, to the right hand, or to the left: to the end that he may "prolong his days in his kingdom, he and his children, in the "midst of Israel.			a 90
z Jer 17 ⁵⁴	18 18 And it shall be, when he sitteth upon the throne of his kingdom, that he shall write him a copy of "this law in a book, out of [that which is] "before the 'priests the Levites: 19 and it shall be with him, and he shall read therein 'all the days of his life: that he "may 'learn to "fear Yahweh his God, to keep "all the words of "this law and these statutes, to do them.			b 10
a' 813	20 that his "heart be not lifted up above his 'brethren, and that he 'turn not aside from the commandment, to the right hand, or to the left: to the end that he may "prolong his days in his kingdom, he and his children, in the "midst of Israel.			c 112 ^a
18. L ⁴ va nh tle	18 18 And it shall be, when he sitteth upon the throne of his kingdom, that he shall write him a copy of "this law in a book, out of [that which is] "before the 'priests the Levites: 19 and it shall be with him, and he shall read therein 'all the days of his life: that he "may 'learn to "fear Yahweh his God, to keep "all the words of "this law and these statutes, to do them.			d 91
b' 31 ⁹	20 that his "heart be not lifted up above his 'brethren, and that he 'turn not aside from the commandment, to the right hand, or to the left: to the end that he may "prolong his days in his kingdom, he and his children, in the "midst of Israel.			e 30
c' 31 ¹³	18 18 And it shall be, when he sitteth upon the throne of his kingdom, that he shall write him a copy of "this law in a book, out of [that which is] "before the 'priests the Levites: 19 and it shall be with him, and he shall read therein 'all the days of his life: that he "may 'learn to "fear Yahweh his God, to keep "all the words of "this law and these statutes, to do them.			f 1 ^a
d' 814	20 that his "heart be not lifted up above his 'brethren, and that he 'turn not aside from the commandment, to the right hand, or to the left: to the end that he may "prolong his days in his kingdom, he and his children, in the "midst of Israel.			g 26 ^a
1-8 L ⁴ maifjd	18 18 And it shall be, when he sitteth upon the throne of his kingdom, that he shall write him a copy of "this law in a book, out of [that which is] "before the 'priests the Levites: 19 and it shall be with him, and he shall read therein 'all the days of his life: that he "may 'learn to "fear Yahweh his God, to keep "all the words of "this law and these statutes, to do them.			h 13 ^a
a 10 ⁹	20 that his "heart be not lifted up above his 'brethren, and that he 'turn not aside from the commandment, to the right hand, or to the left: to the end that he may "prolong his days in his kingdom, he and his children, in the "midst of Israel.			i 51
b Cp 118 ^a	18 18 And it shall be, when he sitteth upon the throne of his kingdom, that he shall write him a copy of "this law in a book, out of [that which is] "before the 'priests the Levites: 19 and it shall be with him, and he shall read therein 'all the days of his life: that he "may 'learn to "fear Yahweh his God, to keep "all the words of "this law and these statutes, to do them.			j 87
3 L ⁴ ppd	20 that his "heart be not lifted up above his 'brethren, and that he 'turn not aside from the commandment, to the right hand, or to the left: to the end that he may "prolong his days in his kingdom, he and his children, in the "midst of Israel.			k 87
c Ct Ex 20 ²⁷ . Lev 7 ³¹⁻³⁴	18 18 And it shall be, when he sitteth upon the throne of his kingdom, that he shall write him a copy of "this law in a book, out of [that which is] "before the 'priests the Levites: 19 and it shall be with him, and he shall read therein 'all the days of his life: that he "may 'learn to "fear Yahweh his God, to keep "all the words of "this law and these statutes, to do them.			l 69 ^c
4a L ⁴ 80:	20 that his "heart be not lifted up above his 'brethren, and that he 'turn not aside from the commandment, to the right hand, or to the left: to the end that he may "prolong his days in his kingdom, he and his children, in the "midst of Israel.			m 71 ^a
d 26 ⁵	18 18 And it shall be, when he sitteth upon the throne of his kingdom, that he shall write him a copy of "this law in a book, out of [that which is] "before the 'priests the Levites: 19 and it shall be with him, and he shall read therein 'all the days of his life: that he "may 'learn to "fear Yahweh his God, to keep "all the words of "this law and these statutes, to do them.			n 9 ^b
4b L ⁴ 7f	20 that his "heart be not lifted up above his 'brethren, and that he 'turn not aside from the commandment, to the right hand, or to the left: to the end that he may "prolong his days in his kingdom, he and his children, in the "midst of Israel.			o 49
e 10 ⁸ cp 90 ^b c	18 18 And it shall be, when he sitteth upon the throne of his kingdom, that he shall write him a copy of "this law in a book, out of [that which is] "before the 'priests the Levites: 19 and it shall be with him, and he shall read therein 'all the days of his life: that he "may 'learn to "fear Yahweh his God, to keep "all the words of "this law and these statutes, to do them.			p 64
6-8 L ⁴ 10at	20 that his "heart be not lifted up above his 'brethren, and that he 'turn not aside from the commandment, to the right hand, or to the left: to the end that he may "prolong his days in his kingdom, he and his children, in the "midst of Israel.			
f 12 ¹⁵	18 18 And it shall be, when he sitteth upon the throne of his kingdom, that he shall write him a copy of "this law in a book, out of [that which is] "before the 'priests the Levites: 19 and it shall be with him, and he shall read therein 'all the days of his life: that he "may 'learn to "fear Yahweh his God, to keep "all the words of "this law and these statutes, to do them.			
g L ⁴ 5d f	20 that his "heart be not lifted up above his 'brethren, and that he 'turn not aside from the commandment, to the right hand, or to the left: to the end that he may "prolong his days in his kingdom, he and his children, in the "midst of Israel.			
h Cp 17 ¹⁴	18 18 And it shall be, when he sitteth upon the throne of his kingdom, that he shall write him a copy of "this law in a book, out of [that which is] "before the 'priests the Levites: 19 and it shall be with him, and he shall read therein 'all the days of his life: that he "may 'learn to "fear Yahweh his God, to keep "all the words of "this law and these statutes, to do them.			
10a L ⁴ 51a	20 that his "heart be not lifted up above his 'brethren, and that he 'turn not aside from the commandment, to the right hand, or to the left: to the end that he may "prolong his days in his kingdom, he and his children, in the "midst of Israel.			
A 2 Kings 16 ⁸	18 18 And it shall be, when he sitteth upon the throne of his kingdom, that he shall write him a copy of "this law in a book, out of [that which is] "before the 'priests the Levites: 19 and it shall be with him, and he shall read therein 'all the days of his life: that he "may 'learn to "fear Yahweh his God, to keep "all the words of "this law and these statutes, to do them.			
17 ¹⁷ 21 ⁶ 23 ¹⁰	20 that his "heart be not lifted up above his 'brethren, and that he 'turn not aside from the commandment, to the right hand, or to the left: to the end that he may "prolong his days in his kingdom, he and his children, in the "midst of Israel.			
Ezek 20 ⁵¹ cp	18 18 And it shall be, when he sitteth upon the throne of his kingdom, that he shall write him a copy of "this law in a book, out of [that which is] "before the 'priests the Levites: 19 and it shall be with him, and he shall read therein 'all the days of his life: that he "may 'learn to "fear Yahweh his God, to keep "all the words of "this law and these statutes, to do them.			
Lev 18 ²¹	20 that his "heart be not lifted up above his 'brethren, and that he 'turn not aside from the commandment, to the right hand, or to the left: to the end that he may "prolong his days in his kingdom, he and his children, in the "midst of Israel.			
10b-22 L ⁴ 5jc	18 18 And it shall be, when he sitteth upon the throne of his kingdom, that he shall write him a copy of "this law in a book, out of [that which is] "before the 'priests the Levites: 19 and it shall be with him, and he shall read therein 'all the days of his life: that he "may 'learn to "fear Yahweh his God, to keep "all the words of "this law and these statutes, to do them.			
i Josh 13 ³²	20 that his "heart be not lifted up above his 'brethren, and that he 'turn not aside from the commandment, to the right hand, or to the left: to the end that he may "prolong his days in his kingdom, he and his children, in the "midst of Israel.			
j Lev 19 ³⁶	18 18 And it shall be, when he sitteth upon the throne of his kingdom, that he shall write him a copy of "this law in a book, out of [that which is] "before the 'priests the Levites: 19 and it shall be with him, and he shall read therein 'all the days of his life: that he "may 'learn to "fear Yahweh his God, to keep "all the words of "this law and these statutes, to do them.			
k Gen 44 ⁵ Lev 19 ³⁶	20 that his "heart be not lifted up above his 'brethren, and that he 'turn not aside from the commandment, to the right hand, or to the left: to the end that he may "prolong his days in his kingdom, he and his children, in the "midst of Israel.			
l Ex 7 ¹¹ 22 ¹⁸	18 18 And it shall be, when he sitteth upon the throne of his kingdom, that he shall write him a copy of "this law in a book, out of [that which is] "before the 'priests the Levites: 19 and it shall be with him, and he shall read therein 'all the days of his life: that he "may 'learn to "fear Yahweh his God, to keep "all the words of "this law and these statutes, to do them.			
m Ps 58 ²⁴	20 that his "heart be not lifted up above his 'brethren, and that he 'turn not aside from the commandment, to the right hand, or to the left: to the end that he may "prolong his days in his kingdom, he and his children, in the "midst of Israel.			

17¹⁶ Probably a gloss cp 28⁸⁸ Ex 13¹⁷.

18 The allusion to the book of the law under the guardianship of the Levitical priests plainly presupposes one of the accounts in 31⁹ or in 31²⁴. It is not, however, necessary to regard the whole section 14-20 as a later addition to the Code on this ground. The reference in 18 may have been inserted into the older law. The context in 19-20 is not quite satisfactory, for it is not clear why the king's heart should be 'lifted up above his brethren': if, however, 18-19 be removed, the missing connexion is restored, 'neither shall he greatly multiply to himself silver and gold, that his heart be not lifted up' & cp 8¹²⁻¹⁴ 'lest . . . when thy silver and thy gold is multiplied, . . . then thine heart be lifted up.'

18^a The text as it stands identifies 'the priests the Levites' with 'the whole tribe of Levi.' No doubt this is historically justifiable, but it is possible that it results in this passage from

the juxtaposition of two laws regulating the Levitical revenues. An examination of the text of 18^b 'the offerings of Yahweh made by fire and his inheritance shall they eat' reveals some confusion, for to whom does the pronoun *his* refer? The phrase 'and his inheritance' can hardly be applied to Yahweh. (9 omits *and*, rendering 'the offerings of Yahweh [are] their inheritance, they shall eat them.' In 2⁵ runs 'and he shall have no inheritance among his brethren, Yahweh is his inheritance, as he spake unto him' cp 10⁹, the subject here being 'the whole tribe of Levi.' 1, therefore, in its original form without the words 'all the tribe of Levi,' is parallel to 2, to which 'all the tribe of Levi' was probably the antecedent. The reference to 'the priests' in 3 connects it with 1, while the singular 'him' in 4 carries on the same pronoun in 2 (Steuern attributes 1 to E, and 2-5 to his 'singular' author; cp Staerk, *Deut* 10). 1b M Or [and].

JE D ^c	D	D ^c P
n Cp Lev 20 ²⁷ o Lev 20 ²⁷ 19 ²¹ p Cp 1s 8 ¹⁹ 5 [†] q 22 ⁵ 25 ¹⁶ r 9 ⁵	or a "consulter with a familiar spirit, or a "wizard, or a "necromancer. 12 For "whosoever doeth these things is an "abomination unto Yahweh : and because of these abominations Yahweh thy God "doth "drive them out from before thee. 13 Thou shalt be perfect with Yahweh thy God. 14 For these nations, "which thou shalt possess, hearken unto them that "practise augury, and unto "diviners : but as for thee, Yahweh thy God hath not "suffered thee so to do. 15 "Yahweh thy God will "raise up unto thee a prophet from the "midst "of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me ; unto him ye shall hearken ; 16 according to all that thou desiredst of Yahweh thy God in "Horeb in the "day of the "assembly, saying, Let me not "hear again the voice of Yahweh my God, neither let me see this great fire any more, that I die not. 17 And Yahweh said unto me, They have "well said that which they have spoken. 18 I will "raise them up a prophet from among their brethren, like unto thee ; and I will "put my words in his mouth, and he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him. 19 And it shall come to pass, that whosoever will not hearken unto my words which he shall speak in my name, I will "require it of him. 20 "But the prophet, which shall speak a word "presumptuously in my name, which I have not commanded him to speak, or that shall speak in the name of "other gods, "that same prophet shall die. 21 And "if thou say in thine heart, "How shall we know the word which Yahweh hath not spoken ? 22 When a prophet speaketh in the name of Yahweh, if the thing follow not, nor come to pass, that is the thing which Yahweh hath not spoken : the prophet hath spoken it "presumptuously, thou shalt not be "afraid of him".	q 9 ^a r 39 ^b
s 12 ²		
t Cp 12 ¹⁸ 15-23 Linn ^c u 18 cp 13 ¹		s 78 ^b
v 9 ¹⁰		t 7 u 20 ^a
w 5 ²⁶		
x 5 ²⁸		
y Cp Ex 4 ¹⁵ Jer 1 ⁹		
z 23 ²¹ cp 22 ² 20 15 ^h a' 1 ⁴⁵ 5 [†] b' Cp 17 ¹² 5 [†] c' 7 ¹⁷		v 85 w 62
d' 17 ¹² 5 [†] e' 1 ¹⁷		
1-13 Laha a 12 ²⁹ b 5 [†] =possessant 12 ²⁹ cp 88 ^b c Cp 4 ⁴¹ Num 35 ¹¹ .	19 ¹ "When Yahweh "thy God shall "cut off the nations, whose "land Yahweh thy God giveth thee, and thou "succeedest them, and dwellest in their cities, and in their houses ; 2 thou shalt "separate three cities for thee in the midst of thy "land, which Yahweh thy God giveth thee to "possess it. 3 Thou shalt prepare thee the way, and divide the borders of thy land, which Yahweh thy God causeth thee to "inherit, into three parts, that every manslayer may flee thither. 4 And "this is the case of the "manslayer, which shall flee thither and live : whose killeth his "neighbour "unawares, and hated him not in time past ; 5 as when a man goeth into the forest with his neighbour to hew wood, and his hand "fetcheth a stroke with the axe to cut down the tree, and the "head "slippeth from "the helve, and lighteth upon his neighbour, that he die ; he shall "flee unto one of these cities and live : 6 lest the "avenger of blood pursue the manslayer, while his heart is hot, and overtake him, because the way is "long, and smite him "mortally ; whereas he was not "worthy of death, inasmuch as he hated him not in time past. 7 "Where- fore I "command thee, saying, Thou shalt separate three cities for thee : 8 "And if Yahweh thy God "enlarge thy border, "as he hath sworn unto thy fathers, and give thee all the land which he promised to give unto thy fathers ; 9 "if thou shalt "keep all this "commandment to do it, which I "command thee this day, to "love Yahweh thy God, and to "walk "ever in his ways ; then shalt thou add three cities more for thee, beside these three.	a 1 ^a b 69 ^a c 88 ^a d 65 e 38 f 29 ^b g 107 ^b h 82 ^a i 29 ^d j 74 ^b k 115 ^a l 13 ^a m 69 ^d
d 4 ⁴² cp Ex 21 ¹²⁻¹⁴ e 13 ⁶ f Ct Num 35 ¹¹		
g 28 ⁴⁰ 5 [†] h 4 ⁴² i 13 cp Num 35 ¹¹		
j 14 ²⁴ k 11 cp 22 ²⁶ 5 [†] l 21 ²² Jer 26 ¹¹ 18 5 [†] m 15 ¹¹ n 12 ²⁰		
o 11 ²²		
p Josh 82 ^{..}	10 that "innocent blood be not shed in the midst of thy "land, which Yahweh thy God giveth thee for an inheritance, and so blood be upon thee. 11 But if any man hate his neighbour, and "lie in wait for him,	

18^{15b} Sam (3) read 'from the midst of (among) thy brethren' as in 18 17¹⁵. The last clause seems to break the connexion with the following verse, and its plural form is unexpected in the midst of the singular address cp 12²¹.

22 At this point the treatment of the theocratic powers of the state, monarchy, priesthood, and prophecy, is concluded. The collection of laws in 19-25 has a miscellaneous character, and may have been expanded later. With 26¹ cp 18⁹.

19⁴ Cp 15². The formula sounds like the introduction of a citation from a legal source.

5^a M. 5 iron.

5^b M. Or, the tree.

8 The expansive hortatory manner of 8. contrasted with the simpler style of 1-7 10-13 makes it probable that this is a systematizer's addition, to bring up the number of cities to the Levitical six. Cp 4⁴¹⁻⁴³.

10 M. Or, the blood of an innocent man.—Cp 19 21² 27²⁴.

JE D ^c	D	D ^c P
q Cp 15. 22 ²⁶	and ^c rise up against him, and smite him ^t mortally that he die; and he flee into one of these cities: ¹² then the ^e elders of his city shall send and fetch him thence, and ^r deliver him into the hand of the ^e avenger of blood, that he may die. ¹³ Thine ^e eye shall not pity him, but thou shalt ^r put away ^t the innocent blood from Israel, that it may ^q go well with thee ^r .	n 42 ^a o 43 ^b p 44 ^c q 45 ^d
r Cp 59	¹⁴ ^t Thou shalt not ^r remove thy neighbour's landmark, which they ^e of old time have set, in thine inheritance which thou shalt inherit, in the land that Yahweh thy God giveth thee to ^q possess it.	
14 L 28ba s 27 ¹⁷ t ^q =ancestors Lev 26 ⁴⁵ 15-20 L 41e u 17 ⁶ v ^q =stand Num 30 ⁶ 16. L 41e mhc w Ex 23 ¹	¹⁵ ^t One witness shall not ^r rise up against a man for any iniquity, or for any sin, in any sin that he sinneth: at the ^e mouth of two witnesses, or at the mouth of three witnesses, shall a matter be ^q established.	
x ^q =inquire diligently 13 ¹⁴ 17 ⁴ op 9 y Ex 23 ⁷ z Ct 5 ²⁰ ^q a' Gen 11 ⁶	¹⁶ ^t If an ^e unrighteous witness rise up against any man to testify against him of ^r wrong doing; ¹⁷ then both the men, between whom the controversy is, shall stand before Yahweh, ^r before the priests and the ^r judges which shall be in those days; ¹⁸ and the ^r judges shall ^r make ^r diligent inquisition: and, behold, if the witness be a ^r false witness, and hath ^r testified falsely against his ^r brother; ¹⁹ then shall ^r ye do unto him, as he had ^r thought to do unto his ^r brother: so shalt thou ^r put away the evil from the ^r midst of thee. ²⁰ And those which remain shall ^r hear, and fear, and shall henceforth commit no more any such evil in the midst of thee. ²¹ ^t And thine ^e eye shall not pity; ^r life [shall go] for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot.	r 67 s 116 ^c t 25 u 32 ^a v 75 ^b w 55 ^b
21 L 40b b' Ex 21 ²⁴ Lev 24 ¹⁶⁻²⁰ 1-20 L 41m a 21 ¹⁰ 23 ⁹ b Cp 7 ¹ 17 c 7 ^{1b} d Josh 24 ¹⁷ op 21 ¹⁰ 23 ⁹ e L 11b f	²⁰ ^t When thou ^r goest forth to battle against thine enemies, and seest horses, and chariots, [and] a people ^b more than thou, ^t thou shalt not be afraid of them: for Yahweh ^t thy God is with thee, which ^r brought thee up out of the land of Egypt. ²¹ ^t And it shall be, when ^r ye draw nigh unto the battle,	a 1 ^a
c Cp 8 Is 7 ⁴ Jer 31 ⁴⁶ f ^q =cp haste ^q 16 ⁵ g ^q =dread 129 44 ^d h Cp 1:20 i 1 Kings 8 ⁶⁵ 2 Chron 7 ⁵ cp Prov 22 ⁶ ^q †	²² ^t And the priest shall approach and speak unto the people, ³ and shall say unto them, ^b Hear, O Israel, ye draw nigh this day unto battle against your enemies: let not your heart faint; ^r fear not, nor ^r tremble, neither be ye ^r affrighted at them; ⁴ for Yahweh your God is he that ^r goeth with you, to ^r fight for you against your enemies, to save you.	b 2 ^b c 44 ^c
j 28 ³⁰ cp 24 ⁵	⁵ ^t that the ^e officers shall speak unto the people, saying, What man is there that hath built a new house, and hath not ^r dedicated it? let him go and return to his house, lest he die in the battle, and another man dedicate it. ⁶ And what man is there that hath planted a vineyard, and hath not ^r used the fruit thereof? let him go and return unto his house, lest he die in the battle, and another man use the fruit thereof. ⁷ And what man is there that hath ^r betrothed a wife, and hath not taken her? let him go and return unto his house, lest he die in the battle, and another man take her. ⁸ And the ^e officers shall speak further unto the people, and they shall say, What man is there that is fearful and faint-hearted? let him go and return unto his house, ^r lest his brethren's heart melt as his heart. ⁹ And it shall be, when the ^e officers have ^r made an end of speaking unto the people, that they shall appoint ^r captains of hosts ^r at the head of the people.	d 45 e 53
k 26 ¹² 31 ²⁴ Josh 8 ²⁴ 10 ²⁰ l 1 Kings 2 ⁵ 1 Chron 27 ³ ^q †		

19^{13a} M Or, the blood of the innocent.13^b The section on expiation for a murder when the murderer is unknown 21¹⁻⁹, which now interrupts a series of regulations of military affairs, may possibly have once been connected with 11-13: cp 'the elders' 19¹² 21³ 4⁶, 'put away the innocent blood' 19¹³ 21⁹.17 Probably a gloss in explanation of the phrase 'stand before Yahweh,' founded on the combined document in 17⁶... In 18, however, only the judges are recognized. Are these civil officers or priests? Cp 21³ 5.19 An unexpected plural cp 12²⁸: 19^b suggests 'so shalt thou do unto him.'20¹ On some features in this portion of the Code 20-25 cp 12¹² (2) (3).

22 (3) 'thou drawest nigh' op 10: the plural in 3 is here anticipated.

22 T that. The construction of 22 is continued in 5. The exhortation here assigned to the priest recalls phrases of the Introduction 1⁶⁻³, and has been often regarded as supplemental, its character being quite different from the subsequent concessions. The grammatical sequence runs on quite easily at 5 which may be rendered 'that the officers' &c. For a similar unexpected reference to the priest cp 21⁹. The sudden change to the plural confirms the ascription to another hand cp 12²⁸.5 ^q continuous with 22. T and.6 M See 28³⁰ and Lev 19²⁸⁻²⁹.8 Sam (3) ^{anpl} lest he cause his brethren's heart to melt. Cp 1²⁸.

JE D ^s	D	D ^s P
	<p>¹⁰ When thou drawest nigh unto a city to fight against it, then proclaim peace unto it. ¹¹ And it shall be, if it make thee answer of peace, and open unto thee, then it shall be, that all the people that is found therein shall become 'tributary unto thee, and shall serve thee. ¹² And if it will make no peace with thee, but will make war against thee, then thou shalt 'besiege it: ¹³ and when Yahweh thy God 'delivereth it into thine hand, thou shalt 'smite every male thereof with the edge of the sword: ¹⁴ 'but the 'women, and the little ones, and the cattle, and all that is in the city, 'even all the 'spoil thereof, shalt thou take for a 'prey unto thyself; and thou shalt eat the spoil of thine enemies 'which Yahweh thy God hath given thee. ¹⁵ Thus shalt thou do unto all the cities which are very far off from thee, which are not of the cities of these nations. ¹⁶ 'But of the cities of these peoples, 'which Yahweh thy God giveth thee for an inheritance, thou shalt save alive 'nothing that breatheth: ¹⁷ but thou shalt 'devote them; 'the Hittite, and the Amorite, the Canaanite, and the Perizzite, the Hivite, and the Jebusite; 'as Yahweh thy God hath commanded thee.</p> <p>¹⁸ that they 'teach 'you not to do after all their 'abominations, which they have done unto their gods; so should ye sin against Yahweh your God.</p> <p>¹⁹ When thou shalt 'besiege a city a 'long time, in making war against it to take it, thou shalt not 'destroy the trees thereof by 'wielding an axe against them; for thou mayest eat of them, and thou shalt not cut them down; for is the tree of the field man, that it should be 'besieged of thee? ²⁰ 'Only the trees which thou knowest that they be not trees for meat, thou shalt 'destroy and cut them down; and thou shalt build bulwarks against the city that maketh war with thee, until it 'fall.</p> <p>²¹ 'If one be 'found slain in the 'land which Yahweh 'thy God giveth thee to 'possess it, lying in the field, and it be not known who hath smitten him: ² then thy 'elders 'and thy 'judges shall come forth, and they shall measure unto the cities which are round about him that is slain: ³ and it shall be, that the city which is nearest unto the slain man, even the 'elders of that city shall take an heifer of the herd, which hath not been 'wrought with, and which hath not drawn in the yoke; ⁴ and the 'elders of that city shall bring down the heifer unto a 'valley with running water^b, which is neither 'plowed nor sown, and shall 'break the heifer's neck there in the valley:</p> <p>⁵ 'And the 'priests the sons of Levi shall come near; for them Yahweh thy God hath 'chosen to 'minister unto him, and to 'bless in the name of Yahweh; and according to their word shall every 'controversy and every stroke be.</p> <p>⁶ and all the 'elders of that city, who are nearest unto the slain man, shall wash their hands over the heifer whose neck was broken in the valley: ⁷ and they shall 'answer and say, Our hands have not shed this blood, neither have our 'eyes seen it. ⁸ 'Forgive, O Yahweh, thy people Israel, whom thou hast 'redeemed, and suffer not 'innocent blood [to remain] in the midst of thy people Israel. And the blood shall be</p>	<p>f 52</p> <p>g 84</p> <p>h 118</p> <p>i 10</p> <p>j 103</p> <p>k 89</p> <p>l 69</p> <p>m 29^a</p> <p>n 71^b</p> <p>o 9^b</p> <p>p 38</p> <p>q 49^a</p> <p>r 69^a</p> <p>s 42^a</p> <p>t 42^b</p> <p>u 67</p> <p>v 42^a</p> <p>w 90</p> <p>x 26^a</p> <p>y 43^c</p> <p>z 95</p>
m 19 29		
n 13 ¹⁵		
16-18 L56c		
o Josh 1040 1111 14 1 Kings 1529 Ps 1508†		
19 L3dc		
p Φ = many days 146 21 &c q 43 ¹		
r 2 Kings 2410 25 ² Jer 528 Φ †		
s Φ = come down 2853 1-9 L2hi		
a Cp 1519 Φ Pu Is 148†		
b Am 524† cp Ps 7418		
c Cp 30 Φ Niph d Cp Ex 1318 3420*		
e L11:hg 4b l e 108		
f Cp 178-10		
g 2714		
h Ct 225		
i 1910		

20¹¹ M. Or, subject to task-work.—Cp Josh 1610 1713 Judg 126..

17^a So M. Φ . T utterly destroy.—Cp 35.

17^b The introduction of the list of the doomed peoples cp 71 after the command to 'devote' them, may be due to an annotator: cp Josh 2411 Ex 38.

18 This verse has a supplemental air after the close in 17^b: the plural pronoun perhaps indicates the presence of the expander cp 1231. In the last clause of the formula 'and it be sin in thee' 102.

21¹ The sequence of the regulations concerning war 20³⁰ 21¹⁰ is broken by 21¹⁻⁹ which is closely connected in subject with 19¹⁻¹³, though not allied by any special phraseological peculiarities.

2 The 'judges' are not named again, unless this be an

anticipatory reference to the judicial functions of the priests 5^b cp 1917. The word may be a harmonistic addition (cp Steark, Deut 17, Steuern in loc), or possibly a trace of the amalgamation of two forms of the same law; cp in 3 'which hath not been wrought with' and 'which hath not drawn in the yoke,' which also look like doublets from separate sources.

5 With the entrance of the priests here cp 203. They are not mentioned before (unless 'judges' 2 points to them), and they have no part in the expiatory rite described in 4 6-8; for what purpose, then, do they 'come near'? The reference to them may rest on ancient usage, but it has the air here of an afterthought. With the designation 'sons of Levi' cp 319, and cf 179 181 248.

JE D ^s	D	D ^s P
	⁹ forgiven them. ⁹ So shalt thou 'put away the innocent blood from the 'midst of thee, when thou shalt 'do that which is right in the eyes of Yahweh.	l 92 ^b m 78 ^b n 37 ^a
10-14 L ¹ ga 2di 4m ^b	¹⁰ ²¹ When thou goest forth to battle against thine enemies, and Yahweh thy God 'delivereth them into thine hands, and thou carriest them away captive, ¹¹ and seest among the 'captives a beautiful woman, and thou 'hast a desire unto her, and wouldest take her to thee to wife; ¹² then thou shalt bring her home to thine house; and she shall shave her head, and pare her 'nails; ¹³ and she shall put the raiment of her captivity from off her, and shall remain in thine house, and bewail her father and her mother a "full month": and after that thou shalt go in unto her, and be her husband, and she shall be thy wife. ¹⁴ And it shall be, if thou have no "delight in her, then thou shalt let her go 'whither she will", but thou shalt not sell her at all for money, thou shalt not deal with her "as a slave, "because thou hast humbled her.	o 59
j 32 ¹³ Jer 48 ⁴⁶ k 5 7 ⁷	¹⁵ ² If a man have two wives, the one beloved, and the other hated, and they have borne him children, both the beloved and the hated; and if the firstborn son be hers that was hated; ¹⁶ then it shall be, in the day that he causeth his sons to 'inherit that which he hath, that he 'may not make the son of the beloved the firstborn "before the son of the hated, which is the firstborn: ¹⁷ but he shall acknowledge the firstborn, the son of the hated, by giving him a "double portion of all that he hath: for he is the 'beginning of his strength"; the right of the firstborn is his.	p 66 q 76
l 5 ⁷ op Jer 17 ¹ sing ⁷	¹⁸ ² If a man have a 'stubborn and rebellious' son, which will not obey the voice of his father, or the voice of his mother, and though they 'chasten him, will not hearken unto them: ¹⁹ then shall his father and his mother lay hold on him, and 'bring him out unto the 'elders of his city, and unto the "gate of his place; ²⁰ and they shall say unto the 'elders of his city, This our son is 'stubborn and rebellious, he will not obey our voice; he is a "riotous liver, and a drunkard". ²¹ And all the 'men of his city shall "stone him with stones, that he die: so shalt thou 'put away the evil from the "midst of thee; and 'all Israel shall "hear, and fear.	r 66
m 2 Kings 15 ¹⁸ † ot Gen 29 ¹⁴ 5	²² ² And if a man have committed a 'sin "worthy of death, and he be 'put to death, and thou hang him on a tree", ²³ his body shall not 'remain all night upon the tree, but thou shalt surely bury him the same day; for he that is hanged is "accursed of God; that thou "defile not thy land "which Yahweh thy God giveth thee for an inheritance.	s 92 ^a t 2 ^a u 58 ^b v 102
n Cp 25 ⁷ Gen 34 ¹⁹ o 5 = according to her soul op 12 ¹⁵ 24 ¹⁵ p 22 ³⁹ op 28 ⁴⁷ (62) Num 25 ¹⁸ 18-17 L ¹ da 28 ^b	²² ¹ Thou shalt not see thy 'brother's ox or his sheep 'go astray, and 'hide thyself from them: thou shalt 'surely bring them again unto thy 'brother. ² And if thy 'brother be not nigh unto thee, or if thou know him not, then thou shalt bring it home to thine house, and it shall be with thee until thy 'brother 'seek after it, and thou shalt restore it to him again. ³ And so shalt thou do with his ass; and so shalt thou do with his garment; and so shalt thou do with every "lost thing of thy 'brother's, which he hath lost, and thou hast found: thou "mayest not 'hide thyself.	w 69 ^d x 25 ⁵ y 38
q 2 Kings 2 ⁹ Zech 13 ² † r Gen 49 ³ ^a	⁴ Thou shalt not see thy 'brother's ass or his ox fallen down by the way, and "hide thyself from them: thou shalt surely help him to lift them up again.	c 76
18-12 L ¹ bc 0-1 s 30 Jer 5 ²⁸ Ps 78 ¹ †	⁵ ² A woman shall not wear that which pertaineth unto a man, neither shall a man put on a woman's garment: 'for whosoever doeth these things is an "abomination unto Yahweh 'thy God.	d 9 ^a e 1 ^a
t 17 ⁵ u 22 ¹⁸ 24 25 ⁷	⁶ ² If a bird's nest chance to be before thee in the way, in any tree	
v Prov 23 ³¹ † w 22 ²¹		
x 10 ⁶ y Josh 10 ³⁶ z Cp Josh 8 ³⁹ 10 ³⁷ a Num 35 ³⁴		
1-4 L ¹ 30 ^b		
a 2 Is 58 ⁷ Ps 55 ¹ Job 61 ⁶ † b Ex 23 ⁴		
c 5 require it 23 ²¹		
d Ex 22 ⁹ Lev 52 ² †		
e L ¹ 10 e 18 ¹²		
f L ¹ 2g		

²¹10 The fourth in a series of cases arising out of war 20¹ 10¹⁹ which were probably originally all continuous.

¹⁴ M Or, as a chattel.—Cp 24⁷†.

¹⁵ M Or, during the life time of.

²¹ 5 cp 152; et 13¹¹ 17⁵ 22²¹ 24 22¹⁶.

²³ M 5 the curse of God.

JE D'	D	D' P
f Ps 84 ³ Job 39 ^{30†}	or on the ground, with 'young ones or eggs, and the dam sitting upon the young, or upon the eggs, thou shalt not take the dam with the young: ⁷ thou shalt in any wise let the dam go, but the young thou mayest take unto thyself; that it may be 'well with thee, and that thou mayest 'prolong thy days.	f 116 ^a g 73 ^b
g L 220 o 5†	⁸ 'When thou buildest a new house, then thou shalt make a 'battlement for thy roof, that thou bring not blood upon thine house, if any man fall from thence. ⁹ 'Thou shalt not sow thy vineyard with two 'kinds of seed: lest the 'whole fruit be 'forfeited, the seed which thou hast sown, and the 'increase of the vineyard.	
h-11 L 31a A Lev 19 ^{19†} i 14 ²²	¹⁰ Thou shalt not plow with an ox and an ass together. ¹¹ Thou shalt not wear a 'mingled stuff, wool and linen together.	
j Lev 19 ¹⁹ 12 L 111a	¹² 'Thou shalt make thee 'fringes upon the four borders of thy 'vesture, wherewith thou coverest thyself.	
k 5 = covering Ex 22 ²⁷ 13-21 L 1k l 24 ³ m 17 5† n 19 5† o 15 17 30 Lev 21 ¹³ p 21 24 17 ⁵ q 21 ¹⁹	¹³ 'If any man take a wife, and go in unto her, and hate her, ¹⁴ and lay 'shameful things to her charge, and 'bring up an evil name upon her, and say, I took this woman, and when I came nigh to her, I found not in her the 'tokens of virginity: ¹⁵ then shall the father of the damsel, and her mother, take and 'bring forth the 'tokens of the damsel's virginity unto the 'elders of the city in the 'gate: ¹⁶ and the damsel's father shall say unto the 'elders, I gave my daughter unto this man to wife, and he hateth her; ¹⁷ and, lo, he hath laid 'shameful things [to her charge], saying, I found not in thy daughter the 'tokens of virginity; and yet these are the tokens of my daughter's virginity. And they shall spread the garment before the 'elders of the city. ¹⁸ And the 'elders of that city shall take the man and 'chastise him; ¹⁹ and they shall 'amerce him in an hundred [shekels] of silver, and give them unto the father of the damsel, because he hath 'brought up an evil name upon a virgin of Israel: 'and she shall be his wife; he 'may not put her away 'all his days. ²⁰ But if this thing be 'true, that the 'tokens of virginity were not 'found in the damsel: ²¹ then they shall bring out the damsel to the door of her father's house, and the 'men of her city shall 'stone her with stones that she die: because she hath 'wrought folly in Israel, to play the harlot in her father's house: so shalt thou 'put away the evil from the 'midst of thee.	h 42 ^a i 66 j 13 ^b k 49 l 92 ^a m 78 ^b
r Ex 21 ^{22*}	²² 'If a man be 'found lying with a woman 'married to an husband', then they shall both of them die, the man that lay with the woman, and the woman: so shalt thou 'put away the evil from Israel.	
s Cp 20 t 5 = truth 13 ¹⁴ 17 ⁴ u 21 ³¹ v Cp 18 ²¹⁶ w Gen 34 ⁷ Josh 7 ^{18*}	²³ If there be a damsel that is a virgin 'betrothed unto an husband, and a man find her in the city, and lie with her; ²⁴ then 'ye shall bring them both out unto the gate of that city, and 'ye shall stone them with stones that they die; the damsel, 'because she cried not, being in the city; and the man, 'because he hath 'humbled his neighbour's wife: so thou shalt 'put away the evil from the 'midst of thee.	
22-27 L 11g x 17 ² y Gen 20 ^{2†} ct Lev 20 ¹⁰ z 25-20 ⁷ 28 ³⁰ cp Ex 22 ^{16*}	²⁵ But if the man find the damsel that is 'betrothed in the field, and the man force her, and lie with her; then the man only that lay with her shall die: ²⁶ 'but unto the damsel thou shalt do nothing; there is in the damsel no sin 'worthy of death: for as when a man 'riseth against his neighbour, and 'slayeth him, even so is this matter: ²⁷ for he found her in the field; the betrothed damsel cried, and 'there was none to save her.	
a' 23 ⁴ 2 Sam 13 ²² 5† b' 21 ¹⁴	²⁸ 'If a man find a damsel that is a 'virgin, which is not betrothed, and lay hold on her, and lie with her, and they be found; ²⁹ then the man that lay with her shall give unto the damsel's father fifty [shekels]	
c' Cp 21 ²² d' 19 ⁴¹ e' Cp 19 ⁶ 5 f' 28 ²⁹ 31 2 ^a . L 11c g' Ex 22 ¹⁶		

22^a M 5 fulness.—Ex 22²⁹ Num 18^{27†}.
 23^b M 5 consecrated.—5 = become holy Lev 6¹⁸ Num 17²² cp
 28^c.
 12 M Or, twisted threads.—1 Kings 7^{17†} ct Num 15³⁸.
 24^a Perhaps originally singular as in 13¹⁰: cp the sing in the

closing formula of the verse and in 26: 5 educes utrumque. Steuermann, on the other hand, regards the plural in these Laws as original, while the singular is part of the editorial formulae.
 24^b 5 'they shall be stoned.'
 26 5 omits but . . . nothing.

JE D'	D	D' P
v 5*	"hire of a whore, or the wages of a dog, into the house of Yahweh thy God for any vow: for even both these are an "abomination unto Yahweh thy God.	n 9*
19. 13k ^h w High† cp Ex 22 ²⁵	19 "Thou shalt not "lend upon usury to thy 'brother; usury of money, usury of victuals, usury of "any thing that is lent upon usury: 20 unto a "foreigner thou mayest lend upon usury; but unto thy 'brother thou shalt not lend upon usury: "that Yahweh thy God may 'bless thee in all that thou 'puttest thine hand unto, in the land whither thou 'goest in to 'possess it.	o 10 p 47 q 22*
x 14 ²⁹	21 "When thou shalt 'vow a vow unto Yahweh thy God, thou shalt not be slack to pay it: for Yahweh thy God will surely 'require it of thee; and it would be "sin in thee. 22 But if thou shalt forbear to vow, it shall be no "sin in thee. 23 That which is "gone out of thy lips thou shalt 'observe and do; according as thou hast vowed unto Yahweh thy God, a freewill offering, which thou hast 'promised with thy mouth.	r 11 s 53 t 88*
21-23 18fug ^h y Ct Num 30 ³ .. z 1819	24 "When thou comest into thy neighbour's vineyard, then thou mayest eat grapes thy fill "at thine own pleasure; but thou shalt not put any in thy vessel.	u 102
a' Num 30 ¹³ Jer 17 ¹⁶ Ps 80 ³⁴ cp Deut 8 ³⁴	25 When thou comest into thy neighbour's "standing corn, then thou mayest "pluck the "ears with thine hand; but thou shalt not "move a "sickle unto thy neighbour's standing corn.	v 82*
b' Jer 44 ²⁶ cp 1 Kings 8 ¹⁶ 24 24. 131a	24 ¹ "When a man taketh a wife, and marrieth her, then it shall be, if she find no favour in his eyes, because he hath found some "unseemly thing in her, that he shall write her a "bill of divorcement ^b , and give it in her hand, and "send her out of his house. 2 And when she is departed out of his house, she may go and be another man's [wife]. 3 And if the latter husband "hate her, and write her a bill of divorcement, and give it in her hand, and send her out of his house; or if the latter husband die, which took her to be his wife; 4 her former husband, which sent her away, "may not take her again to be his wife, after that she is "defiled; for that is "abomination before Yahweh: and thou shalt not "cause the land to sin, "which Yahweh "thy God giveth thee for an inheritance.	a 76 b 9*
c 5 = according to thy soul cp 12 ¹⁵ d' 169	5 "When a man "taketh a new wife, he shall not go out "in the host, neither shall he be "charged with any business: he shall be free at home one year, and shall cheer his wife which he hath taken. 6 "No man shall take the mill or the upper millstone to 'pledge: for he taketh [a man's] life to pledge.	c 69 ^d d 1*
e' 27 ⁵ ct 175	7 "If a man be 'found "stealing any of his 'brethren of the children of Israel, and he deal with him "as a slave, or sell him; then that thief shall die: so shalt thou "put away the evil from the midst of thee.	e 49 f 25
1-4 13hc a 23 ¹⁴ b 3 Jer 3 ⁶ Is 50 ¹ † c 5 = put her away 22 ¹⁹ 29 d 22 ¹³	8 "Take heed in the 'plague of leprosy, that thou 'observe diligently, and do according to all that the 'priests the Levites shall "teach you: as I "commanded them, so ye shall "observe to do. 9 "Remember 'what Yahweh thy God did unto "Miriam, by the "way as ye "came forth out of Egypt.	g 92*
e 5† f Ex 23 ²⁸ cp 1 Kings 14 ¹⁶ al	10 "When thou dost 'lend thy neighbour any manner of 'loan, thou shalt not go into his house to 'fetch his "pledge. 11 Thou shalt stand without, and the man to whom thou dost 'lend shall bring forth the pledge without unto thee. 12 And if he be a "poor man, thou shalt not sleep with his pledge: 13 thou shalt surely restore to him the pledge "when the sun goeth down, that he may sleep in his garment, and bless thee: and "it shall be righteousness unto thee before Yahweh thy God.	h 108 ^b i 82 ^b j 90 k 82 ¹ l 12 m 28*
5 14m ^d g Cp 20 ⁷ h 5 = to war Num 31 ³⁸ † i Cp Job 13 ¹³ 5 6 16ha 11ha 6 13fl j 17 Ex 22 ²⁶ * 7 12jc k Ex 21 ¹⁶		
l Lev 13 ³ m 17 ¹⁰		
n Cp Lev 13: o 25 ¹⁷ cp 97 p Num 12 ¹⁰ q 23 ⁴		
10-13 13fc r 15 ² s Prov 22 ²⁶ † t Cp 15 ⁶ Qal† u 10-18† v Ex 22 ²⁵ w 5 = needy 15 ¹¹ x 16 ⁶ ct Ex 22 ²⁶ y 6 ²⁵		

23¹⁹ Cp 15¹⁻¹¹ 24¹⁰⁻¹³.24⁷ M Or, as a chattel.—21¹⁴.

⁸ This passage contrasts with the adjoining laws in several particulars. (1) Its subject is not cognate with the social legislation of the context: (2) the hortatory form of introduction is different: (3) the address varies from the sing to the pl: (4) it presupposes regulations already communicated to the priests, to

be imparted by them to Israel: (5) the word plague (= stroke 17⁸ 21⁸) is not used elsewhere by D in this sense, though it is the regular term in P: (6) the formula in ⁹ occurs only in 23⁴ (itself of doubtful origin) and 25¹⁷. It seems best, therefore, to regard it as an addition derived from priestly circles, referring to current torah analogous to that now embodied in Lev 13.

JE D ^c	D	D ^c P
14. <i>L2a</i> <i>Or</i> <i>s</i> Lev 19 ^{18a} <i>a</i> 5 ¹⁴ <i>b</i> Cp Lev 19 ^{13b} <i>c</i> <i>ṣ</i> = <i>soul</i> 12 ²⁰ <i>d</i> 15 ⁹ 16 <i>L4Od</i>	14 ¹⁴ Thou shalt not ¹⁴ oppress an hired servant that is ¹⁴ poor and needy, whether he be of thy ¹⁴ brethren, or of ¹⁴ thy strangers that are in thy land within thy ¹⁴ gates: ¹⁵ in his ¹⁵ day thou shalt give him his hire, neither shall the sun go down upon it; for he is poor, and setteth his ¹⁵ heart upon it: lest he ¹⁵ cry against thee unto Yahweh, and it be ¹⁵ sin unto thee. ¹⁶ ¹⁶ The fathers shall not be put to death for the children, neither shall the children be put to death for the fathers: every man shall be put to death for his own sin. ¹⁷ ¹⁷ Thou shalt not ¹⁷ wrest the judgement of the ¹⁷ stranger, [nor] of the fatherless; nor take the widow's raiment to ¹⁷ pledge: ¹⁸ but thou shalt ¹⁸ remember that thou wast a bondman in Egypt, and Yahweh thy God ¹⁸ redeemed thee thence: ¹⁸ therefore I command thee to do this thing. ¹⁹ ¹⁹ When thou ¹⁹ reapest thine harvest in thy field, and hast forgot a ¹⁹ sheaf in the field, thou shalt not go again to fetch it: it shall be for the ¹⁹ stranger, for the fatherless, and for the widow: that Yahweh thy God may ¹⁹ bless thee in all the ¹⁹ work of thine hands. ²⁰ When thou ²⁰ beatest thine olive tree, thou shalt not ²⁰ go over the boughs ²⁰ again: it shall be for the ²⁰ stranger, for the fatherless, and for the widow. ²¹ When thou ²¹ gatherest [the grapes of] thy vineyard, thou shalt not ²¹ glean it after thee: it shall be for the ²¹ stranger, for the fatherless, and for the widow. ²² And thou shalt ²² remember that thou wast a bondman in the land of Egypt: therefore I command thee to do this thing. ²³ ²³ If there be a ²³ controversy between men, and they come unto judgement, and [the judges] judge them; then they shall ²³ justify the righteous, and ²³ condemn the wicked; ² and it shall be, if the wicked man be worthy to be beaten, that the ² judge shall cause him to lie down, and to be beaten before his face, ² according to his wickedness, by number. ³ Forty stripes he may give him, he shall not exceed: lest, if he should exceed, and beat him above these with many stripes, then thy ³ brother should ³ seem vile ³ unto thee. ⁴ ⁴ Thou shalt not ⁴ muzzle the ox when he ⁴ treadeth out [the corn]. ⁵ ⁵ If brethren dwell together, and one of them die, and have no son, the wife of the dead shall not marry without unto a stranger: her husband's brother shall go in unto her, and take her to him to wife, and ⁵ perform the duty of an husband's brother unto her. ⁶ ⁶ And it shall be, that the firstborn which she beareth shall succeed in the name of his brother which is dead, that his name be not ⁶ blotted out of Israel. ⁷ And if the man ⁷ like not to take his brother's wife, then his brother's wife shall go up to the ⁷ gate unto the ⁷ elders, and say, My husband's brother refuseth to raise up unto his brother a name in Israel, he ⁷ will not ⁷ perform the duty of an husband's brother unto me. ⁸ Then the ⁸ elders of his city shall call him, and speak unto him: and if he stand, and say, I ⁸ like not to take her; ⁹ then shall his brother's wife come unto him in the ⁹ presence of the ⁹ elders, and ⁹ loose his shoe from off his foot, and ⁹ spit in his face; and she shall answer and say, So shall it be done unto the man that doth not build up his brother's house. ¹⁰ And his name shall be called in Israel, The house of him that hath his shoe loosed. ¹¹ ¹¹ When men ¹¹ strive together one with another, and the wife of the one draweth near for to deliver her husband out of the hand of him that smiteth him, and putteth forth her hand, and taketh him by the ¹¹ secrets: ¹² then thou shalt cut off her hand, thine ¹² eye shall have no pity.	n 51 o 102 p 105 q 95 r 29 s 119 a 67 b 25 c 43 d 49 e 17 f 43
17 <i>L4hb</i> <i>c</i> 16 ¹⁹ <i>f</i> 22 5 ¹⁶ <i>g</i> 5 ¹⁶ 15 ¹¹ 18-22 <i>L31b</i> <i>a</i> Lev 19 ⁹ 23 ²² <i>b</i> Ruth 2 ⁷ 16 Job 24 ^{10†} <i>f</i> Is 27 ¹² cp Judg 6 ¹¹ <i>k</i> <i>ṣ</i> † <i>l</i> Lev 25 ⁵ <i>m</i> Lev 19 ¹⁰ 1-3 <i>L4j</i> 1 <i>L4Oc</i> <i>a</i> 17 ⁸ <i>b</i> Ex 23 ^{7*} <i>c</i> Ex 22 ^{9*} <i>d</i> Lev 25 ²⁸ Judg 6 ⁵ <i>ṣ</i> † <i>e</i> Cp 27 ¹⁶ <i>ṣ</i> * <i>f</i> <i>L2f</i> <i>g</i> Cp Ezek 35 ¹¹ <i>h</i> <i>ṣ</i> † <i>i</i> <i>ṣ</i> * Hos 10 ^{11 al} <i>j</i> 10 <i>L2fb</i> <i>k</i> 7 Gen 38 ^{8†} <i>l</i> <i>L2db</i> <i>i</i> Cp 9 ¹⁴ <i>j</i> 8 cp 21 ¹⁴ <i>ṣ</i> <i>k</i> 21 ¹⁹ <i>l</i> Is 20 ² <i>m</i> Num 12 ^{14†} 11 <i>L1n</i> <i>n</i> Ex 21 ²² <i>o</i> <i>ṣ</i> †		

24¹⁶ The special regulations designed for the protection of the weak or helpless against social oppression are here interrupted by a statement of general principle unrelated to the context either in matter or form. It was known to the Deuteronomic redactor of the records of the monarchy 2 Kings 14⁶. cp Jer 31²⁹. Ezek 18⁴; but in its present place it seems like an after-

thought, and is consequently marked as an addition. It is in general harmony with 7¹⁰, but the expression is different.

25⁴ Another precept detached from its natural connexions. So far as it concerns the harvest it seems to belong to 24¹⁹⁻²² or, as a provision for kindness to animals, it has affinities with 22¹⁻⁴.
⁶ Cp 21¹⁵. . 22¹³. . 24¹⁻⁵.

JE D'	D	D' P
13-16 L4d ^a 2 ^a Mic 6 ¹¹ Prov 16 ¹¹ q 6 ¹ cp Lev 19 ³⁰ Prov 11 ¹ 6 r 18 ¹² s Lev 19 ³⁰	13 ^L Thou shalt not have in thy ^P bag divers weights, a great and a small. 14 Thou shalt not have in thine house divers measures, a great and a small. 15 A ^q perfect and just ^q weight shalt thou have; a perfect and just measure shalt thou have: that thy days may be ^l long upon the ^l land which Yahweh ^l thy God giveth thee. 16 ^T For all that do such things, ^l [even] ^l all that do ^l unrighteously, are an ^l abomination unto Yahweh thy God.	g 73 ^a h 69 ^o i 1 ^a j 10 k 9 ^a l 28 ^a
17-19 L4n ^b t Ex 17 ⁹ u 23 ⁴ v Jos-h 10 ¹⁹ w 6 ¹ x 12 ¹⁰	17 ^N Remember what ^l Amalek did unto thee by the ^l way as ye ^l came forth out of Egypt; 18 how he met thee by the way, and ^l smote the hindmost ^l of thee, all that were ^l feeble behind thee, when thou wast faint and weary; and he feared not God. 19 Therefore it shall be, when Yahweh thy God hath ^l given thee ^l rest from all thine enemies round about ^z , in the ^l land which Yahweh thy God giveth thee for an inheritance to possess it, that thou shalt ^l blot out the remembrance of Amalek ^l from under heaven; thou shalt not ^l forget.	m 64 n 98 o 69 ^f p 48
y Ex 17 ¹⁴ cp 9 ¹⁴ z 7 ²⁴	26 ¹ ^N And it shall be, ^l when thou art ^l come in unto the ^l land which Yahweh ^l thy God giveth thee for an inheritance, and possessest it, and dwellest therein; 2 ^l that thou shalt take of the ^l first of all the ^l fruit of the ground, which thou shalt bring in from thy ^l land that Yahweh thy God giveth thee; and thou shalt put it in a ^l basket, and shalt go unto the place ^l which Yahweh thy God shall choose to cause his name to ^l dwell there. 3 ^L And thou shalt come unto the priest ^l that shall be in those days, and say unto him, I ^l profess this day unto Yahweh thy God, that I am come unto the land which Yahweh ^l swore unto our fathers for to give us. 4 And the priest shall ^l take the ^l basket out of thine hand, and ^l set it down before the ^l altar of Yahweh thy God. 5 And thou shalt answer and say before Yahweh thy God, A ^l Syrian ^l ready to perish was my father, and he ^l went down into Egypt, and ^l sojourned there, ^l few in number; and he became there a nation, ^l 'great, ^l 'mighty, and populous', 6 and the Egyptians ^l evil entreated us, and ^l 'afflicted us, and laid upon us hard ^l 'bondage: 7 and we ^l 'cried unto Yahweh, ^l 'the God of our fathers, and Yahweh ^l 'heard our voice, and ^l 'saw our affliction, and our ^l 'toil, and our ^l 'oppression: 8 and Yahweh ^l 'brought us forth out of Egypt with a ^l 'mighty hand, and with an outstretched arm, and with ^l 'great terribleness, and with ^l 'signs, and with wonders: 9 and he hath ^l 'brought us into ^l 'this place, and hath given us this land, ^l 'a land flowing with milk and honey. 10 And now,	a 53 b 69 ^d c 1 ^a d 50 e 69 ^o f 87 g 40 h 107 ^a i 16 j 55 ^b k 1 ^b l 28 ^a m 80 ^a n 101 ^a o 24 p 69 ^a
1-11 L8oc a 17 ¹⁴ 2 L1oa b 10 184 c 4 285 17 ¹ 3 L11aj d 17 ⁹ e 30 ¹⁸ f 10 6 ¹ =lay it up 14 ²⁸ g Cp Gen 46 ³ h Cp Gen 47 ⁴ i 2853 6 ¹ cp Gen 34 ³⁰ j Ex 1 ⁹ 6 ¹ k Num 20 ¹⁵ l Ex 12 ¹² m 6 ¹ =service Ex 14 n Num 20 ¹⁶ cp Ex 3 ⁷ o Ex 3 ⁷ 4 ³¹ p Gen 41 ⁵¹ q Ex 3 ⁹ r 4 ³⁴ s 1 ⁵¹		

25¹⁶ Perhaps a gloss founded on Lev 19³⁵. In 6¹ the words stand at the end of the sentence.

17 Cp 24⁹: another appeal to remembrance (97) marked by the formula of the 'way,' based on the narrative in Ex 17⁹⁻¹⁶. The lack of connexion with the previous group of social laws suggests a doubt whether it may not be due rather to the hand of an annotator than to the original compiler. Bacon supposes it to have been incorporated by E^d from an earlier discourse of Moses in E, but the language hardly supports such an ascription. (It may be noted that in each case the phrase relating to the Exodus employs the plural in a singular context 23⁴ 24⁹.)

26¹ The liturgical directions which here follow, are generally viewed as the close of the actual code 12-26: on the possibility that they were once more closely connected with 12-18 (19) cp 12¹⁸ (2). The want of uniformity in the Deuteronomistic language raises some perplexing questions which are not without bearing on the problem of the unity of its authorship. The instructions concerning the offering of firstfruits 2-11 show a general resemblance to the law of vegetable tithe (corn, wine, and oil) 14²²⁻²⁷. Firstfruits are also named in 18⁴ (corn, wine, and oil) as among the priestly dues: but in 12¹⁷ where tithes are specified, firstfruits are not mentioned. Are the firstfruits and tithe the same? So some recent writers (e.g. Benzinger, *Hebr Arch* 461, Steuern, *Addis*). If so, is the difference of nomenclature to be ascribed to difference of source? And what, then, is the meaning of designating the third year 12 (when the tithe was bestowed on the Levites in the homesteads) as 'the year of

tithing'? If tithes were taken every year, why should the third year be called the 'tithe-year'? Some ancient custom must have originally given special significance to the triennial payment (cp Driver, *Deut* 173, and Driver and Nowack on Am 4¹, *Camb Bible* and *Handkom*). It is expressly required in 12 that the whole tithe shall be assigned to the poor members of the community, while the ritual in 2 only specifies 'some of the firstfruits,' such as could be put in a basket; the word 'all' (omitted by Sam and 9) being perhaps a later definition cp 10. Firstfruits were exacted according to the First Code Ex 23¹⁶ (נָתַתָּה instead of נָתַתָּה) at harvest-time, but nothing is said of tithes cp Ex 22²⁰. D does not specify at what season or in what manner the firstfruits were to be paid to the priest 18⁴, or when the festive tithe-meal was to be held at the sanctuary 14²²⁻²⁷. But it can hardly be supposed that these two passages refer to the same religious gift, and the identification of the firstfruits in 26² with the tithes of 14²² cannot be regarded as assured (e.g. the wine and oil are not included). There remains the possibility that the passage in 18⁴ represents an advance in priestly demands, or that the different laws were not actually drafted by the same hands, so that the confusion in their relations is due to slight diversities of expression within the same general school.

4 This rubric may be an additional ritual direction; in 10^b the worshipper himself deposits his gift after his confession.

5a M 6¹ Aramean.—Cp Gen 31²⁰ 24.

5b M Or, wandering. Or, lost.

	JE D ^a	D	D ^a P
		behold, I have brought the 'first of the 'fruit of the ground, which thou, O Yahweh, hast given me. And thou shalt 'set it down before Yahweh thy God, and 'worship before Yahweh thy God: ¹¹ and thou shalt 'rejoice in all the good which Yahweh thy God hath given unto 'thee, 'and unto thine house, thou, and the Levite, and the stranger that is in the 'midst of thee.	
t 12 ⁷		¹² 'When thou hast made an end of tithing all the tithe of thine 'increase in the 'third year, which is the year of tithing, then thou shalt give it unto the 'Levite, to the stranger, to the fatherless, and to the widow, that they may 'eat within thy 'gates, and be 'filled; ¹³ and thou shalt say before Yahweh thy God, I have 'put away the 'hallowed things out of mine house, and also have given them unto the 'Levite, and unto the stranger, to the fatherless, and to the widow, according to all thy 'commandment which thou hast commanded me: I have not transgressed any of thy commandments, neither have I 'forgotten them: ¹⁴ I have not eaten thereof in my mourning, neither have I 'put away thereof, being unclean, nor given thereof 'for the dead: I have 'hearkened to the voice of Yahweh my God, I have done according to all that thou hast 'commanded me. ¹⁵ Look down from thy 'holy habitation, from heaven, and 'bless thy people Israel, and the ground which thou hast given us, as thou 'swarest unto our fathers, a 'land flowing with milk and honey.	q 23 ^a r 95 ^a s 78 ^a
12-16 L8dc		¹⁶ 'This day Yahweh thy God commandeth thee to do these 'statutes and judgements: thou shalt therefore 'keep and do them with all thine 'heart, and with all thy soul. ¹⁷ Thou hast 'avouched Yahweh this day to 'be thy God, and that thou shouldest 'walk in his ways, and 'keep his 'statutes, and his commandments, and his judgements, and 'hearken unto his voice: ¹⁸ and Yahweh hath 'avouched thee this day to be a 'peculiar people unto himself, as he hath 'promised thee, and that thou shouldest 'keep all his commandments; ¹⁹ and to make thee 'high above all nations which he hath made, 'in praise, and in name, and in honour; and that thou mayest be an 'holy people unto Yahweh thy God, as he hath 'spoken.	t 105 ^b u 41 ^a v 51 ^a w 95 ^b
u 14 ²³ v 14 ²⁸		²⁰ 'And thou shalt say before Yahweh thy God, I have 'put away the 'hallowed things out of mine house, and also have given them unto the 'Levite, and unto the stranger, to the fatherless, and to the widow, according to all thy 'commandment which thou hast commanded me: I have not transgressed any of thy commandments, neither have I 'forgotten them: ²¹ I have not eaten thereof in my mourning, neither have I 'put away thereof, being unclean, nor given thereof 'for the dead: I have 'hearkened to the voice of Yahweh my God, I have done according to all that thou hast 'commanded me. ²² Look down from thy 'holy habitation, from heaven, and 'bless thy people Israel, and the ground which thou hast given us, as thou 'swarest unto our fathers, a 'land flowing with milk and honey.	x 29 ^a y 48 ^a
w 5 ^a = satisfied 14 ²⁹ x 5 ^a = holy 12 ²⁶		²³ 'And thou shalt say before Yahweh thy God, I have 'put away the 'hallowed things out of mine house, and also have given them unto the 'Levite, and unto the stranger, to the fatherless, and to the widow, according to all thy 'commandment which thou hast commanded me: I have not transgressed any of thy commandments, neither have I 'forgotten them: ²⁴ I have not eaten thereof in my mourning, neither have I 'put away thereof, being unclean, nor given thereof 'for the dead: I have 'hearkened to the voice of Yahweh my God, I have done according to all that thou hast 'commanded me. ²⁵ Look down from thy 'holy habitation, from heaven, and 'bless thy people Israel, and the ground which thou hast given us, as thou 'swarest unto our fathers, a 'land flowing with milk and honey.	z 58 ^a a' 29 ^a b' 23 ^a c' 107 ^b
y 14 ¹		²⁶ 'And thou shalt say before Yahweh thy God, I have 'put away the 'hallowed things out of mine house, and also have given them unto the 'Levite, and unto the stranger, to the fatherless, and to the widow, according to all thy 'commandment which thou hast commanded me: I have not transgressed any of thy commandments, neither have I 'forgotten them: ²⁷ I have not eaten thereof in my mourning, neither have I 'put away thereof, being unclean, nor given thereof 'for the dead: I have 'hearkened to the voice of Yahweh my God, I have done according to all that thou hast 'commanded me. ²⁸ Look down from thy 'holy habitation, from heaven, and 'bless thy people Israel, and the ground which thou hast given us, as thou 'swarest unto our fathers, a 'land flowing with milk and honey.	d' 104 ^a e' 82 ^a f' 50 ^a g' 115 ^a h' 82 ^a
z Ct Ex 15 ¹³ cp Jer 25 ³⁰ al		²⁹ 'And thou shalt say before Yahweh thy God, I have 'put away the 'hallowed things out of mine house, and also have given them unto the 'Levite, and unto the stranger, to the fatherless, and to the widow, according to all thy 'commandment which thou hast commanded me: I have not transgressed any of thy commandments, neither have I 'forgotten them: ³⁰ I have not eaten thereof in my mourning, neither have I 'put away thereof, being unclean, nor given thereof 'for the dead: I have 'hearkened to the voice of Yahweh my God, I have done according to all that thou hast 'commanded me. ³¹ Look down from thy 'holy habitation, from heaven, and 'bless thy people Israel, and the ground which thou hast given us, as thou 'swarest unto our fathers, a 'land flowing with milk and honey.	i' 60 ^b j' 91 ^a k' 60 ^a
a' 18 5 ^a v Cp 26 ^a		³² 'And thou shalt say before Yahweh thy God, I have 'put away the 'hallowed things out of mine house, and also have given them unto the 'Levite, and unto the stranger, to the fatherless, and to the widow, according to all thy 'commandment which thou hast commanded me: I have not transgressed any of thy commandments, neither have I 'forgotten them: ³³ I have not eaten thereof in my mourning, neither have I 'put away thereof, being unclean, nor given thereof 'for the dead: I have 'hearkened to the voice of Yahweh my God, I have done according to all that thou hast 'commanded me. ³⁴ Look down from thy 'holy habitation, from heaven, and 'bless thy people Israel, and the ground which thou hast given us, as thou 'swarest unto our fathers, a 'land flowing with milk and honey.	l' 60 ^b m' 91 ^a n' 60 ^a
c' 28 ¹		³⁵ 'And thou shalt say before Yahweh thy God, I have 'put away the 'hallowed things out of mine house, and also have given them unto the 'Levite, and unto the stranger, to the fatherless, and to the widow, according to all thy 'commandment which thou hast commanded me: I have not transgressed any of thy commandments, neither have I 'forgotten them: ³⁶ I have not eaten thereof in my mourning, neither have I 'put away thereof, being unclean, nor given thereof 'for the dead: I have 'hearkened to the voice of Yahweh my God, I have done according to all that thou hast 'commanded me. ³⁷ Look down from thy 'holy habitation, from heaven, and 'bless thy people Israel, and the ground which thou hast given us, as thou 'swarest unto our fathers, a 'land flowing with milk and honey.	o' 60 ^b p' 91 ^a q' 60 ^a
1-3 L4vb		³⁸ 'And thou shalt say before Yahweh thy God, I have 'put away the 'hallowed things out of mine house, and also have given them unto the 'Levite, and unto the stranger, to the fatherless, and to the widow, according to all thy 'commandment which thou hast commanded me: I have not transgressed any of thy commandments, neither have I 'forgotten them: ³⁹ I have not eaten thereof in my mourning, neither have I 'put away thereof, being unclean, nor given thereof 'for the dead: I have 'hearkened to the voice of Yahweh my God, I have done according to all that thou hast 'commanded me. ⁴⁰ Look down from thy 'holy habitation, from heaven, and 'bless thy people Israel, and the ground which thou hast given us, as thou 'swarest unto our fathers, a 'land flowing with milk and honey.	r 45 ^b

26¹¹ ③ *thou and thine house.*

¹⁶ The opening of the great concluding discourse in which the duty of observance of the previous laws was enforced. On the probable continuity of 28 after 16-19 cp 27¹⁸. The language of ¹⁷ is not free from perplexity. The phrase 'thou hast avouched' occurs only in this passage. It seems to point to some solemn manifestation in which Yahweh and Israel entered into definite relations as God and people. Wellh supposed that this took place at Horeb, so that the code in 12-26 originally represented the legislation of the wilderness. As that does not seem consistent with other phenomena of the book, Dillm (with whom Driver agrees) regards the silent audience of the people, while Moses recites the laws, as the act of mutual adoption. Oettli evades the difficulty by an impossible emendation of the text. On the relation of this passage to other concluding discourses cp 27²⁰ 29²⁸.

¹⁹ M. Or, *for a praise, and for a name, and for an honour.*—Cp Jer 13¹¹ *honour = glory* 5.

²⁷ The discourse in 26¹⁶⁻¹⁹ appears to be resumed in 28¹ (cp 'make thee high above all nations' 26¹⁹ 28¹), the connexion of 28¹ being plainly much closer with 26¹⁹ than with 27, which contains a collection of fragments. Various elements are by general consent combined in it, but it is difficult to account for their union, or to ascertain their original attachments. The first section 1-8 is concerned with the inscription of the law on stones to be set up on Mount Ebal, and the construction of an altar 5-7a on the same spot. In 9, it seems natural to find the opening of a great discourse exhorting Israel to obedience, and its abrupt arrest at once excites surprise. The injunctions of 11-13 are not unrelated locally to the commands in 1-8, but the links between

the two are not apparent. The series of dooms in 14-26 is evidently not the immediate sequel of 11-13, for whereas ¹⁹ selects Levi as one of six tribes charged to pronounce a blessing, ¹⁴ ascribes to Levi alone a liturgical collection of twelve curses. Of these several passages the first is itself, also, composite, for the injunctions for the erection and plastering of the stones 1-4 7b 8 are full of the characteristic phrases of D, while the directions for building the altar follow the fundamental rule of E. This makes it probable that other E elements are to be detected in the neighbourhood, and the cognate passage in Josh 8³⁰⁻³⁵ supplies a clue (cp Bacon, *Triple Trad* 260). There Joshua builds an altar in Mount Ebal, the words of the law are inscribed upon the stones, and are afterwards solemnly read to the assembled people. This act of sacrifice is at first sight not in harmony with the Deuteronomic view of the only legitimate sanctuary 12¹⁻¹⁴, though it may be defended on the ground that the condition of settled possession there implied was not yet realized. But it strikingly recalls another scene in E where not only is an altar erected and a book of divine law read, but twelve great stones are reared Ex 24⁴⁻⁷. The stones are called pillars, and their function is only temporary: but the coincidence is noteworthy. The editor of Josh 8³⁰⁻³⁵ apparently regarded the law as carved on the stones composing the altar. This is obviously impossible when the altar was constructed of unhewn stones. The Deuteronomic version provides a suitable surface by requiring them to be plastered, and plainly distinguishes them from the materials of the altar cp Ex 24⁴. It is therefore quite possible that the original command in 2-4 8 may be derived from E, altogether recast by D^a, and the association of the elders with Moses thus receives some little light*. The repetition of

* As ③ omits 'the people,' Dillm proposes to read 'commanded the elders of Israel' cp 31^{2b} 10a.

JE D ^c	D	D ^c P
a 81	saying, ^b Keep ^a all the ^c commandment which I ^d command you this day.	b 82 ^a
b 4 cp Josh 4 ²⁰	² And it shall be on the day when ye shall pass over Jordan unto the	c 82 ^d
82 ^a	^a land which Yahweh ^b thy God giveth thee, that thou shalt ^b set thee up	d 82 ^b
c 5†	great stones, and ^c plaister them with plaister: ³ and thou shalt write	e 82 ^b
	upon them ^a all the words of ^b this law, when thou art passed over; that	f 1 ^a
	thou mayest go in unto the ^a land which Yahweh ^b thy God giveth thee,	g 15
	a ^a land flowing with milk and honey, as Yahweh, the God of thy fathers,	h 70 ^a
	hath ^b promised thee. ⁴ And it shall be when ye are passed over Jordan,	i 69 ^a
	that ye shall set up these stones, which I ^c command you this day, in	j 91
	mount Ebal, and thou shalt plaister them with plaister.	
5. 210d ^m	⁵ ^a And there shalt thou build an altar unto Yahweh ^b thy God, an altar of	
d Ex 20 ²⁵	stones: thou shalt ^d lift up no iron [tool] upon them. ⁶ Thou shalt build	k 216
6b 17b ^a	the ^a altar of Yahweh ^b thy God of ^a unhewn stones: ^c and thou shalt ^c offer	
e 2110	^b burnt offerings thereon unto Yahweh ^b thy God: ⁷ ^a and thou shalt sacrifice	
f 17p ^b	^b peace offerings;	
g Ex 20 ²⁴		
9 12 ⁷	⁷ ^b and shalt ^c eat there; and thou shalt ^b rejoice before Yahweh ^b thy God.	l 96
A Cp 15 5†	⁸ And thou shalt write upon the stones ^a all the words of ^b this law ^c very	m 116 ^a
9 2111	^a plainly.	
i 5†	[31 ²⁹ →] ⁹ ^a And Moses and the ^b priests the Levites spake unto ^a all	n 90
j Cp 2617	Israel, saying, ^a 'Keep silence, and ^b hearken, O Israel; ^c this day thou ^a art	o 2
	become the people of Yahweh ^b thy God. ¹⁰ Thou shalt therefore ^b obey	p 58 ^a
	the voice of Yahweh ^b thy God, and do his ^c commandments and his statutes,	q 104 ^a
	which I ^c command thee this day. [→4 ⁵]	
k 11 ²⁹ cp Josh 833	¹¹ ^a And Moses charged the people the same day, saying, ¹² These shall	
14 2111/	stand upon mount ^a Gerizim to bless the people, when ye are passed over	
l 21 ⁷	Jordan; Simeon, and Levi, and Judah, and Issachar, and Joseph, and	
m 5†	Benjamin: ¹³ and these shall stand upon mount ^a Ebal for the ^c 'curse';	r 3a
15 15b ^a	Reuben, Gad, and Asher, and Zebulun, Dan, and Naphtali.	
n 5 ^a Ex 20 ⁴ Lev 261	¹⁴ ^a And the Levites shall ^a answer, and say unto all the men of Israel with a ^c 'loud	
o Ex 34 ¹⁷ Lev 19 ^a	voice ^m ,	
p 24 ²⁸ 31 ²⁹ cp 119	¹⁵ ^a Cursed be the man that maketh a ^a 'graven or ^c 'molten image, an ^a 'abomination	s 9
q 24 13 ^a	unto Yahweh, the ^c 'work of the hands of the craftsman, and setteth it up in ^c 'secret.	
16 14b ^a	And all the people shall ^a answer and say, Amen.	
r 25 ³ cp Ex 21 ¹⁷	¹⁶ ^a Cursed be he that ^c 'setteth light by his father or his mother. And all the people	
Lev 20 ⁹ 5†	shall say, Amen.	
17 13b ^a	¹⁷ ^a Cursed be he that ^c 'removeth his neighbour's landmark. And all the people	
s 19 ¹⁴	shall say, Amen.	
18 12k ^a	¹⁸ ^a Cursed be he that maketh the blind to ^c 'wander out of the way. And all the	
t 5 ^a cp Prov 2810	people shall say, Amen.	
19 14h ^c	¹⁹ ^a Cursed be he that ^c 'wresteth the judgement of the ^c 'stranger, fatherless, and	t 105 ^a
u 16 ¹⁹ 24 ¹⁷ Ex 23 ⁶	widow. And all the people shall say, Amen.	
20 11e ^g	²⁰ ^a Cursed be he that ^c 'lieth with his father's wife; because he hath ^c 'uncovered his	
v Lev 20 ¹¹	father's skirt. And all the people shall say, Amen.	
w 22 ²⁰		

² in ⁴ and of ⁵ in ⁸ has led some critics to trace more than one hand in these verses also, but they seem explicable by the expansive manner of D^c. There is, however, a further difficulty. The phraseology in ² suggests that the stones were to be erected on the actual day of the passage of the Jordan; while ⁵ conceives them as set up and inscribed before the entry into the promised land. Is the distance from the Jordan to Shechem forgotten; does the writer 'looking back to a distant past' (Driver, *Deut* 295) fail to take account of the time that must have elapsed between the crossing of the river and the arrival at Ebal; or is there a vague reminiscence in his mind of the later incident when twelve stones are taken up out of the Jordan and placed upright in the Gilgal Josh 4³ 20?

27⁶ M 5† whole.—Cp Ex 20²⁵ Josh 831.

⁹ Like 26¹⁶.. this passage has the appearance of introducing an exhortation to obedience. In spite of two unique Hebrew phrases, its language is in general harmony with that of D. Many critics, therefore, view it as a connecting link between 26¹⁹ and 28¹. It is not, however, by any means needed for that purpose; ⁹ seems an independent reference to the great adoption cp 26¹⁷; and no cause is apparent for the introduction of the Levites. Another connexion is suggested by 31²⁴⁻²⁹ cp 29¹⁸.

¹¹ This passage 11-13 rests in its present form on 11²⁹ cp Josh 833, and is consequently ascribed to D^c. It may, however, be founded on an earlier arrangement of E: Bacon (*Triple Trad* 260) points out that the position assigned to Levi in ¹² places him on a footing of equality with the secular tribes (cp Gen 34³⁰ 49⁵), unlike the separate dignity claimed for him in D, and still more in P.

¹⁴ The function of Levi in ¹⁴ is not identical with that of ¹²: and the concluding curses do not seem to belong to the preceding directions: (1) they are unaccompanied by any blessings such as might have been expected to precede them ¹²; (2) they are delivered by the Levites alone to whom the whole people respond, while in ¹² Levi is one of six appointed to bless: (3) they omit matters on which it lays great stress, and include others to which it does not refer, while they show parallels both with E's judgements and with P^b. (For affinities of substance cp Table of Laws: phraseological contact is noted in the margin.) It has been conjectured that they are 'part of an old liturgical office, used on solemn occasions' (Driver, *Deut* 300). The prominence assigned to the Levites ¹⁴ may imply that they are among the latest insertions in the book.

	JE D ^e	D	D ^e P
21 L ₁ c		²¹ Cursed be he that ^a lieth with any manner of beast. And all the people shall say, Amen.	
2 Ex 22 ¹⁹		²² Cursed be he that lieth with his sister, the daughter of his father, or the daughter of his mother. And all the people shall say, Amen.	
22. L ₂ oh		²³ Cursed be he that lieth with his mother in law. And all the people shall say, Amen.	
24 L ₂ d		²⁴ Cursed be he that ^a smiteth his neighbour in ^a secret. And all the people shall say, Amen.	
y 19 ⁴ Ex 21 ¹²		²⁵ Cursed be he that taketh ^a reward to ^a slay an innocent person. And all the people shall say, Amen.	
Lev 24 ¹⁷		²⁶ Cursed be he that ^b confirmeth not the words of ^b this law to do them. And all the people shall say, Amen.	
25 L ₄ 0f		^{28¹} And it shall come to pass, if thou shalt ^a hearken diligently unto the voice of Yahweh ^b thy God, to ^a observe to do all his commandments which I ^a command thee this day, that Yahweh thy God will ^a set thee on high above ^b all the nations of the earth: ² and all these ^b blessings shall ^a come upon thee, and overtake thee, if thou shalt ^a hearken unto the voice of Yahweh thy God. ³ ^a Blessed shalt thou be in the city, and blessed shalt thou be in the field. ⁴ Blessed shall be the ^a fruit of thy body, and the ^a fruit of thy ground, ^a and the ^a fruit of thy cattle, ^a the ^a increase of thy kine, and the young of thy flock. ⁵ Blessed shall be thy ^a basket and thy ^a kneading-trough. ⁶ Blessed shalt thou be when thou ^a comest in, and blessed shalt thou be when thou ^a goest out. ⁷ Yahweh shall ^a cause thine enemies that rise up against thee to be ^a smitten before thee: they shall come out against thee one way, and shall flee before thee seven ways. ⁸ Yahweh shall ^a command the ^a blessing upon thee in thy ^a barns, and in ^a all that thou puttest thine hand unto; and he shall ^a bless thee in the ^a land which Yahweh thy God giveth thee. ⁹ Yahweh shall establish thee for an ^a holy people unto himself, as he hath ^a sworn unto thee; if thou shalt ^a keep the commandments of Yahweh thy God, and ^a walk in his ways.	a 58 ¹ b 58 ² c 58 ³ d 58 ⁴ e 58 ⁵
z 6=9ift 16 ¹⁹		¹⁰ And ^a all the peoples of the earth shall see that thou art ^a called by the name of Yahweh; and they shall be ^a afraid of thee. ¹¹ And Yahweh shall ^a make thee plenteous for good, in the ^a fruit of thy body, and in the ^a fruit of thy cattle, and in the ^a fruit of thy ground, in the land which Yahweh ^a sware unto thy fathers to give thee. ¹² Yahweh shall open unto thee his good ^a treasure the heaven to ^a give the rain of thy land in its season, and to ^a bless all the ^a work of thine hand: and thou shalt ^a lend unto many nations, and thou shalt not borrow. ¹³ ^a And Yahweh shall make thee the ^a head, and not the ^a tail; and thou shalt be ^a above ^a only, and thou shalt not be ^a beneath; if thou shalt ^a hearken unto the commandments of Yahweh thy God, which I ^a command thee this day, to ^a observe and to do [them]; ¹⁴ and shalt not ^a turn aside from any of the words which I ^a command you this day, to the right hand, or to the left, to ^a go after other gods to ^a serve them.	f 50 ¹
a' Cp 19 ¹⁰ 6		¹⁵ But it shall come to pass, if thou wilt not ^a hearken unto the voice of	g 100 ¹
Lev 24 ¹⁷			h 11
b' 6=establish			i 29 ¹ j 69 ¹
9 ⁶ cp 2 Kings 23 ² 24			k 60 ¹ l 107 ¹ m 64 ¹ n 115 ¹
a 6=make thee high 26 ¹⁹			
b Gen 18 ¹⁸			
c 15 48 30 ¹ ct 4 ³⁰			
d Ct 16.			
e 11 18 68 cp 50 ⁶			
f 11 61 30 ¹ 4			
g 18 61 7 ¹⁸			
h 17 26 ²			
i 17 Ex 8 ¹ 12 ³⁴ 7			
j 19 31 ² Josh 14 ¹¹			
k 14 ² 6			
l Lev 25 ²¹			
m Prov 31 ¹⁰			
n Josh 4 ²⁴ op			
1 Kings 8 ⁴⁸			
o Cp Jer 14 ⁹ 7 ¹⁰			
Is 63 ¹⁹			
p Cp 2 ²⁶			
q 30 ⁹			
r 11 ¹⁴			
s 44 cp 15 ⁶			
18. L ₂ oh			
t 44 Is 9 ¹⁴ 19 ¹⁵ 4			
u Cp 1 48 6			
v 11 ²⁷			
			o 119
			p 34
			q 80 ¹ r 114 ¹
			s 85 ¹ t 23 ¹

²⁷ This conclusion has probably been adapted or added to suit the present position of the preceding curses.

²⁸ This great discourse seems to be the sequel of the exhortation in 26¹⁸⁻¹⁹, and follows the Code in 12-26¹⁸ much as the brief address in Ex 13²⁰. It is attached to the Book of Judgements, or Lev 26³⁻⁴⁵ to the Holiness Legislation. The nucleus of the first portion of it is found in two sets of blessings and curses 3-6 and 16-19, with their appropriate homiletic envelopes 1-14 and 15-46. The rest seems to fall into two distinct sections, the first 47-57 comprising a warning against a foreign invader and a delineation of the horrors of a protracted siege, the second 58-68 having no special connexion with the preceding, but containing threats of diminution of the population by disease, and of their ultimate dispersion by slavery in distant lands. Whether these passages were composed consecutively, or placed in their present collocation by their original author, has been sometimes doubted. The unity of the discourse has been maintained in substance by Kuenen and Driver. Dillm cautiously admits the possibility that it may have received additions, but thinks that their separation from the original nucleus is no longer possible. The phenomena which point in this direction are of various kinds: (1)

the same threats and warnings are again and again repeated, e.g. of disease 21, 27 35 60, of defeat and captivity 25 34, 62, of foreign bondage where the worship of Yahweh can no longer be practised 36 64: (2) some passages are marked by peculiarities of matter and form e.g. 25b 28 38 41 58: (3) an unusual number of parallels with the language of Jeremiah may be noticed cp 19 29 25, 29, 36, 48, 51-53 61 63 65. Reasons will be offered for regarding 25b 28 30-37 41, as possible later insertions, and for treating 47-57 and 58-68 as separate sections, though whether they really proceed from separate authors cannot be determined. They are at any rate homiletic products of the same school as the homilies in 5-11; and they show marked affinities with the type of prophetic preaching presented in the writings of Jeremiah (cp *Introd* X 2 i 88-90). In 48, the Chaldeans seem to be in view: but the concluding section does not contemplate a particular deportation by conquest, so much as a general expatriation by enslavement, Egypt being mentioned among the countries of their future servitude. In these aspects the discourse seems to precede 45-49, though 62 and 47, and 36 64 and 42, are not without affinities.

⁴ Not in 18 or in 6; probably a gloss, cp 11.
¹² M Or, *treasury*.—32³⁴ cp Jer 10¹³ || 51¹⁶ 50¹⁵ Ps 33⁷ Job 35².

JE D'	D	D' P
<p>¹⁶ Mal 2²⁴ ^x 7²³ ^y 5[†] ^z Jer 4⁴ 21¹² 26³ ⁴⁴ 22[†] ^{a'} 29²⁵ 31¹⁶ Josh ²⁴ 16²⁰ ^U 7²² ^{c'} Lev 26¹⁶†</p> <p>^{d'} Am 4⁹ 1 Kings 83[†] al ^{e'} Cp Lev 26¹⁹</p> <p>^{f'} Lev 26¹⁷</p> <p>^{g'} 35 cp 60 Ex 9⁹ ^{h'} Lev 21²⁰ 22²²† ^{i'} Zech 12⁴†</p> <p>^{j'} Zeph 1¹⁷ Is 59¹⁶ ^{k'} Josh 18 5 cp 12⁶⁶ ^{l'} 16¹⁵ ct 13 33 5 ^{m'} 83 Jer 50³³ ^{n'} Jer 21¹² 22³ ^{o'} 31 22²⁷ ^{p'} 20⁷ ^{q'} Jer 32 Is 13¹⁶ Zech 14^{2†} ^{r'} Am 5¹¹ Zeph 11³</p> <p>^{s'} 5† cp Lam 4¹⁷ ^{t'} Neh 5⁵ cp Gen 31²⁹ Mic 2¹ Prov 3²⁷†</p> <p>^{u'} Lev 26¹⁶ ^{v'} Am 4¹ ^{w'} Ct Hos 9⁷ Jer 29²⁸ ^{x'} Cp 67</p> <p>^{y'} Cp Is 16 ^{z'} 17¹⁶ ^{aa} Jer 9¹⁶ cp 16¹³ ^{ab} 64 4²⁸</p>	<p>Yahweh thy God, to 'observe to do all his 'commandments and his statutes which I 'command thee this day; that all these 'curses shall 'come upon thee, and overtake thee. ¹⁶ Cursed shalt thou be in the city, and cursed shalt thou be in the field. ¹⁷ Cursed shall be thy 'basket and thy 'kneadingtrough. ¹⁸ Cursed shall be the 'fruit of thy body, and the 'fruit of thy ground, the 'increase of thy kine, and the young of thy flock. ¹⁹ Cursed shalt thou be when thou 'comest in, and cursed shalt thou be when thou goest out. ²⁰ Yahweh shall "send upon thee cursing", "discomfiture, and 'rebuke, in 'all that thou puttest thine hand unto for to do, until thou be "destroyed, and until thou 'perish 'quickly; 'because of the evil of thy doings', whereby thou hast 'forsaken 'me. ²¹ Yahweh shall make the pestilence cleave unto thee, until he have 'consumed thee from off the land, whither thou 'goest in to "possess it. ²² Yahweh shall smite thee with 'consumption, and with fever", and with 'inflammation, and with fiery heat", and with "the sword, and with 'blasting, and with mildew"; and they shall pursue thee until thou 'perish. ²³ And thy heaven that is over thy head shall be 'brass, and the earth that is under thee shall be iron. ²⁴ Yahweh shall make the rain of thy land powder and dust: from heaven shall it come down upon thee, until thou be "destroyed. ²⁵ Yahweh shall 'cause thee to be 'smitten before thine enemies: thou shalt go out one way against them, and shalt flee seven ways before them:</p> <p>^{25b} "and thou shalt be "tossed to and fro among all the kingdoms of the earth. ²⁶ And thy carcase shall be meat unto all fowls of the air, and unto the beasts of the earth, and there shall be none to fray them away.</p> <p>²⁷ Yahweh shall smite thee with the "boil of Egypt, and with the "emerods, and with the 'scurvy, and with the 'itch, whereof thou canst not be healed. ²⁸ Yahweh shall smite thee with 'madness, and with blindness, and with astonishment of heart": ²⁹ and thou shalt grope at noonday, as the 'blind gropeth in darkness, and thou shalt not 'prosper in thy ways: and thou shalt be 'only "oppressed and "spoiled 'always, and there shall be 'none to save thee. ³⁰ Thou shalt "betroth a wife, and another man shall 'lie with her: thou shalt "build an house, and thou shalt not dwell therein: thou shalt "plant a vineyard, and shalt not 'use the fruit thereof. ³¹ Thine ox shall be slain "before thine eyes, and thou shalt not eat thereof: thine ass shall be violently taken away from before thy face, and shall not be restored to thee: thy sheep shall be given unto thine enemies, and thou shalt have 'none to save thee. ³² Thy sons and thy daughters shall be given unto another people, and thine eyes shall look, and "fail with longing for them all the day: and there shall be "nought in the power of thine hand. ³³ The 'fruit of thy ground, and all thy labours, shall a nation which thou "knowest not "eat up; and thou shalt be 'only "oppressed and "crushed 'always: ³⁴ so that thou shalt be "mad for the "sight of thine eyes which thou shalt see.</p> <p>³⁵ "Yahweh shall smite thee in the knees, and in the legs, with a sore "boil, whereof thou canst not be healed, from the 'sole of thy foot unto the crown of thy head. ³⁶ Yahweh shall bring thee, and thy "king which thou shalt set over thee, unto a 'nation which thou hast not "known, thou nor thy fathers; and ^{ab}there shalt thou 'serve other gods, wood and stone. ³⁷ And thou</p>	<p>u 104^a v 32</p> <p>w 34^b x 86^c y 93</p> <p>z 53 aa 88^a</p> <p>b' 13^a</p> <p>c' 43^a</p> <p>d' 68^c</p>

28²⁰ For a similar transition to the first person, as if Yahweh himself were the speaker cp 7¹.

22 M Or, according to some ancient versions, *drought*.

25b The unusually close resemblance of this passage to some utterances of Jeremiah suggests that words of that prophet may have been combined and inserted here by a later hand. With 25b cp Jer 15²⁴ 29¹⁸ 34¹⁷†; 36 cp Jer 7³⁵ 16⁴ 19⁷ 34²⁰†.

25b[†] M Or, a terror unto.

27 M Or, *tumours*. Or, *plague boils*.

30 M See 20⁶ and Lev 19²³⁻²⁵.

35 The return at this point to the infliction of disease is unexpected after the list of maladies in 27. In 36 the threat of exile for king and people is without parallel elsewhere, and 36 strangely interrupts the description of suffering in their own land continued from 34 in 35. The language has again a strongly Jeremian tinge: with 36 cp Jer 9¹⁶ 16¹³: in 37 'astonishment' is frequent in Jer eg 25⁹ 11¹⁸ 36 44¹³ 49¹³ 17; 'a proverb and a byword' Jer 24⁹ ('byword' = 'taunt' 5 1 Kings 9⁷ 2 Chron 7²⁰†). The phrases all seem to belong to a common prophetic vocabulary.

	JE D'	D	D' P
ac Jer 25 ⁹ 11 18 36 al		shalt become an ^{ac} astonishment, a ^{ac} proverb, and a byword ^{ad} , among ^c all the peoples ^{ac} whither Yahweh shall lead thee away.	
ad Jer 24 ⁹ 1 Kings 9 ⁷ 1 2 Chron 7 ²⁰ †		38 Thou shalt carry much seed out into the field, and shalt gather little in; for the locust shall ^c consume it. 39 Thou shalt ^c plant vineyards and dress them, but thou shalt neither drink of the wine, nor ^c gather the grapes ¹ ; for the worm shall eat them. 40 Thou shalt have olive trees ^{ac} throughout all thy borders, but thou shalt not ^{ac} anoint thyself with the oil; for thine olive shall cast ^c its fruit ¹ .	
ae 4 ²⁷ af Prov 6 ⁸ 10 ⁵ ‡†		41 ^c Thou shalt beget sons and daughters, but they shall not be thine; for they shall go into captivity. 42 ^c All thy trees and the ^c fruit of thy ground shall the ^c locust ^c possess.	
ag 16 ⁴ Ex 13 ⁷ ah Mic 6 ¹⁵		43 ^c The stranger that is in the ^c midst of thee shall mount up above thee ^c higher and higher; and thou shalt come down ^c lower and lower. 44 He shall ^c lend to thee, and thou shalt not lend to him: he shall be the ^c head, and thou shalt be the ^c tail. 45 And all these ^c curses shall ^c come upon thee, and shall pursue thee, and overtake thee, till thou be ^c destroyed; because thou ^c hearkenedst not unto the voice of Yahweh thy God, to keep his ^c commandments and his statutes which he com- manded thee: 46 and they shall be upon thee for a ^c sign and for a wonder, and upon thy seed for ever.	r 7 ⁸
48 Isa;			
ai Cp 12 ⁷ 16 ¹⁸ aj Is 65 ¹⁴ †		47 ^c Because thou ^c servedst not Yahweh thy God with ^c joyfulness, and with ^c gladness of heart, by reason of the abundance of all things: 48 therefore shalt thou serve thine enemies which Yahweh shall send against thee, in hunger, and in thirst, and in ^c nakedness, and in ^c want of all things: and he shall put a ^c yoke of iron ¹ upon thy neck, until he have ^c destroyed thee. 49 Yahweh shall bring a nation against thee from ^{ac} far, from the end of the earth, ^{ac} as the eagle flieth; a nation whose ^c tongue thou shalt not understand; 50 a nation of ^c fierce coun- tenance, which shall not ^c regard the person of the old, nor shew favour to the young: 51 and he shall ^c eat the ^c fruit of thy cattle, and the ^c fruit of thy ground, ^c until thou be ^c destroyed: which also shall not leave thee ^c corn, wine, or oil, the ^c increase of thy kine, or the young of thy flock, until he have caused thee to ^c perish. 52 And he shall ^c besiege thee in all thy ^c gates, until thy high and ^c fenced walls come down, ^{ac} wherein thou trustedst, throughout all thy land: ^c and he shall besiege thee in all thy gates throughout all thy land, ^c which Yahweh thy God hath given thee. 53 And thou shalt eat the ^c fruit of thine own body, the ^c flesh of thy sons and of thy daughters which Yahweh thy God hath given thee; ^{ac} in the siege and in the straitness, wherewith thine enemies shall straiten thee. 54 The man that is ^{ac} tender ^m among you, and very delicate ^{ac} , his ^c eye shall be evil toward his brother, and toward the ^c wife of his bosom, and toward the remnant of his children which he hath remaining: 55 so that he will not give to any of them of the flesh of his children whom he shall eat, because he hath nothing left him; ^{ac} in the siege and in the straitness, wherewith thine enemy shall straiten thee in all thy ^c gates. 56 The ^c tender and delicate woman ^m among you, which would not adventure to set the sole of her foot upon the ground for delicateness and tenderness, her ^c eye shall be evil toward the husband of her bosom, and toward her son, and toward her daughter; 57 and toward her ^c young one that cometh out from between	h' 23 v 34 j' 30 k' 55 l' 51 m' 64
ak 57 Am 4 ² † al Jer 28 ¹⁴ †			
am Is 5 ²⁶ an Jer 48 ⁴⁰ 49 ²² †			
ao ‡ = language Jer 5 ¹³ op Is 33 ¹⁹			
ap Dan 8 ²² † aq Cp Lam 4 ¹⁶ 5 ¹⁴			
ar Cp Jer 5 ¹⁷ as Cp 1 Kings 59 ⁷ Jer 10 ¹⁶ Zeph 1 ¹⁷ ‡			
at 1 ²⁸ au Jer 5 ¹⁷ op Is 37 ¹⁰			
av Cp Lev 26 ²⁹ aw 55 57 Jer 19 ⁹ †			
ax 56 Is 47 ¹ † ay 56 15 ⁹ az 13 ⁶			

28⁴¹ Cp 22: perhaps another repetition. For the use of הוֹלִיךְ 'beget' (p30) op 4²⁵: the counterpart as in 1²⁷ does not occur in D.

42 Parallel in substance to 38: the word 'locust' in 42 is found nowhere else.

47 RV treats 47. as continuous with 45. But the lack of connexion rather suggests a fresh departure: 46 reaches a solemn close, and the failure in joyful service 47 is a different cause for punishment compared with the positive disobedience of 45.

48 prepares the way for the description of the dreaded invader (apparently, as the parallels with Jeremiah imply, the Chaldeans and the incidents and results of a siege, with a rhythmic refrain in 53 55 57. In this section phrases of distinctively Deuteronomi character are rare (for הוֹלִיךְ at the opening cp 2 Kings 21:2).

51 Not in (5); perhaps a duplicate of the last clause of the verse.
52 Probably an accidental repetition from the first half of the verse.
57 M Or, afterbirth.—‡†.

JE D^e

D

D^e P

her feet, and toward her children which she shall bear; for she shall eat them for ^awant of all things secretly: ^ain the siege and in the straitness, wherewith thine enemy shall straiten thee in thy ¹gates.

⁵⁸ "If thou wilt not ^cobserve to do ^a'all the words of ^c'this law that are ^vwritten in this book, that thou mayest ^c'fear this glorious and fearful name, YAHWEH THY GOD; ⁵⁹ then Yahweh will make thy ^bplagues wonderful, and the plagues of thy seed, even great plagues, and of long continuance, and sore sicknesses, and of long continuance. ⁶⁰ And he will bring upon thee again all the ^bdiseases of Egypt, which thou wast ^bafraid of; and they shall cleave unto thee. ⁶¹ Also every ^bsickness, and every plague⁶², which is not ^vwritten in the book of ^c'this law, them will Yahweh bring upon thee, until thou be ^wdestroyed. ⁶² And ye shall be ^bleft few in number, whereas ye were as the ^bstars of heaven for multitude; because thou didst not ^hhearken unto the voice of Yahweh thy God. ⁶³ And it shall come to pass, that as Yahweh ^brejoiced over you to ^bdo you good, and to ^v'multiply you; so Yahweh will rejoice over you to cause you to ^h'perish, and to ^v'destroy you; and ye shall be ^bplucked from off the land whither thou ^ggoest in to ^a'possess it. ⁶⁴ And Yahweh shall ^bscatter thee among ^a'all peoples, ^bfrom the one end of the earth even unto the other end of the earth; and ^bthere thou shalt ^c'serve other gods, which thou hast not ^a'known, thou nor thy fathers, even wood and stone. ⁶⁵ And among these nations shalt thou ^bfind no ease, and there shall be no rest for the sole of thy foot: but Yahweh shall give thee there a ^v'trembling ^h'heart, and ^bfailings of eyes, and ^bpinning of soul: ⁶⁶ and thy life shall ^h'hang in doubt before thee: and thou shalt fear night and day, and shalt have none ^b'assurance of thy life: ⁶⁷ in the morning thou shalt say, Would God it were even! and at even thou shalt say, Would God it were morning! for the fear of thine heart which thou shalt fear, and for the ^v'sight of thine eyes which thou shalt see. ⁶⁸ And Yahweh shall bring thee into Egypt again with ships, by the way whereof I ^b'said unto thee, Thou shalt see it no more again: and there ye shall sell yourselves unto your enemies for bondmen and for ^b'bondwomen, and no man shall buy you".

^{29¹} ¹² These are the words of the ^c'covenant which Yahweh commanded Moses to make with the ^c'children of Israel in the land of Moab, ^b'beside the covenant which he made with them in ^b'Horeb.

² "And Moses ^c'called unto ^a'all Israel, and said unto them, ^c'Ye have seen all that Yahweh did ^b'before your eyes in the land of Egypt unto Pharaoh, and unto all his servants, and unto all his land; ³ the great ^v'temptations ^v'which thine eyes saw, the ^v'signs, and those great wonders: ⁴ but Yahweh hath not given you an ^h'heart to know, and eyes to see,

n' 15
o' 70^a
p' 120
q' 44^a

r' 81

a 31

b 7

c 2^ad 43^ae 43^cf 101^aba Cp Lev 26²¹bb 71⁵bc 91⁹

bd Jer 67 5†

be 4²⁷

bf 110

bg 30⁹ Jer 32⁴¹bh 81⁶ 30⁵bi Ps 52⁵ Provbj 4²⁷bk 13⁷bl Cp Jer 31²bm 50²⁴ al cpbn 34¹⁴bo Is 10^{22†} cp Jerbp 31²⁵bq Job 24^{22†}br Cp 17¹⁶1 [28²⁹ in 5]

1 1ulm

a 44^mb 4²⁵ cp 23†2 [29¹ in 5]c 5¹d Cp 11⁷e 19 411 28²⁵ 5 cpIs 61¹⁰ 32³ Jer

51

^{28⁵⁸} In ⁵⁸⁻⁶⁸ there are renewed allusions ⁵⁸⁻⁶¹ to various forms of sickness cp ²¹. ²⁷ ³⁵. According to ⁶¹ the book of the law is already written cp ^{29¹⁰}. ²⁷ ^{30¹⁰} though no mention of writing it occurs till ^{31²}. The unique description of the ^c'glorious and fearful name' ⁵⁸ seems to imply the growth of special reverence for the divine name cp Lev 24¹⁰. The presence of Deuteronomic phrases is more frequent, but parallels also abound with Jer: in ⁶⁵ the word ^c'heart' is used in the form ^b as in ^{41¹¹} ^{29¹⁹} (elsewhere in D ^b common in Jer, and the term ^c 'bondwoman' ⁶⁸ only appears here in D cp Jer 34⁹⁻¹¹ ¹⁶, while Jer never employs D's usual word ^c. These slight stylistic differences lend some confirmation to the view that ⁵⁸⁻⁶⁸, which has no particular relation to the description of the invasion and siege ⁴⁹⁻⁵⁷, owes its place here, perhaps, to some later editorial hand.

⁶⁵ Cp 59, and ^{58^m}.

⁶⁸ On the probability that ^{30¹⁰} may have originally formed the conclusion of this discourse cp ^{30¹²}.

^{29¹} Cp ^{1⁵}. Driver, agreeing with Knobel, Kuen, and Westphal, attaches this verse to 5-26 ²⁸. On the other hand Ewald, Keil, Dillm, Oettli, and more recently Addis and Steuern connect it with ²⁹. This view is adopted here; on grounds partly of matter and partly of form. (1) The opening phrase may point either forwards or backwards. But in 5-26 ²⁸ there is no reference to a covenant in Moab; the language of ^{26¹⁶} ^{27⁹} points to some solemn act of divine adoption, but its nature is not specified. On the other hand in ¹². the Covenant is not yet formally instituted, but the people are assembled to 'passover' into it. (2) The language has a somewhat different cast from that of D: on ^c'children of Israel' cp ^{4¹⁴}; for ^b'beside' see ^{23†}.

² The discourse in ²⁻²⁹ is distinguished by many peculiarities both of thought and style, though it obviously belongs to

the great Deuteronomic school. The retrospect in ²⁻⁸ curiously omits any reference to Horeb; it is further assumed that the covenant which is about to be made ¹². with Israel (including future generations ^{15b}) is already recorded in ^c'this book of the law' ²¹; and it seems to include the curses of ²⁸, though they are described ¹⁹. by another term. In ²⁸ the writer speaks of exile as a present fact; and his language does not seem sufficiently explained by the deportation of the Ten Tribes after ⁷²². That which is still future in Jer ^{12¹⁴}. ^{24⁶}, is here contemplated as past, and the terrible consequences have arrived. The parallels with the language of Jeremiah are numerous, as in ²⁸; and a number of expressions may be noted which are not found elsewhere in D or are used in slightly different senses. Such will be found in ^c'that ye may know' &c; ⁹ 'prosper'; ¹² 'enter into the covenant' [†]; ¹³ 'oath' ¹⁴ ¹⁹. cp ^{30⁷}; ¹⁷ 'abominations and idols' cp 2 Kings 23²⁴ Ezek 20⁷. ¹⁸ ^{37²³} ('abominations' ^{726^a} cp Jer 4¹ ⁷³⁰ al; 'idols' Lev 26^{30^a} in Jer only 50², thirty-nine times in Ezek); ¹⁸ 'a root that beareth' [†]; ¹⁸ 'gall and wormwood' cp Am 6¹³ Jer 9¹⁶ 23¹⁶ Lam 3^{19†}; ¹⁹ 'bless himself in his heart' [†]; 'stubbornness of mine heart' Jer 31⁷ 7²⁴ 9¹⁴ 11⁵ 13¹⁰ 16¹² 18¹² 23¹⁷ Ps 81^{12†}; ²⁰ 'smoke', nowhere else of jealousy cp Ps 74¹; ²¹ 'separate for evil' [†] cp 'for evil' Am 9⁴ Jer 21¹⁰ 24⁹ 29¹¹ 38⁴ 39¹⁶ 44¹¹ 27²⁹ Judg 2¹⁵; ²² 'the generation to come' cp Ps 48¹³ 78⁴ 6 102^{18†}; ²³ 'the foreigner that shall come' &c ct 1 Kings 8⁴¹; ²³ 'sicknesses' cp Jer 14¹⁶ 16⁴ Ps 103³ 2 Chron 21^{19†}; ²⁵ 'forsook the covenant' Jer 22⁹ 1 Kings 19¹⁰ 14 Dan 11^{30†}; ²⁸ 'rooted them out' [†] = 'pluck up', a favourite word in Jer e.g. 1¹⁰ 12¹⁴. ¹⁸ 7²⁴ 6¹; ²⁹ 'the secret things' 'the things that are revealed', feminine participles not occurring in this sense elsewhere (cp the frequent use of fem pl in Is 40-55). Peculiar turns of thought and phrase will further be found in 4 10-13 15b 16b 23 26 29.

JE D ^c	D	D ^c P
f 8 ^d cp Am 2 ¹⁰	and ears to hear, 'unto this day. ⁵ And I have 'led you forty years	r 33 ^d
g Cp 84	in the wilderness: your 'clothes are not waxen old upon you, and thy	
A Cp 88	shoe is not waxen old upon thy foot. ⁶ Ye have not eaten 'bread,	
i Cp 181	neither have ye drunk wine or strong drink: that ye might 'know that	
j 2 ³²⁻³¹³	'I am Yahweh 'your God. ⁷ And when ye 'came unto this place, 'Sihon	h 63 ^d
k 3 ^{8 13}	the king of Heshbon, and Og the king of Bashan, came out against us	i 1 ^d
	unto battle, and we smote them: ⁸ and we 'took their land, and gave it	
	for an inheritance unto the Reubenites, and to the Gadites, and to the	
	half tribe of the Manassites. ⁹ 'Keep therefore the words of this	j 2 ^{3d}
	'covenant, and do them, that ye may 'prosper in all that ye do.	
10-16 1211 ^d	¹⁰ 'Ye stand this day all of you before Yahweh your God; your	k 20
11 1221 ^d	'heads, your 'tribes, your 'elders, and your 'officers, even 'all the men	l 57 ^d
l Ct 214 (sing)	of Israel, ¹¹ your 'little ones, your wives, 'and thy 'stranger that is in the	m 43 ^d
m Cp Josh 9 ²¹	midst of thy 'camps, from the 'hewer of thy wood unto the drawer	n 83 ^d
23 27 ^d	of thy water": ¹² that thou shouldest 'enter into the 'covenant of	o 118 ^d
n Cp 22 ^d	Yahweh thy God, and into his 'oath, which Yahweh thy God maketh	
o 28 ^d	with thee this day: ¹³ that he may 'establish thee 'this day unto himself	p 91 ^d
p Ct 2617 ^d	for a people, and that he may 'be unto thee a God, as he 'spake unto	q 107 ^d
q 2617 cp 226 ^d	thee, and as he 'swore unto thy fathers, to Abraham, to Isaac, and to	
	Jacob. ¹⁴ Neither with you only do I 'make this covenant and this	
	oath; ¹⁵ but with him that standeth here with us this day before	
	Yahweh our God, and also with him that is not here with us this day:	
	¹⁶ (for ye know how we dwelt in the land of Egypt; and how we came	
	through the midst of the nations through which ye passed; ¹⁷ and ye	
r 4 ²⁸	have seen their 'abominations, and their 'idols, 'wood and stone, 'silver	r 23 ^d
s Cp 7 ²⁶	and gold, which were among them:) ¹⁸ lest there should be among you	
t 3017 ^d	man, or woman, or family, or 'tribe, whose 'heart turneth away this	
	day from Yahweh our God, to go to 'serve the gods of those nations;	
	lest there should be among you a 'root that beareth 'gall and worm-	
	wood; ¹⁹ and it come to pass, when he heareth the words of this 'curse,	
	that he 'bless himself in his heart, saying, I shall have peace, though	
	I walk in the 'stubbornness of mine 'heart, 'to destroy the moist with	
	the dry: ²⁰ Yahweh 'will not 'pardon him, but then the 'anger of Yahweh	s 117 ^d
u Cp Jer 51 ⁷	and his jealousy shall 'smoke against that man, and all the curse that	t 17 ^d
50-0 1 Kings	is 'written in this book shall lie upon him, and Yahweh shall 'blot out	u 120 ^d
v 914 ^d	his name from under heaven. ²¹ And Yahweh shall 'separate him unto	
	evil out of all the 'tribes of Israel, according to all the curses of the	
	'covenant that is 'written in 'this book of the law. ²² And the 'genera-	v 70 ^d
w Cp Judg 210 ^d	tion to come, your children that shall 'rise up after you, and 'the	w 47 ^d
x 2880 ^d	'foreigner that shall come from a far land, shall say, when they see	
y Gen 1924 ^d	the 'plagues of that land, and the 'sicknesses wherewith Yahweh hath	
	made it sick; ²³ and that 'the whole land thereof is 'brimstone, and	
	salt, [and] a burning, [that] it is not sown, nor beareth, nor any grass	
z Am 411 Is 17	groweth therein, like the 'overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah, 'Admah	
1318 Jer 4918	and Zeboiim, which Yahweh overthrew in his anger, and in his wrath:	
5040 ^d	²⁴ even all the nations shall say, 'Wherefore hath Yahweh done thus	
a' Gen 149 Hos	unto this land? what meaneth the heat of this great anger? ²⁵ Then	
1184 ^d	men shall say, Because they 'forsook the 'covenant of Yahweh, the	
l' Jer 228	'God of their fathers, which he made with them when he 'brought them	x 1 ^d
1 Kings 98	forth out of the land of Egypt; ²⁶ and went and 'served other gods,	y 28 ^d
	and worshipped them, gods whom they 'knew not, and whom he had	z 68 ^d
	not 'divided unto them: ²⁷ therefore the 'anger of Yahweh was kindled	
	against this land, to bring upon it all the 'curse that is 'written	a' 38 ^d

29^d Cp Driver in loc. For the phrase cp Ex 7¹⁷ 822^b 10² and 179: for the transition to the first person cp 7^d.

⁹ M Or, deal wisely.—Cp Josh 17. 1 Kings 23.
¹⁰ Probably 'your judges' cp Josh 83¹ 23² 24¹ (Dillm, Driv, Addis).

¹¹ A peculiar adaptation of the usual phrase concerning the

stranger within the gates 105^c.

¹⁸ M ḡ rosh, a poisonous herb.—Cp 32³². Am 6¹² Hos 10⁴ Jer 814 915 2315 Lam 3^{6 19} Ps 69³¹ Job 2018^d.

^{19a} M Or, oath, and so 20^d.

^{19b} M Or, to add drunkenness to thirst.—†.

²⁶ So M ḡ. T given.—Cp 41⁹.

JE D'	D	D' P
c ¹ Jer 21 ⁵ 32 ³⁷ † d ¹ Jer 7 ¹⁵ cp 16 ¹³ e ¹ Jer 22 ²⁶	in this book: ²⁸ and Yahweh "rooted them out of their land in 'anger, and in wrath, and in great indignation', and 'cast them into 'another land, 'as at this day. ²⁹ "The "secret things belong unto Yahweh our God: but the things "that are revealed belong unto us and to our children for ever, that we may do 'all the words of this law.	b ¹ 33 ^a c ¹ 15
a Cp 28 ² 15 b \S = lay to heart 4 ³⁹ c Jer 29 ¹⁸ d Cp Jer 8 ³ 23 ²⁸ 8 e 4 ³⁰ f 13 ¹⁷ cp Jer 12 ¹⁵ 33 ³⁶ g 4 ⁴ \S Jer 23 ³ 20 ¹⁴ al h 28 ⁶⁴ Jer 9 ¹⁶ 30 ¹¹ al i Cp Mic 4 ⁸ Zeph 3 ¹⁹ Jer 30 ¹⁷ j \S = end 4 ³² k \S = take Jer 31 ⁴ Ezek 36 ²⁴ l \S 17 ¹⁴ 26 ¹ 28 ⁶⁸ m 10 ¹⁶ Jer 4 ⁴ n \S † cp 16 ¹⁹ p Ct 1 ¹⁹ cp 20 ¹⁹⁻²¹ q 28 ¹ cp 29 ⁹ r 28 ¹¹ s 28 ⁶³ t 28 ⁵⁸ 29 ²¹ u 4 ⁸ v Cp 66 ¹¹ 18 ¹⁸ Jer 31 ³⁸	30 ¹ "And it shall come to pass, when "all these things are come upon thee, the 'blessing and the 'curse, which I have 'set before thee, and thou shalt 'call them to mind among all the 'nations, whither Yahweh 'thy God hath 'driven thee, ² and shalt 'return unto Yahweh thy God, and shalt 'obey his voice according to all that I 'command thee this day, thou and thy children, with all thine 'heart, and with all thy soul; ³ that then Yahweh thy God will 'turn thy captivity, and have 'compassion upon thee, and will return and 'gather thee from 'all the peoples, whither Yahweh thy God hath 'scattered thee. ⁴ If [any of] thine 'outcasts be in the 'uttermost parts of heaven, from thence will Yahweh thy God 'gather thee, and from thence will he 'fetch thee: ⁵ and Yahweh thy God will 'bring thee into the land which thy fathers possessed, and thou shalt 'possess it; and he will 'do thee good, and 'multiply thee above thy fathers. ⁶ And Yahweh thy God will 'circumcise thine heart, and the heart of thy seed, to 'love Yahweh thy God with all thine 'heart, and with all thy soul, 'that thou mayest 'live. ⁷ "And Yahweh thy God will put all these 'curses upon thine enemies, and on them that hate thee, which persecuted thee. ⁸ And "thou shalt return and 'obey the voice of Yahweh, and 'do all his commandments which I 'command thee this day. ⁹ And Yahweh thy God will make thee 'plenteous in all the "work of thine hand, in the fruit of thy body, and in the fruit of thy cattle, and in the "fruit of thy ground, for good: for Yahweh will again 'rejoice over thee for good, as he rejoiced over thy fathers: ¹⁰ if thou shalt 'obey the voice of Yahweh thy God, to 'keep his 'commandments and his statutes which are 'written in 'this 'book of the law; if thou 'turn unto Yahweh thy God with all thine 'heart, and with all thy soul. [4 ⁴⁰ →] ¹¹ "For this 'commandment which I 'command thee "this day, it is not too "hard for thee, neither is it far off. ¹² It is not in heaven that thou shouldest say, Who shall go up for us to heaven, and bring it unto us, and make us to hear it, that we may do it? ¹³ Neither is it beyond the sea, that thou shouldest say, Who shall go over the sea for us, and bring it unto us, and make us to hear it, that we may do it? ¹⁴ But the word is very nigh unto thee, in thy mouth, and in thy "heart, that thou mayest do it.	a 22 ^b b 32 ^b c 100 ^b d 1 ^a e 58 ^a f 29 ^b g 59 h 14 i 24 j 81 k 74 ^b l 72 m 119 n 50 o 82 ^c p 104 ^a q 120 r 70 ^b s 29 ^c

29²⁹ Perhaps a later addition enforcing the contrast between the hidden future cp Is 48⁵, and the revelation of present guidance in the law. The use of the first person pl suggests a form of liturgical response after hearing the reading of the law.

30¹ The discourse in 1-20 seems to fall asunder into two parts 1-10 and 11-20, loosely joined by the particle 'for' cp 11¹². Does the first section 1-10 belong to the address in 29? It is commonly so treated: but it seems preferable to connect it rather with 28. (1) The liturgical close in 29²⁹ suggests that the discourse is concluded: (2) the style of 30¹⁻¹⁰ shows no special affinity with that of 29 (save in 7) while it is full of phrases referring to 28, cp 1 'the blessing and the curse,' 3 'scattered,' 5 'do thee good,' 9 'make thee plenteous' &c: (3) the parallels with Jeremiah are in general harmony with the manner of 28, and the devotional language is much nearer the Deuteronomic type than that of 29. The law is already recorded in writing ¹⁰ as in 28⁶⁸ (and 29²¹), and the promise of restoration conditional upon repentance forms a suitable sequel to the terrible threats of exile in 28⁶³⁻⁶⁸.

³ M. Or, return to.—Cp Jer 29¹⁴ 30³ Ezek 39³⁵ al: Preuschen, ZATW (1893) i ff.

⁷ This verse appears to interrupt the context, and contains the peculiar word נָלַח translated 'oath' 29¹² and 'curse' 29¹⁹⁻²¹. The implications of 'hatred' and 'persecution' are somewhat different in tone from the threats of penal doom in 29, at the same \S 'pursue' 28²². The word occurs in Jer 15¹⁶ 17¹⁸ 20¹¹ of the prophet's personal sufferings, but is not applied by him to Israel: its use here suggests a later hand cp Lam 1³ 4¹⁸ and (of Yahweh) 34⁵.

⁸ Driver remarks that the pronoun is emphatic in contrast to 'enemies' 7. But it may equally well indicate the response of converted Israel to its divine Regenerator 6; cp a similar contrast (in another field of action) 21⁹.

11¹² Driver (Deut lxxiii lxxv 331) points out that 11-14 (introduced by for) 'clearly states the reason for a present duty': the paragraph cannot, therefore, be intended to explain the obedience of Israel in the contingency of its future return to Yahweh. In other words 11-20 can hardly have formed the original sequel of 1-10. On its probable connexions elsewhere see 31³⁸. Here its points of contact with the discourse in 4 need only be noted, see the parallels to 15 17 18 19 20.

11^b M. Or, wonderful.—Cp 17¹.

JE D ^e	D	D ^e P
w 19 cp Jer 21 ⁸	¹⁵ 'See, I have 'set before thee "this day "life and good, and "death and evil; ¹⁶ "in that I 'command thee this day to 'love Yahweh thy God, to 'walk in his ways, and to keep his 'commandments and his statutes and his judgements, that thou mayest 'live and "multiply, and that Yahweh thy God may 'bless thee in the land whither thou "goest in to 'possess it. ¹⁷ But if thine heart 'turn away, and thou wilt not hear, but 'shalt be 'drawn away, and 'worship other gods, and serve them; ¹⁸ I 'denounce unto you "this day, that ye shall 'surely perish; ye shall not 'prolong your days upon the land, whither thou passest over Jordan to "go in to 'possess it. ¹⁹ I 'call heaven and earth to witness against you this day, that I have 'set before thee "life and death, the 'blessing and the 'curse: therefore choose life, "that thou mayest 'live, thou and thy seed: ²⁰ to 'love Yahweh thy God, to 'obey his voice, and to 'cleave unto him: for "he is thy life, and the "length of thy days: that thou mayest dwell in the land which Yahweh 'sware unto thy fathers, to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, to give them. [→ 32 ⁴⁶]	t 20 u 15 ^e v 22 ^a w 21 ^a x 21 ^a y 21 ^a z 21 ^a a' 20 ^a b' 21 ^a c' 27 d' 107 ^a
1-5 L4w6 a Cp 34 ⁷ b 28 ⁶ c 32 ⁷ d 28 ⁶ e Cp 19 ¹ § 88 ⁶ f 32 ⁸ g 32 ¹ op 12 h 28 ⁶ i 32 ⁸ j 28 op 29 k 20 ⁴ l 8 21 Joeli 15 ^a m 32 ⁸ n Ct 28 op 128 o Sam 2 p bring q 30 r 28 Joeli 15 3 ⁷ s 12 30 t 12 44 ve gid u 106 ¹⁴ v 114 ¹ 1010 w 32 108 x 15 ¹ y 106 cp Ex 23 ¹⁵ z 34 ¹⁸ a 15 ¹ b 1613 c 1616 d § = enrs 28 30 e 32 44 f 28 40 cp 224 ^a	¹ "And Moses "went and spake these words unto "all Israel. ² And he said unto them, I am an "hundred and twenty years old this day; I can no more 'go out and 'come in: and Yahweh hath said unto me, 'Thou shalt not go over this Jordan. ³ Yahweh 'thy God, he will "go over before thee; he will 'destroy these nations from before thee, and thou shalt 'possess them: [and] Joshua, /he shall go over before thee, as Yahweh hath "spoken. ⁴ And Yahweh shall 'do unto them as he "did to 'Sihon and to 'Og, the 'king: of the Amorites, and unto their land; whom he 'destroyed. ⁵ And Yahweh shall 'deliver them up before you, and ye shall do unto them according unto all the 'commandment 'which I have commanded you. ⁶ 'Be strong and of a good courage, 'fear not, nor be 'affrighted at them: for Yahweh thy God, 'he it is that doth go with thee; he will not 'fail thee, nor forsake thee. ⁷ And Moses called unto "Joshua, and said unto him in the 'sight of "all Israel, 'Be strong and of a good courage: for thou shalt "go with this people into the land which Yahweh hath 'sworn unto their fathers to give them; and thou shalt cause them to 'inherit it. ⁸ And Yahweh, 'he it is that doth go 'before thee; he will 'be with thee, he will not 'fail thee, neither forsake thee: 'fear not, neither be dismayed.	a 2 ^a b 2 ^a c 24 ^a d 91 e 13 f 3 ^a g 100 ^a h 29 ¹ i 106 ^a j 44 ^a k 44 ^a l 43 ^a m 107 ^a n 65 o 70 ^a p 90 q 10 r 42 ^a s 87
30 ¹⁶ (G reads 'If thou wilt hearken to the commandment of Yahweh thy God which I command thee this day... then shalt thou live and multiply, and Yahweh thy God will bless thee' cp 17. So Dillm, Oettli, Driver, Addis, Steuern.	⁹ "And Moses wrote "this law, and delivered it unto the 'priests the sons of Levi, which 'bare the 'ark of the covenant of Yahweh, and unto all the 'elders of Israel. ¹⁰ And Moses commanded them, saying, 'At the end of 'every seven years, in the 'set time of the 'year of release, in the feast of "tabernacles, ¹¹ when "all Israel is come to 'appear before Yahweh thy God in the 'place which he shall choose, "thou shalt read 'this law before "all Israel in their "hearing. ¹² "Assemble the people,	

30¹⁶ (G reads 'If thou wilt hearken to the commandment of Yahweh thy God which I command thee this day... then shalt thou live and multiply, and Yahweh thy God will bless thee' cp 17. So Dillm, Oettli, Driver, Addis, Steuern.

²⁰ M Or, that.

31¹² The materials of the concluding portion of Deut are derived from different sources, and the process of their combination as conceived by the present annotator is sketched in 34¹²⁸. The section 31¹⁻⁸ is generally recognized as detached from its original context. The phrase 'went and spake these words' implies that Moses proceeded to convey to the people a communication already made to himself. It is inappropriate to the preceding discourse cp 29²: and the sequel shows that it properly belongs to 32⁷. The passage appears to be editorially placed here, as a preparation for the story of the Conquest in which Joshua assumes the leadership vacated by the death of Moses cp Josh 1¹⁻⁹. Its dependence on 1-3 is obvious: beside the phrases traceable through the margins, it may be noted that Og is described as a 'king of the Amorites' cp 4¹⁷ et 14³. It would seem probable, however, that different materials have been here combined. In 3 it can hardly be supposed that the two clauses 'Yahweh thy God, he will go over before thee' and

'Joshua, he will go over before thee,' were set in sequence by the same author; 4 reads like a duplicate of 2^a; while 7, addressed to Joshua runs parallel with 6. In 7, it appears reasonable to find a Deuteronomistic parallel with 23 cp 14¹⁸; and it may be conjectured that in the union of D with JE it became necessary to find a fresh place for 2b 4 7, so that it was amalgamated with the promises now immediately preceding it. There is also some awkwardness in the sudden change in the application of the 2nd pers pronoun from 2 (Moses) to 3 (Israel); but this seems hardly a sufficient reason for suspecting discontinuity.

1b (G reads 'and Moses made an end of speaking' as in 32¹; and Klostermann and Steuernagel adopt it; but Driver thinks the textual change implied not a very probable one.

9 In 9-13 Kuen (Hex 127) saw the close of the main work of D¹, probably following the final discourse (28 30¹⁻¹⁹ according to the arrangement above adopted). The margins show the normal Deuteronomistic character of the language: and the passage explains the mode in which the law was supposed to have been entrusted for preservation to the ecclesiastical and civil powers, who were charged to keep up the knowledge of it by instituting a septennial reading at the feast of booths.

11 (G 'ye shall read.'

J E D⁸

D

D⁸ Py 51⁴
z 13 cp 58^ba' 11²

14-23 L⁴ w¹
1181/1
b' Gen 47²⁹
1 Kings 2:1
c' \oint = take your
stand Num
1116 2214
d' 23 ct 38
e' Ex 33⁸ 11 Num
125
f' Ex 33¹¹
g' Cp 7 \oint
h' 227
16-21 L⁵ b¹
i' Gen 47³⁰
j' Ex 34¹⁶ Lev
17¹ 20⁸ Num
138⁹
k' Gen 35² 4
Josh 24²⁰ 22⁸
l' Cp 7 46
m' Ex 34²⁷ Deut
5² 21^b
17 L⁵ a¹
n' 233⁸
o' 18. cp 32²⁰
p' 21 32²⁸ \oint
q' 430 Ex 18⁹
r' Cp 25⁸
s' Cp 29
t' 20 Lev 19⁴ 31
20⁸ of 213
u' Ex 41⁶ Num
22⁸
v' 21 26 Gen 31⁴⁴
w' 32¹⁵
x' Num 14¹¹ 23
1560 Pl⁸ cp Deut
32¹⁹ = abhorral
Qal⁸
y' 530 10¹⁶ \oint
z' Ct 27 cp Gen
65 821⁸
a'' 25132
24-26 L⁴ w¹

the men and the 'women and the little ones, and 'thy stranger that is within thy 'gates, that they may 'hear, and that they may 'learn, and 'fear Yahweh your God, and 'observe to do 'all the words of 'this law; 'and that their children, 'which have not known, may 'hear, and 'learn to 'fear Yahweh your God, 'as long as ye live in the land whither ye 'go over Jordan to 'possess it.

14 ²¹ And Yahweh said unto Moses, Behold, 'thy days approach that thou must die: call Joshua, and 'present yourselves in the tent of meeting, that I may 'give him a charge. And Moses and Joshua went, and 'presented themselves in the tent of meeting. ¹⁵ And Yahweh appeared 'in the Tent in a pillar of cloud: and the 'pillar of cloud stood 'by the door of the Tent.

—²³ And he 'gave Joshua the 'son of Nun a charge, and said, 'Be strong and of a good courage: for thou shalt 'bring the children of Israel into the land which I 'sware unto them: and I will 'be with thee.—

16 ²¹ And Yahweh said unto Moses, Behold, thou shalt 'sleep with thy fathers; and this people will rise up, and 'go a whoring after the 'strange gods 'of the land, whither they go to be among them, and will forsake me, and 'break my covenant which I have 'made with them. ¹⁷ Then my 'anger shall be kindled against them in that day, and I will forsake them, and I will 'hide my face from them, and they shall be devoured, and many 'evils and troubles shall 'come upon them; so that they will say in that day, Are not these evils come upon us because our God is not 'among us? ¹⁸ And I will surely 'hide my face in that day for all the 'evil which they shall have wrought, in that they are 'turned unto other gods. ¹⁹ Now therefore write 'ye this song for you, and 'teach thou it the children of Israel: 'put it in their mouths, that this song may be a 'witness for me against the children of Israel. ²⁰ For when I shall have 'brought them into the land which I 'sware unto their fathers, 'flowing with milk and honey; and they shall have 'eaten and filled themselves, and 'waxen fat; then will they 'turn unto other gods, and 'serve them, and 'despise me, and 'break my covenant. ²¹ And it shall come to pass, when many 'evils and troubles are come upon them, that this song shall 'testify before them as a witness; for it shall not be forgotten out of the mouths of their seed: for I know their 'imagination which they go about, even now, 'before I have 'brought them into the land which I 'sware.

²² So Moses wrote this song the same day, and 'taught it the children of Israel.

24 ²¹ And it came to pass, when Moses had made an end of writing the

t 118
u 51
v 71⁸
w 44⁸
x 82⁸
y 15
z 13⁸
a' 54
b' 85⁸

c' 71^b
d' 24
e' 69⁸
f' 41^b
g' 23⁸

31¹⁴ According to 7. Moses has already solemnly charged Joshua 'in the sight of all Israel.' The charge by Yahweh, therefore, in 14. of which 23 is the obvious conclusion, must be derived from another account. This is identified with E on the following grounds: (1) the prominence ascribed to Joshua the son of Nun cp Ex 33¹¹ Josh 24; (2) the reference to the Tent of Meeting cp Ex 33⁷; (3) the appearance of Yahweh in the pillar of cloud, Ex 33⁸ Num 12⁵; (4) the promise of Yahweh to be with Joshua 23 as with Moses cp Ex 33¹². It is possible that in 21 one or two phrases may be due to Deuteronomistic redaction e.g. 'be strong and of a good courage': but on the whole 7. seems rather to depend on 23 than vice versa; cp especially the clauses in 7b 8 'thou shalt cause them to inherit it,' 'Yahweh doth go before thee,' 'he will not fail thee,' 'fear not,' all of them Deuteronomistic additions. On the phrase 'children of Israel' in D cp 44¹⁸, frequent in E cp Ex 310-13.

16a E nowhere represents Yahweh as appearing inside the Tent, and this is in fact inconsistent with his presence at the entrance. (Y reads 'and Yahweh came down in the cloud and stood at the door of the Tent of Meeting' cp Num 12⁵. The words 'in the Tent' are probably harmonistic cp Ex 40³⁴).

16b So M. T over.—Ex 33⁸. Num 12⁵ the pillar stands at the door. It is, however, possible that the preposition here is due to the same influence as the words 'in the tent.' Y may be legitimately rendered 'by,' but it is regularly employed by P to denote the presence of the cloud 'over' or 'upon' the Dwelling Ex 40³⁸ Num 9¹⁵. Y here has *rapd rds thpas*.

16a The source of 16-22 is a perplexing problem. The passage is plainly designed as an introduction to the Song in 32. This poem is universally recognized as an independent composition incorporated in D (cp *Introd* XIV 4 i 161), but the process by which it has acquired its present place can only be conjecturally

determined. As long as the Song was assigned to an early date, it was usual to regard it as inserted in E or JED before the composition of D (so Addis, *Her* i 188). If, however, it is ascribed to a later age, it must either (1) have been added to JED before its union with D, or (2) have been attached to D, or (3) have been embodied in the combined document JED. The peculiar position of 16-22 in the midst of a passage ascribed to E, makes (1) or (3) more probable than (2). Driver, accepting Kuenen's date, about 630 B.C., inclines to the first alternative (*Deut* 347). If the later date suggested in *Introd* i 162 be accepted, then it may be inferred that the poem was added to JED. Some slight linguistic indications confirm this view: (1) the language shows little or nothing that is distinctively Deuteronomistic, for even the formulae in 20 may be found elsewhere: (2) it abounds in expressions characteristic of JED, not found in D, such as 16 'behold' followed by the ptc of the future, 'sleep with thy fathers,' 'strange gods' &c; but (3) it also contains other phrases which point in the direction of the Holiness-legislation, and the school of Ezekiel, e.g. 16 20 'break my covenant,' 18 20 'turn' to other gods, and perhaps 16 'go a whoring after.' The phrases which describe Yahweh 17 as 'forsaking' Israel, or 'hiding his face' from them, seem also to belong (on the whole) to a later date; 'forsake' cp 31⁸ Jer 12⁷ Ezek 81² 9⁹ Is 41¹⁷ 42¹⁶ 49¹⁴ 54⁷ (on the other hand Gen 28¹⁶); 'hide my face' 32²⁰ Jer 33⁸ Ezek 39²³. 20 Is 54⁸ (but also Is 81⁷ Mic 3⁴).

16b The awkwardness of \oint 'whither they go-in in their midst' suggests the interpolation of a gloss; so Klostermann, *Pent* 239, and Dillm. Cp the formulae in 69.

19 The pl is inappropriate in instructions addressed to Moses only; it may be an accidental variation, or a correction referring to 34⁴.

24 In 24-27 it seems hard to recognize a 'manifest sequel' of

	JE D'	D	D' P
		words of 'this law in a book, until they were finished, ²⁵ that Moses commanded the Levites, which 'bare the 'ark of the covenant of Yahweh, saying, ²⁶ Take this book of the law, and put it by the side of the 'ark of the covenant of Yahweh your God, that it may be there for a 'witness against thee. ²⁷ For I know thy 'rebellion, and thy 'stiff neck: behold, while I am yet alive with you this day, ye 'have been 'rebellious against Yahweh; and how much more after my death? ²⁸ Assemble unto me all the 'elders of your tribes, and your 'officers, that I may speak these words 'in their ears, and 'call heaven and earth to witness against them. ²⁹ For I know that after my death ye will utterly 'corrupt yourselves, and 'turn aside from the way 'which I have commanded you; and evil will 'befall you in the latter days'; because ye will 'do that which is evil in the sight of Yahweh, to 'provoke him to anger through the 'work of your hands. [^{→27}]	
b ¹⁰ Num 17 ¹⁰ ^a			
c ¹⁰ 9 ¹³ 10 ¹⁶			
d ¹⁰ 9 ²⁴			
e ¹⁰ 4 ²⁶			k' 94
f ¹⁰ 4 ¹⁶			l' 83
g ¹⁰ Gen 49 ¹			j' 14
h ¹⁰ 4 ²⁵			k' 37 ^b
			l' 10 ^b
i ¹⁰ Josh 8 ³⁵ Lev 16 ¹⁷ ^a		³⁰ And Moses spake 'in the ears of 'all the assembly of Israel the words of this song, until they were finished.	
a Is 1 ³ Ps 50 ⁴		³² 'Give ear, ye 'heavens, and I will speak; And let the 'earth hear the words of my mouth:	
b Cp Introd 1 162		³ My 'doctrine shall 'drop as the rain, My 'speech shall distil as the dew; As the 'small rain' upon the tender grass, And as the 'showers upon the herb/.	
c 33 ²⁸ [†]		³ For I will proclaim the name of Yahweh:	
d Is 28 ²⁵ 32 ⁹		^b Ascribe ye 'greatness unto our God.	
e 5 [†]		⁴ The 'Rock, his work is perfect; For all his ways are judgement:	
f Mic 5 ⁷ 5 [†]		A God of 'faithfulness and without 'iniquity, Just and right is he.	
g 3 ²⁴		⁵ They have 'dealt corruptly with him, [they are] not his 'children, '[it is] their blemish; [They are] a 'perverse and 'crooked generation.	
h Cp 7 ¹		⁶ Do ye thus requite Yahweh, O 'foolish people and unwise? Is not he thy father that hath 'bought thee? He hath 'made thee, and 'established thee.	
i 5 = un- righteousness 25 ¹⁶		⁷ Remember the 'days of 'old, Consider the years of many 'generations:	
j 5 = 2072 14 ¹			
k Cp 21 ^a			
l Ps 110 ⁷⁸ cp Is 45 ¹⁸			
m Ps 90 ¹⁶ 5 [†]			

⁹⁻¹³ (Driver, *Deut* 343), for ²⁴ starts from the same point as ⁹. According to ⁹ Moses has already written the law and handed it to the priests and elders, with directions for its public reading every seven years. But at the opening of ²⁴ the words of the law are not yet completely recorded; while on the completion of the book it is given to the Levites to be deposited beside the ark. Thus the sections are rather parallel than continuous. In each the reduction of the law to writing is recorded. In each the sacred book thus written is entrusted to the care of certain recognized authorities, though they are not the same in the two cases. The author of ⁹⁻¹³ could hardly have written ²⁴. If ⁹⁻¹³ formed one close to the original D, ²⁴ must have formed another. It has already been suggested that different editions may have received different introductions (cp 1¹³(4) 4¹⁶¹⁰). In a similar manner, the Code may also have received more than one form of conclusion. (Steuer-nagel, conscious of the incompatibility, proposes to read 'song' for 'law' in ²⁴ ²⁸, and thus treats ²⁴⁻³⁰ as the introduction to the song.)

³¹⁻²⁸ The language of ²⁷ seems really addressed not to Levi but to Israel generally; and that reference appears still more clearly in ²⁸ 'your tribes' and 'your officers' (between 'elders' and 'officers' 5) inserts 'your judges'). The purpose of the assembly is to give Moses an opportunity of speaking 'these words.' What, then, were they? Driver, Addis, and Steuer-nagel (to cite no older authorities) identify them with the Song. But it may be doubted whether the Song can be fitly introduced at a distance by the phrase 'speak these words.' Save in Ex 20¹ where it is immediately followed by the words in question, it always seems to refer to what precedes Gen 20⁸ 20¹⁵ 43¹ 44⁸ Ex 4³⁰ 10⁷ 24³ Num 14³⁰ 16³¹ Deut (4³⁰) 5¹⁹ 6¹ 12²⁸ 31¹. The phrase as it stands would thus denote the warning in ²⁷ which is to be repeated with the utmost solemnity, heaven and earth being summoned to attest them. It is true that the Song opens with such an appeal: but on the other hand it contains no parallels

to the predictions in ²⁸. On the other hand, important parallels are found elsewhere; and they point to the view indicated by Dillm (*NDA* 390) and elaborated by Westphal and (to a less extent) by Oettli (cp Driver, *Deut* lxxiv-v), according to which ²⁸ forms the preface to a parting exhortation by Moses. This address, however, can hardly be identified with ²⁹⁻³⁰, the elements of which do not seem continuous. The parallels in ²⁹ point strongly to the discourse in 4³⁻⁴⁰ which probably once followed instead of preceding the exposition of the law; while the appeal to 'heaven and earth' announced in ²⁸ is there solemnly issued 4²⁸ cp 30¹⁸. This last coincidence suggests that the passage in 30¹¹⁻²⁰ for which a suitable connexion could not be found with 30¹⁻¹⁰ may be the sequel of the discourse in 4³⁻⁴⁰ (cp other parallels in 30¹¹ 17). Supposing that 4³⁻⁴⁰ 31¹⁻²⁰ are really parts of the same address, where is its beginning? Could ²⁷ have once stood at the head of the whole? Moses is there associated with the priests in an exhortation to all Israel. There is certainly a slight flavour of difference between 'the priests the Levites' in ²⁷ and the plain Levites of 31²⁸; and the tribal elders and officers are merged in 'all Israel' (cp ³⁰); but the connexion in other respects seems not inappropriate. The solemn words 27¹⁰ 'become the people' may indicate the ceremonial adoption of Israel by the gift of the law; 'commandments and statutes' cp 4⁴⁰. The conclusion then naturally follows in 32⁴⁶⁻⁴⁷; cp 46 'all Israel' 27⁹; 46 'testify' cp 4²⁸ 8¹⁹; interest in 'children' cp 4⁹; 47 'your life' cp 30²⁰; 'prolong' 30¹⁸. The primary cause of the dislocation was the insertion of the Song, which threw out the discourse. The Song also was designed for a 'witness' 31¹⁹ cp ²⁸. In ³⁰ R connects the Song with the original introduction to the exhortation by the phrases 'assembly' cp ²⁸ and 'spoke in the ears.'

³² On the date of this poem cp *Introd* XIV 4 i 161.

²⁸ M Or, *corrupted themselves*, they &c.—Cp 9¹².

²⁸ M Or, but a blot upon them. ⁶ M Or, *possessed*. Or, *gotten*.

JE D ^c	D	D' P
n 4 ³² Job 8 ⁸ 12 ⁷	"Ask thy father, and he will shew thee ; Thine elders, and they will tell thee.	
o Gen 10 ³² §	⁸ When the ^b Most High gave to the nations their inheritance, When he ^c separated the children of men, He set the bounds of the peoples According to the ^b number of the children of Israel.	
p 10 ⁹	⁹ For Yahweh's ^p portion is his people ; Jacob is the lot of his ^p inheritance.	
q Gen 12 ⁸ Jer 4 ²³ Job 6 ¹⁸ 12 ²⁴ al	¹⁰ He found him in a desert land, And in the ^w waste ^w howling wilderness ; He compassed him about, he ^c cared for him, He kept him as the ^r apple of his eye :	
r Prov 7 ² Ps 17 ⁸ cp Prov 7 ⁹ 20 ²⁰ †	¹¹ As an ^e eagle that stirreth up her nest, That ^f fluttereth over her ^y young, ^w He spread abroad his wings, he took them, He bare them on his ^p pinions :	
s Ex 19 ⁴ t Gen 12 ⁷ u Gen 15 ⁹ † v Ps 68 ¹³ 91 ⁴ Job 39 ¹⁸ †	¹² Yahweh ^w alone did lead him, And there was no ^b strange god with him.	
w 33 ²⁸ Lev 13 ⁴⁶ x Cp 33 ²⁹ Hab 31 ⁹	¹³ He made him ride on the ^w high places of the earth, And he did eat the ^b increase of the field ; And he made him to ^s suck honey out of the rock, And oil out of the ^w flinty rock ;	
y 33 ¹⁹ z 81 ⁵	¹⁴ Butter of kine, and milk of sheep, With fat of ^b lambs, And ^b rams of the breed of Bashan, and ^b goats, With the fat of kidneys of wheat ; And of the ^w blood of the grape thou drankest wine.	
a' Gen 49 ¹¹	¹⁵ But ^b Jeshurun waxed fat, and kicked : Thou art waxen fat, thou art grown thick, thou art become ^c sleek : Then he forsook God which made him, And ^b lightly esteemed the ^b Rock of his salvation.	
b' § Pi Mic 7 ⁶ Jer 14 ²¹ Nah 3 ⁴ †	¹⁶ They ^b moved him to jealousy with ^b strange [gods], With ^b abominations ^b provoked they him to anger.	
c' Ps 106 ³⁷ †	¹⁷ They sacrificed unto ^c demons, [which were] no God, To gods whom they knew not, To new [gods] that came up of late, Whom your fathers ^b dreaded not.	
d' Hos 2 ¹³ 13 ⁶ Is 17 ¹⁰ al	¹⁸ Of the ^b Rock that ^w begat thee thou art ^c unmindful, And hast ^c forgotten God that ^b gave thee birth.	
e' Lam 2 ⁶ ct 31 ²⁰ Pi	¹⁹ And Yahweh saw [it], and ^c abhorred [them], Because of the provocation of his sons and his daughters.	
f' 31 ¹⁸	²⁰ And he said, I will ^s hide my face from them, I will see what their end shall be : For they are a very ^b froward generation, Children in whom is no faith.	
g' Ps 86 ¹³ cp Ezek 31 ¹⁴ h' 11 ¹⁷	²¹ They have ^b moved me to jealousy with that which is not God ; They have provoked me to anger with their ^b vanities : And I will move them to jealousy with those which are not a people ; I will provoke them to anger with a foolish nation.	
i' 4 ² Ezek 5 ¹⁶ Ps 71 ³ 38 ² Job 6 ⁴	²² For a fire is ^b kindled in mine anger, And burneth unto the ^w lowest ^w pit, And devoureth the earth with her ^w increase, And setteth on fire the ^b foundations of the mountains.	
j' Ps 91 ⁴ cp Hos 13 ¹⁴ †	²³ I will heap mischiefs upon them ; I will spend mine ^w arrows upon them :	
k' Cp Lev 26 ²² l' Cp Mic 7 ¹⁷ †	²⁴ [They shall be] wasted with hunger, and ^b devoured with ^w burning heat And ^w bitter ^s destruction ; And the teeth of ^w beasts will I send upon them, With the poison of ^w crawling things of the dust.	
m' § = abroad Lam 1 ²⁰	²⁵ ^w Without shall the sword bereave ^w , And in the chambers terror ; [It shall destroy] both ^w young man and virgin, The suckling with the man of gray hairs.	
n' Jer 51 ²³ Lam 2 ²¹	²⁶ I said, I would ^c scatter them afar, I would make the remembrance of them to cease from among men :	
o' 11 ⁷	²⁷ Were it not that I ^w feared the provocation of the enemy, Lest their adversaries should ^p misdeem, Lest they should say, Our ^w hand is exalted, And Yahweh hath not ^b done all this.	
p' Cp Jer 19 ⁴ q' Cp Ex 14 ⁸ Is 26 ¹¹	²⁸ For they are a nation ^w void of counsel,	
r' Cp Jer 49 ⁷ §		

32¹¹ M Or, Spreadeth abroad her wings, taketh them, beareth them on her pinions.

22 M § Sheol.

18 M Or, bare.

24 M § burning coals. See Hab 3⁶.

	JE D ^c	D	D ^c P
¹ Obad 7		And there is ¹ no understanding in them.	
¹ Ps 73 ¹⁷		²⁹ Oh that they were wise, that they understood this, That they would ¹ consider their latter end !	
¹ Josh 23 ¹⁰ Lev 26 ⁸ Is 30 ¹⁷		³⁰ How should ¹ one chase a thousand, And two put ten thousand to flight, Except their Rock had ¹ sold them, And Yahweh had delivered them up ?	
¹ Ex 21 ²² Job 8 31 ²¹ †		³¹ For their rock is not as our Rock, Even our enemies themselves being ¹ judges.	
¹ Job 13 ²⁸ 20 ¹⁴ 20†		³² For their vine is of the vine of Sodom, And of the fields of Gomorrah : Their grapes are grapes of ¹ gall, Their clusters are ¹ bitter :	
¹ Is 11 ⁸ Ps 58 ⁴ 91 ¹³ Job 20 ¹⁴ 16†		³³ Their wine is the poison of dragons, And the cruel venom of ¹ asps.	
¹ Ps 38 ¹⁶ 66 ⁹ 94 ¹⁶ 121 ³		³⁴ Is not this ¹ laid up in store with me, Sealed up ¹ among my treasures ?	
¹ Cp Ps 90 ¹³ 135 ¹⁴		³⁵ ¹ Vengeance is mine, and recompence, At the time when their foot shall ¹ slide : For the day of their ¹ calamity is at hand, And the things that ¹ are to come upon them shall make haste.	
¹ 1 Sam 9 ⁷ Job 14 ²¹		³⁶ For Yahweh shall ¹ judge his people, And ¹ repent himself for his ¹ servants : When he seeth that [their] power is ¹ gone, And there is none [remaining], ¹ ahut up or left at large.	
¹ 1 Sam 2 ⁶ 2 Kings 5 ⁷ Cp Hm 61 Is 10 ²³ 30 ²⁶ Job 5 ¹⁸ d ¹ Is 43 ¹³ Job 10 ⁷		³⁷ And he shall say, Where are their gods, The rock in which they ¹ trusted ; ³⁸ Which did eat the fat of their sacrifices, [And] drank the wine of their ¹ drink offering ? Let them rise up and help you, Let them be your ¹ protection.	
¹ Is 34 ⁵ 49 ²⁶ 63 ⁶ f ¹ Jer 12 ¹² 46 ¹⁰ g ¹ Num 23 ²⁴		³⁹ See now that I, even I, ¹ am he, And ¹ there is no god with me : ⁴⁰ I kill, and I make alive ; ⁴¹ I have ¹ wounded, and I heal : And ¹ there is none that can deliver out of my hand.	
¹ 1 Sam 2 ⁶ 2 Kings 5 ⁷ Cp Hm 61 Is 10 ²³ 30 ²⁶ Job 5 ¹⁸ d ¹ Is 43 ¹³ Job 10 ⁷		⁴² For I ¹ lift up my hand to heaven, And say, ¹ As I live for ever, ⁴³ If I whet ¹ my glittering sword, And mine hand take hold on judgement ; I will render ¹ vengeance to mine adversaries, And will recompense them that hate me.	
¹ Is 34 ⁵ 49 ²⁶ 63 ⁶ f ¹ Jer 12 ¹² 46 ¹⁰ g ¹ Num 23 ²⁴		⁴⁴ I will make mine ¹ arrows ¹ drunk with blood, And my ¹ sword shall devour flesh ; With the ¹ blood of the slain and the captives, ¹ From ¹ the head of the leaders of the enemy.	
¹ 1 Sam 2 ⁶ 2 Kings 5 ⁷ Cp Hm 61 Is 10 ²³ 30 ²⁶ Job 5 ¹⁸ d ¹ Is 43 ¹³ Job 10 ⁷		⁴⁵ ¹ Rejoice, O ¹ ye nations, [with] his people : For he will ¹ avenge the blood of his servants, And will render vengeance to his adversaries, And will ¹ make expiation for his land, for his people.	
¹ 1 Sam 2 ⁶ 2 Kings 5 ⁷ Cp Hm 61 Is 10 ²³ 30 ²⁶ Job 5 ¹⁸ d ¹ Is 43 ¹³ Job 10 ⁷		⁴⁶ ¹ And Moses came and spake all the words of this song in the ears of the people, he, and ¹ Hoshea the son of Nun.	
¹ 1 Sam 2 ⁶ 2 Kings 5 ⁷ Cp Hm 61 Is 10 ²³ 30 ²⁶ Job 5 ¹⁸ d ¹ Is 43 ¹³ Job 10 ⁷		[30 ²⁰ →] ⁴⁶ ¹ And Moses made an end of speaking all these words to ¹ all Israel : ⁴⁶ and he said unto them, Set your heart unto all the words which I testify unto you this day ; which ye shall command your children, to ¹ observe to do ¹ all the words of this law. ⁴⁷ For it is no vain thing for you ; because it is your life, and through this thing ye shall ¹ prolong your days upon the land, whither ye ¹ go over Jordan to ¹ possess it ⁿ .	a s b 8c c 15 d 75 e 55 f 55

32²² M See 20¹⁸.24 M Or, in my treasures.—Cp 28¹².

37 M Or, took refuge.

38 In this sense the word occurs here only.

41 M 1 the lightning of my sword.—Cp Nah 3³ Hab 3¹¹ Ezek21¹⁸.

42a M Or, From the beginning of revenges upon the enemy.

42b M Or, the hairy head of the enemy.—For 'hairy' cp Num 6⁵ Ezek 44²⁰†.

43a M Or, Praise his people, ye nations.

43b M Or, ye nations, his people.

44a The conclusion by the author of 31¹⁶⁻²². Immediately before it 1 repeats 31²², and then reads 'And Moses came and spake all the words of this law' &c.44b Sam 8² 12⁸ read Joshua. Hoshea occurs only in Num 13¹⁶ 16¹⁶ (P). The form here seems due either to an accident of transcription or (if intentional) to the harmonistic effort of a later age.45 The close of the address to which 31²⁴⁻²⁸ served as introduction cp 31²⁸.47 At this point the hortatory supplements to D^c come to an end. The code and its discourses are incorporated into JE with the Blessing of Moses 33 and the narrative of Moses' death in 34. The treatment of JE by R^d in 34 is analogous to the Deuteronomistic editing of the JE narratives in Josh, cp Introd to Josh 4.

J E

P

i^a Num 27¹²j^a Gen 17⁸ Lev
14³⁴k^a Num 20²³ .l^a Num 20¹².

⁴⁸ "And Yahweh ^aspake unto Moses that ^bselfsame day, saying, ⁴⁹ "Get thee up into this mountain of Abarim", unto mount Nebo, ^awhich is in the land of Moab, that is ^cover against Jericho; and behold the ^dland of Canaan, which I ^egive unto the children of Israel for a ^fpossession: ⁵⁰ and die in the mount whither thou goest up, and be ^ggathered unto thy people; as Aaron thy brother died in ^hmount Hor, and was ⁱgathered unto his people: ⁵¹ because ye ^jtrespassed against me in the midst of the children of Israel at the ^kwaters of Meribah of Kadesh, in the ^lwilderness of Zin; because ye ^msanctified me not in the midst of the children of Israel. ⁵² For thou shalt see the land before thee; but thou shalt not go thither into the land which ⁿI give the children of Israel.

g 128^a
h 138i 64
j 127^b
k 75m 124^an 9
o 88^b

p 94

a Josh 14⁶ Ps 90

(title)†

b Gen 27

c Judg 5⁴ cpHab 3³d Ps 50² 80¹ 94¹e Hab 3^{3†}

f †

g Ex 68^ah Neh 5^{7†}i 26 32¹⁵ Is 44^{2†}j 21 Num 25^{4†}

cp 57

k Gen 49¹⁶ Ex24⁴

³³ ¹And this is the blessing, wherewith ^aMoses the man of God^a blessed the children of Israel ^bbefore his death. ² And he said,

Yahweh ^ccame from Sinai,
And rose from Seir unto them;
He ^dshined forth from ^emount Paran,
And he came from the ten thousands of ^fholy ones:
At his right hand ^gwas a fiery law unto them.

³ Yea, he ^hloveth the ⁱpeoples;
All ^jhis saints are in thy hand;
And they sat down at thy feet;
[Every one] ^kshall receive of thy words.

⁴ Moses commanded us a law,
An ^linheritance for the ^massembly of Jacob.

⁵ And ⁿhe was king in ^oJeshurun,
When the ^pheads of the people^s were gathered,
All the ^qtribes of Israel together.

⁶ Let Reuben live, and not die;
^rYet let his men be few.

⁷ And this is [the blessing] of Judah:
and he said,

Hear, Yahweh, the voice of Judah,
And bring him in unto his people:

^sWith his ^thands he contended ^ufor himself;
And thou shalt be an help against his adversaries.

⁸ ^vAnd of Levi he said,
Thy Thummim and thy Urim are with ^wthy godly one,
Whom thou didst prove at ^xMassah,

With whom thou didst strive at the waters of ^yMeribah;
⁹ Who said of his father, and of his mother, I have not seen him;
Neither did he acknowledge his brethren,

Nor knew he his own children:
For they have observed thy ^zword,
And ^{aa}keep thy covenant.

¹⁰ They shall ^{ab}teach Jacob thy judgements,
And Israel thy law:
They shall ^{ac}put incense ^{ad}before thee,
And whole burnt offering upon thine altar.

¹¹ Bless, Yahweh, his ^{ae}substance,
And accept the ^{af}work of his hands:
^{ag}Smite through the loins of them that rise up against him,
And of them that hate him, that they rise not again.

l Gen 49⁶s-10 118^a 16m Ex 17^{10x}n Ex 17^{2a} 7bNum 20³ 13o Is 52⁴ †p Ex 34⁷ †q Cp 17¹⁰.r Ct Num 16⁷ 40

s † = wealth 817

t Ct 32⁴ †

u † = wound

32³⁹ Num 24⁸

³² ^a Cp Num 27^{12x}.

⁴⁹ The double location here points to editorial expansion. Dillm assigns the words to R⁴ cp 1³ 29¹ et 2² and employs the passage to support his view of the priority of P. Similar phenomena may occasionally be found in Josh: they are considered in the *Intro* to Josh 5 27.

³³ ¹ On the 'Blessing of Moses' and the ascription of 4-25 to an Ephraimite source (i.e. E) cp *Intro* XIV 5 i 163. According to the view there indicated 2-5 28-29 are regarded as later addi-

tions, together with the designation 'man of God' in 1.

^{2a} M † holiness.—For textual emendations see the Comm.

^{2b} M Or, was fire, a law. Or, as otherwise read, were streams for them. ^{2c} M Or, tribes.

^{3b} M Or, their holy ones.

⁵ M Or, there was a king.

^{7a} M Or, [Let] his hands [be] sufficient for him.

^{7b} M Or, for them.

¹⁰ M † in thy nostrils.

⁶ M Or, And let [not] his men.

⁸ M Or, received.

⁸ M Or, him whom thou lovest.

	J E		J E P
v Cp Is 5 ¹ Jer 11 ¹⁶ al		12 Of Benjamin he said, The "beloved of Yahweh shall dwell in safety by him ; He "covereth him all the day long, And he "dwelleth between his shoulders.	
w Cp 12 ¹¹ Is 8 ¹⁸		13 And of Joseph he said, "Blessed of Yahweh be his land ; For the "precious things of heaven, for the dew, And for the "deep that coucheth beneath,	
z Gen 49 ²⁶		14 And for the precious things of the "fruits of the sun, And for the precious things of the growth of the moons,	
y 18-16 Cant 4 ¹³ 16 7 ¹⁸ †		15 And for the chief things of the "ancient mountains, And for the precious things of the "everlasting hills,	
z Gen 47 ²⁴ Lev 25 ¹⁵ pl ¹		16 And for the precious things of the earth and the "fulness thereof, And the good will of him that "dwelt in the "bush : Let [the blessing] come upon the "head of Joseph, And upon the "crown of the head of him "that was separate from his brethren.	
a' Is 63 Mic 1 ³ Ps 24 ¹ al		17 "The firstling of his bullock, majesty is his ; And his horns are the horns of the "wild-ox : With them he shall "push the peoples all of them, [even] the "ends of the earth :	
b' Ex 3 ²		And they are the ten thousands of Ephraim, And they are the thousands of Manasseh.	
c' Mic 5 ⁴ al		18 And of Zebulun he said, Rejoice, Zebulun, in thy going out ; And, Issachar, in thy tents.	
d' Ps 45 5 ¹ 19†		19 They shall call the peoples unto the mountain ; There shall they offer "sacrifices of righteousness" : For they shall suck the "abundance of the seas, And the "hidden treasures of the sand.	
e' Gen 26 ²² Ex 34 ²⁴ cp Deut 12 ²⁰ 19 ⁸ †		20 And of Gad he said, Blessed be he that "enlargeth Gad : He dwelleth as a "lioness, And teareth the arm, yea, the crown of the head.	
f' Gen 49 ⁹ Num 23 ²⁴ 24 ⁹ †		21 And he "provided the first part for himself, For there was "the lawgiver's portion "reserved ; And he came "[with] the "heads of the people, He executed the justice of Yahweh, And his judgements with Israel.	
g' ϕ =hidden 19		22 And of Dan he said, Dan is a "lion's whelp, That "leapeth forth from Bashan.	
h' Gen 49 ⁹		23 And of Naphtali he said, O Naphtali, satisfied with favour, And full with the blessing of Yahweh : Possess thou the "west and the south.	
		24 And of Asher he said, Blessed be Asher "with children ; Let him be acceptable unto his brethren, And let him dip his foot in oil.	
		25 Thy "bars shall be iron and brass ; And as thy days, so shall thy "strength be.	
i' Cp Introd i 164		26 There is "none like unto God, O "Jeshurun, Who "rideth upon the heaven for thy help, And in his "excellency on the "skies.	
j' Ps 76 ² cp Am 3 ⁴		27 The "eternal God is [thy] "dwelling place,	

33¹⁶ M Or, that is prince among.17^a M Or, His firstling bullock.17^b M Or, gora.17^b M See Num 23²².21^a M Or, chose. ϕ saw.21^b M Or, a ruler's portion.—Cp Gen 49¹⁰.

23 M Or, sea.

26^a M Or, shoes.— ϕ †.21^c M Or, [to].

24 M Or, above sons.

28^b M Or, rest. Or, security.— ϕ †

	J	JER ^d	E	P	
f Gen 32 ³⁰ Ex 33 ¹¹ cp Num 12 ⁸		since in Israel like unto Moses, whom Yahweh knew 'face to face'; ¹¹ in all the 'signs and the wonders, which Yahweh sent him to do in the land of 'Egypt, to Pharaoh, and to all his servants, and to all his land; ¹² and in all the 'mighty hand, and in all the 'great terror, which Moses wrought 'in the 'sight of 'all Israel ¹³ .			i 30 ⁸
x 6 ²²					j 35 ³
r 4 ³⁴					k 45 ⁸
w 31 ⁷					l 45 ⁸

34¹² At this point it may be well to sum up very briefly the main results of the analysis of Deuteronomy (apart from occasional glosses due to subsequent scribal redactions). (1) The nucleus of the whole book is to be found in the Code 12-26; when first produced this was probably considerably shorter 12^{12a}(2); its original title may possibly be preserved in 4⁴⁴ (adopted, it may be, from an introduction to an earlier code) afterwards enriched by the addition in 4¹⁰⁻¹⁸. (2) To this Code were prefixed different hortatory introductions, which would seem to have been attached separately to different editions. Earliest, perhaps, is the series of homilies in 5-11, which appear to have proceeded from the author of the main groups of law in 12-18 and 26. These had a didactic and religious aim. But a second introduction, consisting chiefly of historical retrospect, may be traced in 1¹⁸ 4-4⁴: this may be assigned to a different hand, and has been augmented with a number of archaeological and other notes, especially in 2-3. (3) Similarly different forms of conclusion were appended to the main legislative core. The elements of these were twofold: (i) a parting address from Moses exhorting the people to obedience, and warning them against unfaithfulness; and (ii) a record of the writing of the Code. Such a close seems to have been provided by the author (or authors) of the Code and the Homilies in 26¹⁶⁻¹⁹ followed by the original form of 28 (afterwards enlarged by expansion) 30¹⁻¹⁰, together with the account of the writing of the law and the provision for its septennial reading at the Feast of Booths 31⁹⁻¹⁵. A second narrative of the writing of the law and its deposition by the ark is found in 31²⁴⁻²⁹, where instructions are given for the summons of a great national assembly at which Moses may deliver his solemn testimony. Remains of this discourse may be traced in 27⁹. 4⁵⁻¹⁰ 30¹¹⁻²⁰ with

a conclusion in 32⁴⁶⁻⁴⁷. No definite connexion can be established between this closing group and the secondary introduction in 1-4⁴, though the narrative in 3²⁸⁻²⁹ seems to be resumed in 31¹⁻⁴ and finds its term in Moses' death in 34. Yet a third farewell address distinguished by marked peculiarities of style may be discerned in 29²⁻²⁹. The Code and its envelopments, homiletic and narrative, hortatory or retrospective, must thus be regarded as the product of a long course of literary activity to which various members of a great religious school contributed, the affinities with the language and thought of Jeremiah being particularly numerous.

(4) To this Deuteronomic group other additions were made from time to time, involving further dislocations. The Code and the Homilies seem to imply acquaintance with JE (*Introd* XVI 17 i 173), and in due time JE and D were amalgamated (cp *Introd* XVI 2 i 174). This appears to be the explanation of the insertion of a fragment from an itinerary of E in Deut 10⁶, of the expansion of E's instructions for the erection of the altar on Ebal 27¹⁻⁸, of the introduction of the charge to Joshua 31¹⁴. 29, and the incorporation of the accounts of Moses' death in 34. Other insertions will be found in the liturgical curses 27¹¹⁻²⁶, the Song of Moses and its preface 31¹⁶⁻²² 32¹⁻⁴⁴ (which caused the dispersion of the second farewell discourse), and the Blessing of Moses 33, which appears to contain a nucleus due to E framed in a lyric setting of much later time.

(5) Lastly, the extended JED was united with P. This involved the addition of the date in 1⁸, the preparation for Moses' death 32⁴⁸⁻⁵², and the final description of his departure in 34. Latest of all 4⁴¹⁻⁴³ was inserted in connexion with Josh 24. [On D elements in Josh, and their relation to the constituents of Deut cp *Introd* to Josh 4.]

INTRODUCTION TO JOSHUA

THE Book of Joshua stands in the Hebrew Canon at the head of the collection of 'the Prophets.' It is marked off from the preceding books by its subject, for it contains no law: the era of legislation closed with the death of Moses. Yet it is plainly related to them in the most intimate manner. Its main theme is the establishment of Israel in the promised land, and it falls apart at once into two main divisions, (1) the narrative of the conquest 1-12, and (2) the account of the distribution of the territory among the tribes 13-21; while farewell addresses of Joshua 23 and 24, corresponding to the discourses in Deuteronomy, prepare for the record of the leader's death. The book thus describes the great change in the national life to which the whole Pentateuch looks forward. The gift of the land to the posterity of Abraham, so often announced, is at last effected: it is justly asserted that the Law without its continuation in Joshua would be but '*a torso*.' At stage after stage in the preceding narrative provision has been made for the duties and privileges of Israel when they should enter on their inheritance. At last the long discipline of the wanderings is over, and a nation which did not look back longingly to the comforts of Egyptian plenty, is ready for the strenuous march to victory. Caleb alone survives from the Israel of the desert, besides Joshua, to claim the reward of his loyalty to Yahweh Josh 14⁶⁻¹⁵ cp Num 14²⁴ Deut 1³⁵. At the outset of the book the commission to Joshua imparted through Moses Num 27¹⁸. Deut 3²⁸ 31⁷. 14. 23 is solemnly renewed 1².. The promise of the Reubenites, the Gadites, and the half tribe of Manasseh to take their share in the labours of the conquest Num 32 Deut 3¹⁸. is reinforced by Joshua Josh 1¹²., and fulfilled by the tribes in question 4¹², so that when they have loyally discharged their obligations to their brethren they receive for themselves the inheritance they had desired 13⁶.. The provisions instituted by Moses for the distribution of the land Num 34, for the Levitical cities and the cities of refuge 35, are successively enforced Josh 13-19 20 21. Even the daughters of Zelophehad Num 36 are not forgotten Josh 17³.. The first great religious act of the victorious Joshua in the middle of the new country is to carry out one of the last commands of Moses Deut 27¹⁻⁸ by rearing an altar on Ebal and solemnly inscribing the law upon its stones. In the valley of Shechem below are deposited the bones of Joseph 24³², in obedience to his dying request Gen 50²⁵. The whole scheme of Joshua is thus the necessary sequel of the books which precede; and the closeness of this relation extends not only to its substance, but (as will be seen hereafter) also to its form. In spite of considerations to be urged below concerning differences in the actual processes of compilation, the essential identity of their literary sources and their forms of historic presentation justifies the treatment of the six books as bound together by a common unity on which the name Hexateuch has been fittingly bestowed ^b.

^a Steuernagel, *Das Buch Josua* (in *Hdkomm*) 131.

^b This was already in the view of Du Maes in the sixteenth century (*Introd* i 23) and others who supposed the Mosaic history and Joshua to have been compiled from the records of the keepers of the public archives. Geddes stated the connexion most clearly when he explained that he

1. A brief inquiry suffices to show that Joshua displays many of the phenomena already adduced from the Pentateuch in proof of diversity of authorship. It contains no statement professing to record the circumstances of its composition; it comprises duplicate and sometimes inconsistent accounts of the same events; and even within the same narrative details which cannot be harmonized betray the presence of materials which have been imperfectly reconciled.

(1) Thus, in 13⁸⁻¹², the Reubenites and Gadites receive the inheritance which Moses had allotted to them beyond the Jordan; but in 15-32 a fresh description follows defining the territory assigned to the 'tribe of the children of Reuben according to their families,' and the corresponding possessions of the tribe of Gad and the half tribe of Manasseh, each section closing with similar statements concerning Levi 14 and 33. Much common matter belongs to each; but the second passage is marked by greater amplitude of detail, by new designations and fresh formulae. In like manner two farewell addresses are reported from Joshua. In 23 he summons 'all Israel,' their elders, their heads, their judges, and their officers, exhorts them to observe the law of Moses 6, announces his approaching death 14, and warns them against the worship of other gods 18. But 24 records another speech, addressed to a similar audience 1, and conveying corresponding exhortations not to forsake Yahweh 14.. In the accounts of the conquest Hebron is taken by Joshua 10³⁶, with its dependent cities, and all their inhabitants are put to the sword, not one being permitted to survive. Debir 38, shares the same fate. The Anakim also, from Hebron, Debir, and the adjoining local cities are similarly 'devoted' 11²¹. In 15¹³⁻¹⁹, however, Hebron and Debir are still unreduced; the three sons of Anak are driven out from the former by Caleb, who offers his daughter as a bride to whoever succeeds in capturing the latter.

(2) These indications of variety of literary materials are strengthened by the discovery of incompatible stories of the same transaction. At the passage of the Jordan the whole nation has passed over to the western shore 3¹⁷ 4¹, when Joshua instructs twelve men to 'pass over before the ark into the midst of Jordan' 5 and there take up twelve stones. The narrative thus returns to the eastern bank to find the people there too, for in 4^{10b} 'the people hastened and passed over.' What, then, is the destiny of the stones? According to 8^b they are carried across and deposited on the camping-ground where the people spent the night after the passage of the river. But in 9 twelve stones are set up in the midst of the stream in the place where the feet of the priests had stood, and the writer appeals to them as evidence, 'they are there unto this day.' The devices of the versions cp 3^{1a} betray their consciousness of the incongruity; the difficulty is solved by the recognition of the fact that the narrative is composite, and the compiler has not succeeded in reducing the details to uniformity. This clue further explains why Joshua, after posting thirty thousand men in ambush on the west side of Ai 8³ 9, should dispatch five thousand more the next morning for the same purpose to the same spot 12. Similar considerations make it probable that Rahab did not exact the promise of future safety from her visitors after she had let them down over the wall of Jericho, and urged them to flight 2¹⁵; and they point to a way through the maze of difficulties attending the narrative of the various circuits round the city before it fell into the hands of the Israelites 6³..

2. The literary examination of Joshua reveals corresponding facts. In some passages the language is full of reminiscences of the exhortations or narratives of Deuteronomy; while others are founded on the institutions and couched in the formulae of the Priestly Code. Thus in 8³⁰⁻³⁵ the writer records in his own fashion the fulfilment of the instructions of Moses in Deut 27¹⁻⁸; the discourse of Joshua in 23 is little more than

included the book of Joshua with the Pentateuch in the first volume of his translation of the Old Testament (1792), because he 'conceived it to have been compiled by the same author' (*ante* i 44).

a cento of the phrases of **D**; while the divine summons to the new leader 1³⁻⁹ naturally reproduces the solemn terms of the previous charge in Deut 31⁷. On the other hand, the 'ark of the testimony' is named in 4¹⁶, and a glimpse is thus opened into the conceptions of **P**, which become clearer when the passover is celebrated on the fourteenth day of the first month 5¹⁰, and the manna ceases on the entry of the people into the land of Canaan. In due time appear the 'congregation' and their 'princes' 9¹⁸, and finally Eleazar the priest takes precedence of Joshua the son of Nun 14¹, and proceeds with the heads of fathers' houses to distribute the inheritances to the tribes at the door of the Tent of Meeting 19⁵¹, making due provision of cities of refuge 20, and cities 'with the suburbs thereof' for the orders of priests and Levites 21. The documents represented by the symbols **D** and **P** in the Pentateuch thus find their continuations in the book of Joshua. Their definite literary characteristics enable them to be recognized with certainty so far as their main passages are concerned. They can be separated, therefore, with tolerable precision from the general mass. But when they are withdrawn by the aid of the usual criteria, what is the nature of the materials which are left? The examination of passages like 2 6 8¹⁻²⁹ 10¹⁻²⁷ discloses diversities which seem only explicable on the assumption that two sources have been combined. The analogy of the preceding books at once suggests that these sources may be **J** and **E** respectively; and this presumption seems to be confirmed by various marks of literary parallelism and allusions to earlier incidents. Thus in some passages the population of the country is designated as Canaanite 7⁹ 16¹⁰ 17¹²⁻¹⁸ **J**, whereas in others it is described as Amorite 10⁶. 24⁸ **E**. The parallels to 2¹² 14 21 3⁵ 9. 4⁶ 5¹⁵ 10²¹ &c plead strongly for **J**; so does the reference in 15¹⁴, and the group of fragments named in 13^{13*} (cp *infra* 3 1a). Similarly **E** seems to furnish the description of Joshua in 1¹ 2¹ 23 6⁶, the allusion to the idolatry of Israel's ancestors 24¹⁴, and the record of the burial of Joseph 24³². The combined document **JE** may be traced in like manner behind the language of 14⁶⁻¹²^a. These marks lie, as it were, upon the surface: how far does minuter investigation confirm the expectations which they awaken?

3. When the contributions to Joshua editorially derived from **D** and **P** have been eliminated, it is found that the remaining portions designated as **JE** are concerned rather with the conquest than with the division of the promised land. The mission of the spies, the passage of the Jordan, the capture of Jericho, the defeat at Ai and the discovery of Achan's theft, the successful attack on Ai, the covenant with the Gibeonites, the catastrophe to the confederation of the southern kings under Adoni-zedek, and the overthrow of the northern alliance under Hazor,—these follow in definite succession though without any specification of time, and lead up to Joshua's old age 13¹, and the preparations for the actual settlement. But at this point the traces of **JE** become more faint, and only a few fragments, obviously incongruous with their context, survive out of its record of the tribal inheritances cp 13¹³ 15¹⁴⁻¹⁹ (3 16¹⁻³ 10 17¹¹⁻¹⁸ 19⁴⁷, to which must perhaps be added 18²⁻¹⁰. When these narratives are disentangled, so far as probability permits, what is the result of the analysis?

(1) The critical problem appeared at one time so difficult, that Wellhausen supposed that **J** broke off suddenly after the Balaam episode, and only left a trace here and there, as in Num 25¹⁻⁵ Deut 34^{7b}^b, though its presence was afterwards recognized in Josh 9⁶^c. Meyer also^d denied to **J** any share in the account of the conquest of Canaan in Josh 1-12 save a fragment out of the story of the treaty with the Gibeonites in 9. But this view (though practically shared by Stade) has not been maintained by subsequent criticism^e. Kuenen, indeed, asserted that **J** and **E** could not be satisfactorily

^a Cp 'wholly followed' 9¹⁴ with Num 14²⁴.

^b *Composition des Hexateuchs in Skizzen* ii (1885) 116.

^c *Ibid* 126.

^d *ZATW* i 133-4 cp 122²

^e On its revival by Steuernagel, see below, p 318, note ^d.

eliminated from the complex product in which they had been welded together, but he admitted their original existence^a. Later investigation has done something to relieve these difficulties. Dillmann's great commentary (on the basis of Knobel, concluded in 1886) again attempted what Kuenen had declared impossible; and Budde^b, Kittel^c, Albers^d, Bennett^e, have all concurred in believing that the main elements of J and E are not disguised beyond recognition, though their results do not always run side by side^f.

(a) The principal obstacle to the recognition of J in Josh 2-11 arose from the circumstance that another view of the conquest and settlement of the Israelites in Canaan is to be found in Judges 1. This document includes passages which are plainly related to corresponding passages in Joshua; Adoni-bezek Judges 1⁶⁻⁷ seems a counterpart of Adoni-zedek Josh 10³⁻⁴; the capture of Hebron Judg 1¹⁰ is also related in Josh 15¹⁴ (Caleb), and that of Debir Judg 1¹¹⁻¹⁵ in Josh 15¹⁵⁻¹⁹; further cp Judg 1²¹ Josh 15⁶³, Judg 1²⁷ Josh 17¹², and Judg 1²⁹ Josh 16¹⁰. Various considerations concurred in pointing to J as the source from which this survey was derived^g. But it contained no allusion to Joshua, and it was inferred, therefore, by some eminent critics, that J had not originally regarded him as the national leader, or even mentioned his name. The narrative of his victories, therefore, could owe nothing to J. The investigations of Budde^h, however, showed good ground for believing that the contrast between the representations in Judg 1 and Josh 2-11 had been exaggerated; the admitted presence of J in the story of the covenant with the Gibeonites presupposed a narrative of the capture of Ai, and that in its turn was possible only when Jericho had fallen. J, therefore, had presumably related both these incidents, and these involved the passage of the Jordan also. Moreover, the general movement indicated in Josh 6-11 and in the survey in 14. showed that the southern part of Canaan was the first to receive the new settlers as in Judg 1, while the northern tribes only made their way among the Canaanites more slowly, after the house of Joseph had taken up its position in the centre 16¹. 17¹⁴⁻¹⁸. But, on the other hand, it became clear that the representations of the complete destruction of the Canaanite populations eg 10²⁸⁻⁴³ 11¹⁰⁻²³ were entirely inconsistent with the numerous cases recorded where the Canaanites proved too strong for the invaders, so that the tribes of Israel only secured a precarious footing in their midst cp 13¹³ 15⁶³ 16¹⁰ 17¹². Such generalized summaries of universal massacre do not, however, show the characteristic features of J. They are far more closely connected with D (cp 4 *infra*); they have a distinct theological significance; they are not founded on historical tradition, they are editorial expressions of the horror felt in later times for the temptations of Canaanite idolatries, and of the triumphant conviction that Yahweh had given Israel the land. They are not part, therefore, of J's narrative, and need not be cited in contrast with Judg 1.

(β) But when these later elements are withdrawn, and the distribution of the remaining sections which betray diversity of source has been effected, there remains the question how far the elements which can be plausibly ascribed to J really constitute a harmonious whole. It seems difficult to form any estimate of the relative antiquity of J's narratives of the spies at Jericho or the passage of the Jordan compared

^a *Hexateuch*, 157 159.

^b *Die Bücher Richter und Samuel* (1890).

^c *Hist of the Hebr* i 263.

^d *Die Quellenberichte in Josua i-xii* (1891).

^e *Joshua in Haupt's SBOT*.

^f Driver, *LOT*⁶ 104 and 'Judges' in Smith's *DB*² vol i pt ii, treats JE as the basis of Joshua, though with reserve concerning the actual elements of the constituent documents. Similarly, G A Smith, 'Judges' in Hastings' *DB*. For Steuernagel's view see below, 318^d.

^g Cp Moore, *Judges* in *ICC* 6-10. The chief reason is found in the contrast between this group of representations and that in Josh 24, the substance of which is universally ascribed to E. There the conquest is depicted as far more complete than the survey in Judg 1, and the Joshua parallels allow. These passages, therefore, which seem to have been derived from a common source, must be assigned to J. Cp Driver, in Smith's *DB*² vol i pt ii p 1816.

^h *Richter und Samuel* 1-83: cp *Das Buch der Richter* in the *Kurzer Hand-Commentar* (1897) xii-xiii.

with earlier stories such as the mission of the explorers to Canaan or the march across the sea at the Exodus^a. On the other hand, the accounts of the fall of Jericho 6, and the defeat of the two great coalitions, southern and northern, in 10-11, certainly seem to be couched in a more exalted strain than the story of the overthrow of Sihon Num 21, or the various references to the position of the different clans and tribes, whether the successes of Caleb and Othniel 15¹⁴⁻¹⁹, or the relative failures of Judah 15⁶³, Ephraim 16¹⁰, and Manasseh 17¹¹. Moreover, Jabin the king of Hazor in 11¹ can hardly be unrelated to the sovereign of the same place, bearing the same name, Judg 4^{2 17}. It may be questioned, therefore, whether the passages assigned to J are really all homogeneous, or whether they do not rather constitute a collection of stories and a picture of the settlement not by any means identical in age or origin, though bound together by certain common tendencies of thought and representation. In such a collection there must necessarily be diversities of date. On general grounds it is natural to expect that the simpler view will be the older, and the recognition of the Canaanite superiority in certain quarters will precede the later generalizations of their overthrow. The group of fragments 13¹³ 15^{14-19 63} 16¹⁰ 17¹¹⁻¹⁸ 19⁴⁷ may therefore be referred (like the corresponding passages in Judg 1) to an early survey of the position of the tribes belonging to the school of J. Such a survey may have included a more detailed account of their settlement (cp 16¹⁻³) to which the narrative of the passage of the Jordan and the advance to the hill country would form the appropriate introduction. The language of Judg 13 implies some kind of preliminary allotment of the land before the tribes attempted the task of conquest. If this existed in the primitive narratives of J, a basis would be supplied out of which subsequent representations might be developed. That the episodes of victory rest on older material is proved in one case by a citation from a poem in the lost book of Jashar^b 10¹², where it may be safely conjectured that the poetical version is a more ancient composition than the prose story^c. There seems reason, therefore, for the view that the J sections may be of various dates, but the discrimination of the earlier is a task of the gravest difficulty. A growing consensus of criticism fixes on 10^{12(r)} 13^a 13¹³ 15^{14-19 63} 16¹⁰ 17¹¹⁻¹⁸ 19⁴⁷^d, to which may perhaps be added 5^{2.9}. The story of the spies in 2 has also a simple and primitive air; in 9, however, there seems a reminiscence of Ex 15¹⁶ (unless the order of dependence be inverted, or the last clauses be assigned to the later editorial expansion). Much editorial work may be traced in J's share of 3-4, and the suddenness of the miracle announced in 3¹³ cp 4¹⁸ is not quite after the manner of J's employment of the east wind Ex 14^{21b 27b}. The sevenfold procession round Jericho in 6 has no analogy in the records of the Trans-jordanic conquest: while the narratives in 8 10 and 11 are conceived upon a larger scale, and may be assigned to a later stage of tradition compared with the records of the capture of Hebron and Debir 15¹⁴⁻¹⁹. The representation of the action of the united people seems further removed from historical reality than the view of their advance in groups of tribes presented in Judg 1: and the total impression created by this portion of J suggests a much completer reduction of Canaanite opposition than the fragments from 13¹³ onwards justify^e. How far these fragments may be connected with any definite scheme of territorial location according to J it seems impossible now to determine. If 16¹⁻³ is rightly assigned to J, a probability is established that it may have contained other geographical descriptions now

^a Imitation is probably to be seen in 5¹⁶ and perhaps in 4^a.

^b Cp *Introd* II 1ε i 19.

^c As Judges 5 may be taken to precede 4, cp Moore, *Judges* (in ICC) 110; Budde, *Richler* (in *Kurz Hdcomm*) 33.

^d Bennett, in Haupt's *SBOT*, adds 5^{2.8}.

^e This impression is heightened if (with Budde and Albers) the generalizing summaries in 10-12 may be partly referred to J. See below, 4.

perhaps absorbed into P's more detailed survey cp 18^{11a}. But it appears to be beyond the power of any critical method to discover the clues to their separation.

(2) The original scope and significance of E are hardly less difficult to determine. One feature, however, appears in strong relief. At the opening of the book 1¹, Joshua is solemnly commissioned to conduct the people across the Jordan. He is designated in terms elsewhere peculiar to E (in contrast with J) as 'Joshua the son of Nun, Moses' minister.' At the close of his career, when the conquest is substantially completed, he summons a national assembly at Shechem 24¹, exhorts the people to obedience, makes a covenant with them to serve Yahweh 15, and sets them 'a statute and an ordinance.' To Joshua, therefore, as to Moses, is assigned the double function of military leadership and religious legislation. By general consent the farewell address of Joshua is referred in its original form to E, and it is natural to accept its retrospect as a clue to the conception of the conquest and settlement which E contained. It proves in reality, however, to be somewhat barren of detail. The people are reminded of the passage of the Jordan and the fall of Jericho 11, but the steps of subsequent victory are veiled under the figure of the 'hornet' which expelled the native populations cp 12^a, and of the actual process of occupation not a word is said, any more than of the desert incidents between Egypt and the land of Moab. The narratives themselves, however, are not equally silent. The first step of 'Joshua the son of Nun' is to prepare for the great enterprise by obtaining the necessary information 2¹, and though the details of distribution in the story of the spies may be uncertain, the conclusion 23 indicates clearly that E related their mission and brought them back successful. The passage of the Jordan and the capture of Jericho followed. From Gilgal Joshua proceeds to the attack on Ai; peace is concluded with the Gibeonites; and the five kings of the Amorites are 'discomfited' before Israel 10^{10a}, their rout being completed by a great hailstorm as they fled down the pass from Beth-horon 11. With this scene the extracts from E's history of the conquest apparently terminate. The further episodes of advance and settlement seem to have been suppressed in favour of the more general editorial summaries in 10²⁸. . 11¹⁰⁻¹². Had E, however, no account of the allotment of the land, and the situations of the several tribes? A comparison of 19⁴⁹. with 24³⁰ shows that materials from E were employed by P; and if this happened in one instance which can still be traced, it may have occurred in others which can no longer be recovered cp 18^{11a}; though it may be doubted whether some fragments would not have survived, like those already rescued for J, had E included any detailed description of the settlement. The parallel of the general presentation of E with that of J shows that from the passage of the Jordan to the overthrow of the central alliance they kept step side by side. The details occasionally vary: if J dwells on the marvels of the arrest of the waters 3¹³, E can emphasize the sudden collapse of the walls of Jericho 6^{5 20b}, or the dire effect of Joshua's outstretched javelin 8^{18 26}: while each gives its own version of the divine aid against the five kings 10¹⁰⁻¹⁴. Of the time occupied by the entire settlement but little indication is afforded. From 24²⁹ it may be conjectured that Joshua was regarded as near his end when the great convocation took place at Shechem cp 23¹ and 13¹. That the advance of the invaders would be slow was predicted in Ex 23²⁸⁻³⁰. The 'hornet,' therefore, would only pursue its work of expelling the native peoples by degrees; and this does not, accordingly, seem incompatible with the general view that Israel must encounter resistance as it penetrated further and further into the land, and that such resistance must be overcome by force. It has, indeed, been supposed^a that the language of 24¹² was incompatible with the ascription to E of any narratives of military exploits after the capture of

^a Cp Kuenen, *Hex* 157, who finds an absolute incongruity between the language of 24¹¹⁻¹³ and the stories in 1-11.

Jericho. But the uncertainty of the original text renders this inference highly precarious, and there seems no adequate objection, therefore, to the recognition of E as the involuntary partner of J in the compound narrative in 2-10. Whether the elements of E are all of one piece, or whether like J it may be regarded as woven from strands of various date, it is more difficult to conjecture. Bennett^a assigns to E¹ 6⁵ 7^a 20 (mainly, 'and it came to pass . . . straight before him') 19¹⁰. Reasons are given in the Analysis for ascribing the latter passage to P; in the story of the fall of Jericho it may be conceded that the most ancient element was the shout, but it does not seem possible to isolate the passages referring to it as an older literary product. The Analysis, therefore, does not venture to make any partition of age.

(3) If the presence of J and E be admitted in Josh 1-10, it is natural to infer that their union took place under the same conditions as those which produced JE in Gen Ex and Num. The Joshua sections of these documents were in fact integral parts of them, as the position of Joshua in E shows with especial clearness; the work of Moses being definitely assigned to him as its continuator, and the retrospect in 24 binding the entire story from Abraham's migration to the Shechem assembly into one whole. It may be assumed, therefore, that the general method of R^j in dealing with the earlier narratives will be traceable also in the latter. The larger portion of the material appears to be derived from J, though the chronological framework 1¹ 24²⁹ is supplied by E. The actual extracts have been woven together with extraordinary closeness, as in some parts of the Joseph series; but the hand of the compiler is occasionally to be traced in verses designed to harmonize conflicting situations, or combine discordant data 2¹⁷ 8¹³. In 14⁶⁻¹⁵ the story of Joshua's gift of Hebron to Caleb is related on the basis of the combined narrative of JE in Num 13-14 (cp 14⁶ⁿ), and seems due, therefore, in its original form to a writer who might be provisionally identified with R^j. But it has been recast (if it really existed at an earlier date) under Deuteronomic influence, and its present shape is due to R^d (cp below, 4)^b. There remains a passage 18²⁻¹⁰ which does not seem to belong to either document, nor to show the characteristic marks of origin in the schools of D or P cp 18²ⁿ. It is founded on a theory of the completed conquest, and appears designed to introduce a survey of the settlement. That J at least once contained such a survey is highly probable; though the surviving fragments show that in its oldest form it was not conceived on the basis of universal subjugation assumed in 18²⁻¹⁰. But as the documents passed from hand to hand, receiving fresh additions, it may be conjectured that a later editor desired to gather into one view the various data and fuse them in one general representation. To such a description of the tribal inheritances, which may now lie at the basis of P's delineation 18¹¹⁻¹⁹, R^j may have prefixed as a suitable introduction the story of the travels of the twenty-one deputies, their description of the land in seven portions, and the distribution of the inheritances by lot before Yahweh in Shiloh.

^a Joshua in Haupt's SBOT.

^b It does not, however, follow that all the passages ascribed to the school of J belonged to the book of JE. Thus a second narrative of the gift of Hebron to Caleb is found in 15¹⁴⁻¹⁹, introduced by 13 which bears strong marks of R^p. The recurrence of this passage in Judg 1¹⁰⁻¹⁵ connects it with the group already specified in 31⁸ 13¹³ 15⁶³ 16¹⁰ 17¹¹⁻¹⁸ 19⁴⁷, most of which are now embedded in portions of P, where they have the air of editorial insertions qualifying larger claims. In 13¹³, however, this qualification affects a section of D. The generalizations of the Deuteronomic editor, however, are so absolute (see 4 below) as to render his admission of such a correction highly surprising: and it would seem probable that the Deuteronomic edition of Joshua dropped the passages in which J surveyed the progress of the settlement with frank recognition of Israel's limitations, and that these were only inserted in a much later revision, when an effort was made to incorporate all the records of the past. Similarly, Judg 1-2¹ was not included in the Deuteronomic Judges-book, cp Cornill, *Einl.* 94, Moore, *Judges* (in ICC) xxxiii, Budde, *Richter* (in *Kurz Hdcomm*) x. This argument may be pushed further back, and applied similarly to JE, the editor of which (if 18²⁻¹⁰ be rightly assigned to him) held a similar view. In any case the J source of Judges 1 and its parallels in Joshua still remained distinct, and could be used separately.

4. Far more important was the revision to which JE was submitted in the Deuteronomic school. The indications of this process are numerous, but even the most careful scrutiny still leaves many points in doubt, and the significance of different details is variously estimated by students who approach the problems along independent lines^a.

(1) The general phenomena are so obvious as to strike even the most casual reader. Reference has already been made to the fulfilment in 8³⁰⁻³⁵ of the instructions in Deut 27¹⁻²⁸. In a similar manner the language of 1 is founded on the incidents and exhortations of D. After the death of Moses, Joshua is divinely confirmed in the leadership to which he has already been solemnly dedicated. As the successor of Moses he receives fresh assurance that the promises made to the great Liberator of his people will be accomplished on the due observance of the law imparted through him³⁻⁹. The following parallels will suffice to show the connexion:—

Josh 1

³ Every place whereon the sole of your foot shall tread, to you have I given it. . . . ⁴ From the wilderness, and this Lebanon, even unto the great river, the river Euphrates, . . . and unto the great sea toward the going down of the sun, shall be your border.

⁵ There shall not any man be able to stand before thee.

⁶ All the days of thy life.

⁷ As I was with Moses, so I will be with thee : I will not fail thee, nor forsake thee.

^{8, 9} Be strong and of a good courage.

⁶ Thou shalt cause this people to inherit the land which I have sworn unto their fathers to give them.

Deut

11²⁴ Every place whereon the sole of your foot shall tread shall be yours : from the wilderness, and Lebanon, from the river, the river Euphrates, even unto the hinder sea shall be your border.

7²¹ There shall no man be able to stand before thee.

4⁹ 6² 16³ 17¹⁰ All the days of (thy) life.

31⁸ He will be with thee, he will not fail thee, nor forsake thee.

7²³ Be strong and of a good courage.

7 Thou shalt go with this people into the land which Yahweh hath sworn unto their fathers to give them ; and thou shalt cause them to inherit it.

The address to the Reubenites, Gadites, and the half tribe of Manasseh 1¹²⁻¹⁸, is based on the recital in Deut 3^{12, 18-20} : while the discourse of Joshua in 23 is a Deuteronomic counterpart to the farewell address in 24, with especial reference to the Mosaic warnings in the concluding exhortations in Deut 28 and 29. In other cases, however, the Deuteronomic additions do not thus stand alone ; they are woven into the context of the narrative as in the explanations of the circumcision at Gilgal 5⁴⁻⁸, and the erection of the stones commemorating the passage of the Jordan 4²¹⁻²⁴. And yet again two remarkable summaries of Joshua's victories seem best explicable as Deuteronomic additions 10²⁸⁻⁴³ and 11¹⁰⁻¹². The first of these is couched in a series of paragraphs repeated with rhythmical regularity. Joshua is accompanied by 'all Israel' 2^a ; city after city is delivered by Yahweh into their hands 5² ; the inhabitants are smitten with the edge of the sword Deut 13¹⁶ 20¹³, and none are left remaining Deut 2³⁴ 3³ Num 21³⁵ ; Yahweh is emphatically said to have fought for Israel 4² 4⁵ ; and the 'devotion' of 'all that breathed' 4⁰ is expressly based on the injunction of the law cp Deut 20¹⁶ 'thou shalt save alive nothing that breatheth, but thou shalt devote them.' Whatever materials may lie behind these sweeping surveys, such as the list of kings in 12⁹⁻²⁴, there can be no doubt that the present form of these sections is due to an editor of the Deuteronomic school, anxious to show that Joshua fulfilled the divine commands as the faithful successor of Moses cp 10⁴⁰ 11¹⁵ 23^b. Parallel phenomena though in another field may be observed in the general summaries of Israelite idolatries presented in the book of Judges eg 2¹¹⁻²³ 10⁶⁻¹⁶, which bear a strongly

^a The more recent criticism of D in Joshua starts from Hollenberg's essay 'Die Deuteronomischen Bestandtheile des Buches Josua,' *Studien und Kritiken* (1874) 462-506.

^b Albers has endeavoured to rescue an earlier summary for J² ; but the evidence does not seem conclusive.

marked Deuteronomic character; or, again, in the prayer composed for Solomon at the dedication of the Temple 1 Kings 8²³⁻⁵³^a.

(2) But a closer examination of Josh 1-12 reveals the interesting fact that the labours of the Deuteronomists were not confined to the addition of longer sections of narrative or address, or even of shorter explanations. The stories of JE bear upon them numerous touches due to the same hands. Traces of the influence of this great school have already been discovered in legislative passages such as Ex 13³.. 23²⁰.. and 34¹⁰.., while the origin of Num 21³³⁻³⁵ is to be sought in the same direction. In Joshua 2-11, however, the indications of editorial handling by D are more constant and pervading. The general method of treatment may perhaps best be introduced by a comparison of the two versions of the conquest of Sihon here placed side by side:—

Num 21

²¹ And Israel sent messengers unto Sihon king of the Amorites, saying, ²² Let me pass through thy land: we will not turn aside into field, or into vineyard; we will not drink of the water of the wells: we will go by the king's [high] way, until we have passed thy border.

²³ And Sihon would not suffer Israel to pass through his border:

but Sihon gathered all his people together, and went out against Israel into the wilderness, and came to Jahaz: and he fought against Israel. ²⁴ And Israel smote him with the edge of the sword, and possessed his land from Arnon unto Jabbok, even unto the children of Ammon: for the border of the children of Ammon was strong. ²⁵ And Israel took all these cities: and Israel dwelt in all the cities of the Amorites.

Deut 2

²⁶ And I sent messengers out of the wilderness of Kedemoth unto Sihon king of Heshbon with words of peace, saying, ²⁷ Let me pass through thy land: I will go along by the high way, I will neither turn unto the right hand nor to the left. ²⁸ Thou shalt sell me food for money, that I may eat; and give me water for money, that I may drink: only let me pass through on my feet; ²⁹ as the children of Esau which dwell in Seir, and the Moabites which dwell in Ar, did unto me; until I shall pass over Jordan into the land which Yahweh our God giveth us. ³⁰ But Sihon king of Heshbon would not let us pass by him: for Yahweh thy God hardened his spirit, and made his heart obstinate, that he might deliver him into thy hand, as at this day. ³¹ And Yahweh said unto me, Behold, I have begun to deliver up Sihon and his land before thee: begin to possess, that thou mayest inherit his land. ³² Then Sihon came out against us, he and all his people, unto battle at Jahaz. ³³ And Yahweh our God delivered him up before us; and we smote him, and his sons, and all his people. ³⁴ And we took all his cities at that time, and devoted every inhabited city, with the women and the little ones; we left none remaining: ³⁵ only the cattle we took for a prey unto ourselves, with the spoil of the cities which we had taken.

The specifically Deuteronomic additions here can be easily traced. Thus ^{29a} depends on ⁴ and ⁹: ^{29b} cp ⁶⁹. In ³⁰ 'would' ¹¹⁷, 'Yahweh thy God' ¹, 'deliver him into thy hand' ⁵², 'as at this day' ^{33a}, come from a common phraseological mint. Similarly ³¹ 'behold' ⁹⁹, 'begin to possess' ²⁴; ³², 'he and all his people' ⁵⁶; ³³ 'delivered him up' ^{100a}; ³⁴ 'at that time' ¹¹⁰, 'devoted' ³⁵, 'the women and the little ones' ¹¹⁸, 'left none remaining' ³ (Num 21³⁵) cp Deut 20¹⁶. Josh 10^{28 30 33 37 39}; ³⁵ 'only' ⁸⁴, 'a prey' ⁸⁹, the spoil' ¹⁰³. The Deuteronomic reciter has thus reproduced the older story with his own variations and expansions. The marked character of their language usually enables these to be identified with ease. Such expansions frequently recur in the narratives of the conquest, as one or two instances will suffice to show:—

Josh

³⁷ This day will I begin to magnify thee in the sight of all Israel, that they may know that, as I was with Moses, so I will be with thee.

⁴¹⁴ On that day Yahweh magnified Joshua in the sight of all Israel; and they feared him, as they feared Moses, all the days of his life.

D

Deut 2²⁶ This day will I begin . . .
'all Israel' ^{2a}: 'that' ⁵ Deut 4^{10 40 63 32¹⁶}:
'as' &c. Josh 1⁵.

'all the days of (his) life' Deut 4^{9 62 163 17¹⁹}
Josh 1⁵.

^a On the Deuteronomic revision of Judges cp Driver, *LOT*⁶ 164-7, and Moore, *Judges* in *ICC* and Haupt's *SBOT*: on Solomon's prayer, Driver, *LOT*⁶ 191.

Josh

4^{2b} When (§ Deut 11²⁷) your sons shall ask their fathers in time to come, saying, What mean these stones? ²² then ye shall make your sons know, saying, Israel came over this Jordan on dry land. ²³ For Yahweh your God dried up the waters of Jordan from before you, until ye were passed over, as Yahweh your God did to the Red Sea, which he dried up from before us, until we were passed over: ²⁴ that all the peoples of the earth may know the hand of Yahweh, that it is mighty; that they may fear Yahweh your God all the days.

D

Deut 6³⁰ When thy son shall ask thee in time to come, saying, What mean . . .

4⁹ 'make your sons know them,' 8³ 'make thee know.'

'Yahweh your God' ²¹.

'did to' ^{21a}.

'all the peoples of the earth' 1 Kings 8²⁰.

'mighty hand' ^{280b}.

'fear' ^{244a}: 'all the days' ^{213a}.

But this passage carries with it 5¹. ('dried up the waters of Jordan until we were passed over'), and similarly 2¹⁰.:—

Josh

2¹⁰ For we have heard how Yahweh dried up the water of the Red Sea before you, when ye came out of Egypt; and what ye did unto the two kings of the Amorites, that were beyond Jordan, unto Sihon and to Og, whom ye devoted. ¹¹ And as soon as we had heard it, our hearts did melt, neither did there remain any more spirit in any man, because of you: for Yahweh your God, he is God in heaven above, and upon the earth beneath.

D

'dried up' Josh 4²³ 5¹.

'when ye came out of Egypt' Deut 23⁴ 24⁸ 25¹⁷.

'two kings of the Amorites' ^{28a}, 'beyond Jordan' ²³⁵.

'devoted' ²³⁵.

'melt' 5¹ 7⁵, 'made our heart to melt' Deut 1²⁴.

'spirit' 5¹.

'Yahweh your God' ²¹.

'he is God in heaven above and upon the earth beneath' Deut 4³⁹.

But the Deuteronomic revision enters still more closely into some portions of the narrative, as may be seen in 3^{4b} 10^b 17^b 41^a 12; and this renders it almost certain that the designations 'ark of the covenant' and 'the Levitical priests' have been introduced in the same process cp 3^{3a}. It is hardly necessary to cite further instances; but the following parallels deserve consideration:—

Josh

6² And Yahweh said unto Joshua,

See, I have given into thine hand Jericho, and the king thereof, the mighty men of valour.

Josh

8¹ And Yahweh said unto Joshua, Fear not, neither be thou dismayed: take all the people of war with thee, and arise, go up to Ai: see, I have given into thy hand the king of Ai, and his people, and his city, and his land: ² and thou shalt do to Ai and her king &c.

D

'fear' &c. 10²³ Deut 1²¹ 31⁶.

'see, I have given' Deut 2²⁴ cp

²⁹⁹ 52 cp Deut 3^{2a}.

'mighty men' Josh 1¹⁴ 8³ 10⁷.

'thou shalt do' Deut 3^{2b}.

Here also it is probable that the hand of B^d has been at work; and so numerous are the traces of his handling in 1-12 that some critics (with Kuenen at their head) have regarded the narratives of the conquest as so completely welded together by him that no distribution of the antecedent sources was practicable. More recent investigations have not confirmed this judgement; but whatever view be formed of the possibilities of success in this direction, one fact remains clearly established—the story of the western conquest has undergone a kind of redaction to which the records of the previous traditions were not submitted. For this there must plainly be a cause. That the Deuteronomic school could work in its own way on the older material has been already shown in the comparison of the two accounts of the overthrow of Sihon. But the actual Trans-jordanic story of JE remained untouched (save for the incorporation of the episode of Og Num 22³³⁻³⁵). This difference of treatment seems explicable only on the assumption that when the Deuteronomic editors took the traditions of the conquest in hand, the narrative of the Mosaic age was regarded as practically closed. The death of Moses made an obvious pause, and formed the fitting conclusion to the combination JED. When once the incorporation of the Deuteronomic law-book with its hortatory settings into the historic framework of JE had been effected, the remaining records were severed more markedly from the Mosaic age. The continuity

of the story was broken by the interposition of the great book of law to which the whole previous narrative only served as introduction; and the elevation of the code into regulative or canonical authority, while it secured what went before from further revision, left what came after to the pious activity of editors who sought to show how the commands of Yahweh had been fulfilled. Joshua, therefore, could be handled more freely, and the traces of subsequent handling are consequently more numerous and varied.

(3) The general indications already cited make it probable that the Deuteronomic elements in Joshua are not to be regarded as extracts from a completer work on the conquest, but are supplemental to the earlier product of JE^a. It is more difficult to decide on the grounds of Joshua alone whether R^d worked on JE in union or on J and E separately. The analogy of the previous books (cp *Introd* XVI 17 i 173) suggests that the fusion had already taken place; and this conclusion may receive some slight confirmation from the phenomena of 2, where two narratives are undoubtedly blended, and where also a Deuteronomic addition can be easily detected¹⁰. But there is no sign of R^d in the passage which seems due to the harmonist of the separate sources¹⁷: while R^d can be eliminated from the account of the march through the Jordan in 3-4 and leave JE nearly intact. Other questions, however, suggest themselves which deserve a passing word.

(a) In the first place, what are the connexions of R^d in Joshua with the different elements of Deuteronomy itself? Is it possible to discriminate more than one deposit of revision, and, if so, can they be attached to the separate groups of homilists whose work has been already distinguished, cp Deut 34^{12*}? These questions raise difficult problems, to which answers can only be given with reserve. That the additions made by R^d were not all incorporated at one time is rendered probable by the general facts of the editorial treatment of the preceding books. And this probability is obviously increased by the circumstance that the symbol R^d covers incongruities which can hardly be due to the same writer. Thus after the kings of Hebron and Debir have been devoted together with the entire populations belonging to them 10³⁶⁻³⁹ b, so that none remain, Joshua subsequently proceeds to cut off the Anakim of the same places 11²¹. These representations are hardly coherent; the second seems to be generalized from the ancient narrative in 14¹⁴., but it cannot be accommodated in the same view as the first. Similarly it may be doubted if the following two summaries are from the same hand:—

10⁴⁰ So Joshua smote all the land, the hill country, and the South, and the lowland, and the slopes, and all their kings; he left none remaining: but he devoted all that breathed, as Yahweh, the God of Israel, commanded. ⁴¹ And Joshua smote them from Kadesh-barnea even unto Gaza, and all the country of Goshen, even unto Gibeon. And all these kings and their land did Joshua take at one time, because Yahweh, the God of Israel, fought for Israel.

11¹⁶ So Joshua took all that land, the hill country, and all the South, and all the land of Goshen, and the lowland, and the Arabah, and the hill country of Israel, and the lowland of the same; ¹⁷ from mount Halak, that goeth up to Seir, even unto Baal-gad in the valley of Lebanon under mount Hermon: and all their kings he took, and smote them, and put them to death. . . .
¹⁸ For it was of Yahweh to harden their hearts, to come against Israel in battle, that he might devote them, that they might have no favour, but that he might destroy them.

The secret of Joshua's victories is found in the one case in the simple explanation that Yahweh fought for Israel: in the second, it is carried a stage further back, as

^a Dillmann, however, conjectured that such an independent work by D had existed, though only small portions of it had been preserved by R cp *NDJ* 600. The view expressed below concerning the different materials here assigned to R^d seems sufficiently to account for the facts. Steuernagel, in assigning the main contents of the narratives to D², gives much greater extension to Dillmann's surmise.

^b This representation would itself seem to be later than the touches of R^d in 10³⁶⁻³⁹, cp 11²¹.

the resistance of the native kings is contrasted with the peaceful submission of the Gibeonites, and is set down to the same providential process which had already brought the divine dooms on Pharaoh and his people. In other instances, also, it is probable that Deuteronomic additions have themselves been subsequently expanded, cp 17. On the other hand there do not seem any clear reasons for attributing 37 414 (with Albers) to R^{d1} and 421-24 to R^{d2}. The Analysis does not, therefore, save in rare cases, attempt to distinguish typographically between different elements of R^d: it must be enough to recognize the general evidence that the Deuteronomic revision was a process to which more than one writer of the school contributed^a. There are even signs that additions continued to be made in the Deuteronomic spirit till a very late date, as the peculiar phenomena of 20 indicate. This may, indeed, be an exceptional case of harmonizing; but in other instances there seem to be marks of late character in additions bearing the general stamp of R^d (see below, δ).

(β) That the Deuteronomic editors based themselves on D as we now possess it (apart from the song of Moses 32 and the few passages due to P) cannot, indeed, be affirmed with certainty, but it appears highly probable. The reference to Joshua in 13-9 implies Deut 1124 and 317; while the address to the tribes who wished to settle on the east of Jordan 112-18 is founded on Deut 312.18-20. The description of Sihon and Og as the 'two kings of the Amorites' 210 910 belongs to the later strata of D cp Deut 38^a; the designation of Yahweh as 'God in heaven above and on earth beneath' 211b seems to rest on Deut 439; and the homilist of Josh 2315 shows points of contact with the discourses in both Deut 28 and 29. The historic and hortatory settings of the Deuteronomic code seem thus within the view of R^d; and it may be surmised that the work which was begun on the basis of JE in Deut 1-3 31 34 was continued by the same group though on a different method through the traditions of the conquest and settlement.

(γ) The phraseological indications of this process are necessarily slight. But they are not wholly wanting. The designation of Sihon and Og as 'the two kings of the Amorites' has just been cited. New phrases creep into the survey of their dominions: each is described as 'ruling' 1225, a term not employed in Deut 2 (in D only in 156); or as 'reigning' 1310 12, another verb also absent from the earlier accounts^b. Fresh geographical data also appear, such as the reference to the sea of Chinnereth and to Beth-jeshimoth 123; while the word 'possession' 126 carries on the usage of Deut 25 9 12 19 320 Josh 115. Other peculiarities are probably to be found in the phrases 'meditate' in the law 18 cp Ps 12; 'mighty men of valour' 114 62 83 107 (2 Kings 1520 2414 Chron [20] Neh 1114) et Deut 318 'all the men of valour'; 'dried up' 210 423 51^a; 'all the people of war' (?) 81 3 (11) 107 117^a, et 'men of war' 54 6 63 1024 Deut 214 16; רחמה 'favour' 112^a 1 Kings 828. 93 Jer 367 3720 3826 422 9 Pss Chron; 'according to their divisions' 1123 127 1810^a; 'wealth' 228 2 Chron 111. Ezr 68 726 Eccles 519 62^a; and the Hebrew forms אִרְחָם 1026, אִרְחָם 1412, הִרְחָם 148^c.

(δ) There remains an interesting class of cases in which the language of R^d shows curious approximations to that of P. The phrase 'according to their divisions' just cited seems kindred with P's legal terminology cp 18; in 136 234 'allot it (§ cause it to fall) unto Israel for an inheritance' finds its sole parallel in Ezek 451 4722; while the terms 'priesthood' and 'beyond Jordan' § 187 occur elsewhere in *Hex* only in P, and the 'thorns' of 2313 belong to the hortatory vocabulary of which another specimen

^a This seems probable, for instance, in the case of the list of kings in 12, appended at the close of the summary of the conquest 1123. Its source is unknown, but it does not appear needful to call into conjectural existence a larger independent Deuteronomic work, the rest of which has perished.

^b This difference supplies another faint indication of diversity of authorship between R^d sections cp ante a. The duplicates in 122-6 and 136-14 are hardly from the same hand.

^c Cp Dillmann, *NDJ* 442; König, *Eint* 249.

occurs in Num 33⁵⁵. It is no doubt to be expected on general grounds that the characteristic terminology of one great school should find antecedents in its predecessor. The style of R⁶ already approaches that of D; why should not the style of R^d in like manner prepare the way for P? The Deuteronomic editors of the national histories during the exile were contemporary with the priestly schools of Ezekiel and his successors, and some interchange of phraseology would be only natural. Such interchange may be detected in 5⁴ 8³⁶ 10²⁷. 11²⁰ 22⁴. To what is it due? Are these the spontaneous outshoots of R^d towards kindred workers in the same great field, or do they suggest that R^p has been upon his track with his own additions and modifications? The phenomena of 10²⁸, compared with 40 and 41 10²⁸ seem to prove clearly that an editor of the school of P has introduced the word 'souls' at a quite late stage of the history of the text. If such revision has happened in one case, it may have operated elsewhere also. Thus the phraseology of 6¹⁹ 24^b points to R^p. But 19 is evidently a supplement to R^d in 18; and a clue is thus gained to the priority of the Deuteronomic revision before the Priestly annotator took the work in hand. Is this view sustained by other phenomena in Joshua? In other words, what is the relation of the P sections to the rest of the book?

5. The inquiry just suggested is full of difficulty, and the seemingly conflicting facts have been differently interpreted in different critical schools.

(1) The obvious indications of the presence of elements continuing the arrangements of Num 34¹⁷-35³⁴ have been already mentioned (*ante* 2). They prove at once that P is not unrepresented in the narrative of the settlement. But it is less clear at first sight whether P contained any story of the conquest, and, if so, what has become of it. That he related the entry into Canaan is admitted by general consent 4¹⁹, and the passage at once creates a presumption that his narrative also described the crossing of the Jordan. Traces of such a narrative may be seen in 3^{4a} 8 16. 4^{7b} 8a 13 15-17. The record of the passover and the note on the food-supply 5¹⁰⁻¹² are plainly derived from the same source. But the account of the events which follow seems to owe little to his hand. Jericho falls and he is apparently silent. He breaks in at the beginning of the story of Achan's trespass 7¹; a clear glimpse of the 'congregation' and its 'princes' is afforded in the dealings with the Gibeonites 9^{15a} 17-21; the delineation of the tribal settlements is chiefly due to him (the Trans-jordanic tribes 13¹⁵-14⁵, Judah 15¹⁻¹² 20-62, Ephraim 16⁴⁻⁹, Manasseh 17¹⁻¹⁰, the remaining tribes 18¹ 11-19¹⁶ 48, cities of refuge 20, cities for the Levites 21¹⁻⁴²); and the last echoes of his language are heard in the story of the altar by Jordan 22⁹⁻³⁴. It is at once plain from the irregularity of these fragments that P has not been adopted as the groundwork of the compilation of Joshua in the same way in which it was laid at the base of the preceding books. The chronological articulation from Gen 1 to Deut 34⁷ is here entirely lacking^a. Of the victories of Israel, of the overthrow of the Canaanite confederations, no word has been preserved. It can hardly be doubted that some allusions to these events were contained in P. One incident is especially significant; the oath to the Gibeonites cannot have been a mere detached episode; it must have been derived from a connected scheme^b. The gift of the land is formally promised in Ex 6⁴ 8; the war of subjugation is anticipated Num 32²⁰⁻²², and the warriors of the Trans-jordanic tribes cross with their brethren ready for battle Josh 4¹³. The way is thus prepared for a narrative of

^a So far as this exists in Joshua it is supplied by JED. The book opens with a renewal of the commission to Joshua and closes with his death, but in 1 and 24 P has no share. Even the passages of the survey extracted from P are placed in a Deuteronomic framework cp 11²³ 13¹⁻¹⁴ 18-10 21⁴³⁻⁴⁵. In the final compilation, therefore, P is inserted into JED, whereas in the Pentateuch JED is fitted into P.

^b In the case of Achan the phenomena of 7¹ 16. 24. seem sufficiently explained by the conjecture of a late priestly revision, rather than of the incorporation of passages from an independent narrative. But the P verses in 9 have not this supplemental air; they imply a story of their own.

the conquest which may have taken the main stages of advance for granted after the manner of P's reference to the 'overthrow' of Sodom and Gomorrah Gen 19²⁹, while it enlarged on incidents calculated to shed some light on Israel's dealings with the conquered peoples and the sanctuary-claims on person and property. But such a narrative was not so well adapted for the foundation of the combined account of the conquest as that of the product symbolized by JER^d. It stands, therefore, in the background in the first half of the book, and only becomes prominent in the second. On this and other grounds it has already been argued (*Introd* i 178) that the combination of P with JED was not effected in Joshua by the same hand or on the same method as in the Pentateuch.

(2) What, then, is the relation of the P sections in Joshua to the great document of which it is the sequel? That document has been shown to be by no means homogeneous (*Introd* XIII 7-10). To which among its various strata does the continuation in Joshua appear to belong? The promise of Ex 6⁴⁻⁸ suggests that the general plan of P^s originally included the entry into Canaan and the distribution of the land. In this it followed the general method of JE. But it is doubtful how far the existing sections are to be ascribed to this source, for they show many traces phraseologically of secondary character. Thus in 4¹⁹ the common designation 'the children of Israel' is replaced by 'the people,' of rare occurrence in P, Ex 16²⁷⁻³⁰ Num 16⁴⁷ 31³ 33¹⁴, four out of the five passages being already independently marked as late. The description of the passover 5¹⁰ employs D's term for 'even' instead of P's. Achan's pedigree 7¹ depends on Num 26²⁰, and the usual phrase in P to describe the divine anger 17⁸ gives way to the familiar language of JE which only appears in P elsewhere in the curious amalgam Num 32¹⁰⁻¹³. On the other hand the account of the allotment of the land opens with the erection of the 'tent of meeting' at Shiloh 18¹ (on the original place of the verse see 14¹⁰), where P might have been expected to mention the Dwelling. It has been previously urged Ex 25¹⁸ that many parts of P's legislation seem based on this conception of the sanctuary, and represent an older stage of codification afterwards adapted to the newer form. In the same way it is quite possible that the narrative of the distribution may rest on an older survey, and this may be the explanation of some of the peculiarities discussed in 18¹¹. In any case it is worth observing that the account takes no notice of the men whom Moses expressly selected for this function Num 34¹⁸⁻²⁸. Where are the ten princes whom he associated with Eleazar and Joshua? They are hardly to be identified with the 'heads of the fathers' 19⁵¹; and it may be conjectured therefore that the description of the settlement is earlier than the provision in Num 34¹⁶⁻²⁹. The assignment of the cities of refuge and the Levitical cities 20 (following the full close 19⁵¹) is, however, plainly dependent on Num 35, and the P sections in Joshua, therefore, must be grouped in their present form under the general heading of P^s.

(3) The relation of P to JE in Joshua is sufficiently implied in the foregoing exposition. The details which P contributes, for instance, to the Achan story in 7, or a comparison of the items of the survey from 13⁵ onwards, can leave no doubt of the priority of JE. But there are other phenomena of a more perplexing kind, involved in the comparison of P with D.

(4) The general reasons founded on institutional development which place the Deuteronomic code before the Levitical legislation in order of time remain unaffected by the narratives of Joshua. But the literary affinities of P and D in Joshua are somewhat intricate and have led different critics to opposite inferences. The materials for investigation are scanty, as they are mostly confined to the traces of editorial revision. There is, however, one clear case of duplication where a comparison may prove suggestive, if not decisive, viz the account of the territories assigned to the tribes

east of the Jordan 13⁸⁻¹⁴ and 15-33. Here, on the face of it, P seems expanded from D (the common elements are printed in italics):—

Josh 13⁸⁻¹⁰ D

⁸ With him the Reubenites and the Gadites received their inheritance, which Moses gave them, beyond Jordan eastward, even as Moses the servant of Yahweh gave them; ⁹ *from Aroer, that is on the edge of the valley of Arnon, and the city that is in the middle of the valley, and all the plain of Medeba unto Dibon; ¹⁰ and all the cities of Sihon king of the Amorites, which reigned in Heshbon, unto the border of the children of Ammon.*

Josh 13¹⁵⁻²¹ P

¹⁵ And Moses gave unto the tribe of the children of Reuben according to their families. ¹⁶ And their border was *from Aroer, that is on the edge of the valley of Arnon, and the city that is in the middle of the valley, and all the plain by Medeba; ¹⁷ Heshbon, and all her cities that are in the plain; Dibon, and Bamoth-baal, and Beth-baal-meon; ¹⁸ and Jahaz, and Kedemoth, and Mephaath; ¹⁹ and Kiriathaim, and Sibmah, and Zereth-Shahar in the mount of the valley; ²⁰ and Beth-peor, and the slopes of Pisgah, and Beth-jeshimoth; ²¹ and all the cities of the plain, and all the kingdom of Sihon king of the Amorites, which reigned in Heshbon.*

That there is a literary relation between these passages can hardly be doubted. Did D abstract from P, or P expand D, or did both found themselves independently upon a common source? The latter alternative is excluded by the fact that both passages subsequently introduce Og king of Bashan, and the analysis of Deut 3 shows that Og appears there for the first time: D and P, therefore, could have no common antecedent. But the same argument proves that P in ³⁰ must be ultimately based on Deut 3; and the dependence of P on D seems thus established^a. It is confirmed by the fact that while D expressly asserts ¹⁰ that the conquered territory did not include Ammon cp Deut 2³⁷, P claims half for Gad ²⁵, an extension of which D is evidently unaware. The relation of P to D here, therefore, is similar to that of P to JE concerning the territory of Joseph 16¹⁻³ and 4^{..}.

(β) Further evidence in the same direction may be gathered from the traces of revision by R^p in the sections ascribed to R^d. Instances of this have been already offered (*ante* 4 3^d p 315). The word 'souls' 10²⁸ seems only explicable as an intrusion into D's formula 'all that breathed': a harmonizing editor has added the reference to Joshua in 14⁶ on the basis of the combined narrative JEP in Num 14. These cases increase the probability that the P phrases in 5⁴ 8³³ 10²⁷. 11²⁰ 18⁷ are really due to R^p; in 22¹⁴ the close contiguity of the very late P story 9-34 may have slightly affected the text, and produced unconscious modifications in the copyist's handiwork, cp the conflate expression 'kept the charge of the commandment'³.

(γ) On the other hand Dillmann has urged^b that P bears the marks of a Deuteronomie revision. In Deut 32⁴⁹ the words 'in the land of Moab' are ascribed to D, cp 1⁵ and ct 34¹. Josh 5⁴⁻⁷ is an attempt to harmonize JE and P; in 5¹⁰ D betrays himself by 'evening,' as by 'stoned them with stones' 7²⁶. The formula 'Yahweh God of Israel' 7^{13*} is triumphantly claimed for R^d in the midst of P's phrases 9¹⁸; in the description of the Trans-jordanic settlements 13¹⁵⁻³³ 'it is as clear as possible' that P has been revised by R^d, the references to the kingdom of Sihon having been inserted by him ²¹ and ²⁷, while D's *shēbhet* has taken the place of P's *matteḥ* in ^{29*}. The curious combination in 20³⁻⁶ of items from the Deuteronomie law of the cities of refuge with the arrangements of the Priestly Code would be convincing, but for the circumstance that © clearly proves that the Deuteronomie elements are a very late insertion in the text. Finally in 22⁹⁻³⁴ the recurring phrase 'the half tribe of Manasseh' invariably employs the Deuteronomie term. This slender array of instances is hardly sufficient to counter-vail the numerous lines of argument founded on the development of institutions, the testimony of history, the affinities of religious expression, which converge on the conclusion that Deuteronomy preceded the Priestly Code. The explanatory suggestions

^a Cp the use of the term 'slopes' ²⁰, Deut 3¹⁷ 4¹⁹ Josh 10⁴⁰ 12³ ⁸, only here in P.

^b NDJ 676.

offered in the notes need not be repeated here. The harmonistic touch of a scribe who adds the words 'in the land of Moab' Deut 32⁴⁰ cannot prove more than a desire to bring the language of different passages into accord: in the secondary passages of P there is an occasional option in the choice of names for 'tribe'^a, just as 1 Chron 5^{18 23 26} speaks of the 'half *shébbet* of Manasseh,' while 1 Chron 6^{61 70} mentions the 'half *matfeh*.' It may be conceded, then, that tendencies to variation display themselves unexpectedly in both directions; the characteristic language of D is sometimes replaced by that of P, and *vice versa*. These contradictory phenomena seem in a sense to cancel each other. At any rate it may be affirmed that neither group is strong enough to bear the strain of supporting a general conclusion concerning the documents of the Hexateuch at large. The main facts of their contents and relations remain wholly unaffected. It is of importance to notice, however, that the observation formerly made concerning the relations to R^d and JE § 42 is equally true of the fuller product JER^d and R^e. The Deuteronomic editors left the records of the Trans-jordanic conquest under Moses practically untouched^b: but they worked freely on the stories of the victories of Joshua. This fact was cited in confirmation of the view that the Joshua narratives had been separated from their context in Numbers by the incorporation of the Book of Deuteronomy, long before the compilation of the Priestly Code. In this condition of detachment from the preceding group they were no longer guarded with the care which protected the Law, and they were the more readily exposed to editorial manipulation. It was easy, therefore, for the scribes who undertook to combine P's version of the Conquest and Settlement with the Deuteronomic Joshua to adopt a different method of redaction compared with the final composition of the Pentateuch. They not only threw much of P's materials away instead of presenting them almost intact and using them as the chronological basis of the whole, but they—or their successors—scattered traces of their work in occasional phrases throughout the most characteristic Deuteronomic sections, just as the Deuteronomic editors had impressed themselves still more forcibly on JE. No such activity can be discerned within the limits of Deuteronomy itself. And this contrast reinforces the belief already expressed (*Introd* i 178) that P's Joshua was not amalgamated with its predecessor JED by the hand which arranged the Pentateuch^c. What interval separated the two processes it is impossible to conjecture. But the evidence of the Septuagint at least makes it certain that the book continued to receive additions till after the middle of the third century BC^d.

^a Cp Num 32^{31 36}.

^b Only adding the conquest of Og Num 21³³⁻³⁵.

^c With this conclusion Prof G A Smith (in Hastings' *DB*) is in entire agreement. Further indications are found in the facts that some peculiarities of orthography noted in the Pentateuch do not reappear in Joshua. The feminine pronoun היא replaces the epicene זה; והוא is written in place of הוא; for יהוה Joshua shows יהוה. These point to different redactional activity.

^d The publication of Steuernagel's *Das Buch Josua* (in the *Hdkomm*) as these sheets are passing through the press invites a word of comment, for his results vary widely from those already set forth. His conception of the growth of the book is highly interesting, if also somewhat too intricate to be properly estimated within the limits of a brief note. The constituent materials are referred (as above) to J E D and P, but in very different combinations. In regard to J Steuernagel returns to the view of Wellhausen and Meyer that it recognized no Joshua, and that consequently no portion of 1-12 can be allotted to it (save the brief touch in the Gibeonite story 9⁶, where the negotiations are conducted with the 'men of Israel'). J is accordingly represented almost entirely by the fragments parallel with Judges 1. To E, on the other hand, a considerable amount is assigned in 2-7 8²⁰, 14⁶⁻¹⁴ 9⁹, 24. This distribution, however, leaves large gaps in the narrative before the sections of the survey due to P. The intervening passages are referred chiefly to D², the continuation of Deut 1-3. This document opens with 1¹, 10¹⁻¹¹, and continues through 3 4 6 8 9 10 11 (being united in 3 4 6 with E). Its record of the conquest has been preserved almost entire, but from 13 onwards it can be discovered only in fragments. There are, however, various other traces of Deuteronomic revision by successive editors and copyists. The stories of E had probably undergone a Deuteronomic handling before they were combined with D²: and that the process was continued in the scribal schools may be inferred from the phenomena of 20. But the Deuteronomic book of Joshua did not, in Steuernagel's judgement, contain the passages which he assigns to J or even to E. These were not added

6. Indications have been already cited incidentally which prove that the process of revision did not stop with the incorporation of P into JED. The introduction of the Deuteronomic provisions for the cities of refuge in 20³⁻⁶ is admitted to be later than the text employed by the Alexandrian translators. The same witnesses bear similar testimony in other cases^a. A number of words and clauses are lacking in ©, the absence of which can hardly be ascribed either to accident or design. In some instances as in 2²¹ or 14³ the omissions may be explained by the recurrence of identical words; in others, as in the narratives of the capture first of Jericho 6, and then of Ai 8, they seem intended to remove inconsistencies and harmonize conflicting details. But others, again, are probably due to neither of these causes, but indicate continuous editorial handling which sought to rectify or define or supplement the existing text^b. Thus 13³³ is needless, for it is implied in 14³, while it reproduces 13¹⁴ with its Deuteronomic forms in the midst of P. Its absence from ©, therefore, increases the probability that it is a later addition. Homiletic expansions are perhaps to be traced with the same aid in 2^{9b} and 23^{16b}; while the scribal love of the law is most likely responsible for the reference in 1⁷. Such handling cannot be said to be in favour of any particular school, or to make for any special documentary theory. There is no case of divergences so great as those affecting the long secondary section Ex 35-40. But they are sufficiently numerous and striking to warrant the conclusion of Dillmann^c that the text of Joshua was not definitely fixed until a date perhaps as late as 200 B.C.^d.

until after the combination of P with D, for which D supplied the framework. Into the united book DP a late priestly scribe R^p introduced the extracts from J and E; so that instead of the usual symbol JEDP Steuernagel's hypothesis might be represented as DPR^p (J + E). The reader who will take these clues in hand through the following analysis, will be able to form his own conclusions on this critical scheme. From the point of view of the results exhibited in the text far too much literary product is ascribed to D². In 8-11 for example the bulk of the narrative is thus treated. But the style of Deut 1-3 does not show anything like the independence and vigour which mark the story of the capture of Ai or the defeat of the five kings. D² is little more than a homiletic copyist in Deut 1-3; and when he introduces a new episode, for which he has no previous authority in JE, the overthrow of Og 3¹⁻⁷, he can only advance step by step on the track of the preceding narrative of Sihon. In Josh 8 and 10, however, there are manifold fresh traits wholly unlike the manner of Deut 1-3, as indeed Steuernagel himself seems to perceive when he concedes that here E may have been used as a source by D². Moreover in 8 (at least, if not also in 10) there are clear traces of two narrators. To these Steuernagel is not indifferent, but his second is a late priestly editor. The appearance of R^p on the scene here is altogether unexpected; why should he devise a second ambuscade 8¹², and how is his intervention to be recognized? Steuernagel gives no reasons for his identification. This must be said of other passages also attributed to this school. Thus in 9¹⁴ R^p is dragged in by a correction of the text and represented as recording that the 'princes' neglected to 'inquire of Yahweh,' an antique process of consulting the oracle which P nowhere sanctions (having set it aside for the Urim and Thummim of Ex 28³⁰): while 10⁴⁰⁻⁴³ is similarly allotted to R^p, though the phraseology is preponderantly Deuteronomic (the incorporation of material from Deut 19 in Josh 20 is so clearly the work of a harmonizer that it must be regarded as exceptional, and cannot be taken to justify Steuernagel's hypothesis of a group or succession of priestly scribes habitually adopting the Deuteronomic style).—The divergences of Steuernagel's results thus imply (1) different conceptions of the preceding analysis (as in the ascription of 5¹³⁻¹⁶ with the parallel in Ex 3⁶ to E); (2) a different value for phraseological and stylistic evidence in the determination of sources (as in the assignment of 14⁶⁻¹⁴ in its present form to E, and the derivation of so large a portion of 1-11 from D²); and (3) a different estimate of historical probability in the denial of any narrative of Joshua's leadership to J. The student will derive much stimulus from so fresh a treatment, and if this work succeeds in placing the data before him, he will have the materials for independent judgement.

^a Cp Hollenberg, *Der Character der Alexandrinischen Uebersetzung des Buches Josua* Moers 1876 18 c.

^b So perhaps in 1^{2 4 14}, 2^{4 12 15 21}, &c.

^c NDJ 690.

^d In Hastings' DB ii 784^a Prof G A Smith expounds a similar view: 'That the Book of Joshua was not regarded in Israel as what we call canonical till long after the Torah or Five Books of Moses had reached that rank, is clear from the difference between it and them in the LXX translation. While it is evident, from the comparatively few discrepancies between the Massoretic text and that of the LXX, that the text of the Torah had long been guarded with care before the LXX translation was made, the many discrepancies in the Book of Joshua, the freedom with which the Greek translator or translators allowed themselves to omit or to modify, prove that when the LXX translation of it was made, Joshua was not regarded as of canonical rank. The admission to the Canon of the Prophetic Books, to which it belongs, is generally held to have been about 200 B.C.'

	J	E	R ^d	J	E	P ^r
t Dent 312. 18-20			12 And to the 'Reubenites, and to the Gadites, and to the half 'tribe of 'Manasseh, spake Joshua, saying, 13 'Remember the word which Moses the servant of Yahweh commanded you, saying, Yahweh your God giveth you 'rest, and will 'give you this land. 14 Your 'wives, your little ones, and your 'cattle, shall 'abide in the land which Moses gave you 'beyond Jordan; but 'ye shall pass over before your brethren 'armed, all the 'mighty men of valour, and shall help them; 15 until Yahweh have given your brethren 'rest, as [he hath given] you, and they also have possessed the land 'which Yahweh your God giveth them: then ye shall 'return 'unto the land of your 'possession, and possess it, which Moses the servant of Yahweh gave you beyond Jordan 'toward the sun-rising. 16 And they answered Joshua, saying, All that thou hast commanded us we will do, and whithersoever thou sendest us we will go. 17 According as we hearkened unto Moses in all things, so will we hearken unto thee: 'only Yahweh thy God be 'with thee, as he was with Moses. 18 Whosoever he be that shall 'rebel against thy commandment, and shall not hearken unto thy words in all that thou commandest him, he shall be put to death: 'only be 'strong and of a good courage.			p 112 q 97 ^b r 118 s 88 ^d t 94 u 212 v 171
a 11 b Num 25 ¹ c Cp 44 25 ct 3 4b d 5 ⁺ e 5 = see Gen 42 ⁹ Num 13 ^{18a} f Dent 1 ²²			21 'And Joshua the 'son of Nun sent out of ^b Shittim 'two men as 'spies 'secretly, saying, Go 'view the land, and Jericho. And they went, and came into the house of an harlot whose name was Rahab, and lay there. 22 'And it was told the king of Jericho, saying, Behold, there came men in 'hither to-night of the children of Israel to 'search out the land. 23a And the king of Jericho sent unto Rahab, saying, Bring forth the men that are 'come to thee, ... 3b which are 'come into thine house: . . . 3c for they be come to 'search out all the land. 24a 'And the woman took the 'two men, and 'hid them; . . . 4b And she said, 'Yea, the men came unto me, 'but I wist not whence they were: 5a and 'it came to pass about the time of the shutting of the gate, when it was dark, that the men went out: whither the men went I wot not. . . . 5b 'Pursue after them 'quickly: for ye shall overtake them. 6 But she had brought them up to the roof, and 'hid them with the stalks of 'flax, which she had laid in order upon the roof. 7 And the men pursued after them the way to Jordan unto the fords: and as soon as they which pursued after them were gone out, they shut the gate. 8 And 'before they were 'laid down, she came up unto them upon the roof; 9a and she said unto the men, I know that Yahweh hath 'given you the land, and that your 'terror is fallen upon us. 9b 'And that all the inhabitants of the land 'melt away before you. 10 'For we			
g 4b Gen 19 ⁵ h 5 Ex 22 ^a i Ex 10 ²⁹ 5 j Cp Gen 15 ¹² 5 k Ct 4a 5 cp Rx 21 ² l Ct Ex 9 ³¹ 5 m Gen 19 ⁴ n Cp 14 44 o Gen 15 ¹² Ex 15 ¹⁶ 23 ²⁷ Dent 32 ²⁸ p 24 Ex 15 ¹⁶						c 43 d 6

112 5 (unusually) 'the Manasseh,' with the article; so Dent 312 29⁵ Josh 412 12⁶ 13⁷ 18⁷ 22⁷ 9 10. 31⁺.

13 Kautzsch and Addis with 5 'hath given you.' Bennett points מְנַחֵם as a participle. In the following passage the words 'armed' 'mighty men of valour' 'help' differ from the language of Dent 312-20.

14 Obviously unsuitable to the implied situation where Joshua and the tribes whom he addresses are still on the East side of the Jordan. The words do not occur in 5, and seem like a copyist's reminiscence of the same words in Dent 320 where they describe the settlement of the rest of Israel in Canaan.

15 Another variation on the language of Dent 320, which is followed by 5 'each man to his possession.' The subsequent 'and possess it' breaks the grammatical sequence and does not appear in 5.

21 The story of the visit of the spies to Jericho shows clear traces of composite origin, though the resolution of some parts can only be tentative. Duplicate phrases as in 12. 18 suggest that different sources have been combined, and the course of the story makes this practically certain. For the conversation between Rahab and her visitors upon the roof 8. 12 14 is suddenly interrupted by the descent of the men through the window 15, to be resumed 18-21 when they have made their escape from the house. But it is inconceivable that they should have shouted from the foot of the city wall (where the residents in similarly situated houses could have overheard them) a promise 18-20 which involved absolute secrecy cp 14. The incident in 15 cannot therefore belong to the narrative in 8. 12 14 18-21. But 15 finds

its obvious sequel in 22, from which it appears that the men were two in number 14^a, and had been dispatched by 'Joshua the son of Nun.' That designation at once connects the narrative with E, while the parallels in 8 12 14 18-21 are equally decisive for J. Some uncertainty, however, must attach to the details. Steuern ascribes the whole story to E (minus the Deuteronomio additions) but treats 17-21 as a later extension of the story by E².

2 This verse is the introduction to 3a where the phraseology suggests a parallel with Gen 19⁵ J. The answer to the king's message is found in 4b 5a.

3b 5 as in 3a. T entered. The repetition seems due to the incorporation of a doublet, one member of which 5 omits.

4a The specification of 'the two men' is in harmony with 1; 'hid' used only by E Ex 22^a ct 6 5.

4b This clause is absent from 5.

5b The proposal of pursuit and speedy capture seems to imply that the pursuers would know what direction to follow, and is hardly compatible with Rahab's declaration of ignorance. The allusions to the pursuers in 18 22 have been already shown to belong to E, and 5b 7 are therefore assigned to the same source. In 7 the city gate is only closed when the pursuers have left, ct 5a where it had been already shut.

9b As in 24. The absence of the clause from 5, and the peculiar word 'melt away' make it probable that it is a later addition. The expansion may even begin with the preceding words, if the 'falling of the terror' be regarded as founded on Ex 15¹⁸ ct Ex 23²⁷.

10a A Deuteronomio amplification cp 5 5b 10.

J	E	R ^d	J	E	P ^r
q Cp 51 9 ^{ab} 10 r Deut 97 5 s 425 51 ^a t Deut 234 u Cp Deut 718 v 51 75 Deut 128 w 51 x Deut 439 y Cp Gen 243 z 186 Gen 247	have heard how Yahweh dried up the water of the Red Sea before you, when ye came out of Egypt; and what ye did unto the two kings of the Amorites, that were beyond Jordan, unto Sihon and to Og, whom ye devoted. 11 And as soon as we had heard it, our hearts did melt, neither did there remain any more spirit in any man, because of you: for Yahweh your God, he is God in heaven above, and on earth beneath.				a 28 ^a f 3 ^a g 21 h 35 ^a i 3 ^a
a' Gen 5020 al b' 18b 625	12 Now therefore, I pray thee, swear unto me by Yahweh, since I have dealt kindly with you, that ye also will deal kindly with my father's house, and give me a true token, ... 13a and that ye will save alive my father, and my mother, and my brethren, and my sisters, and all that they have. ... 13b and will deliver our lives from death. 14 And the men said unto her, Our life for yours, if ye utter not this our business; and it shall be, when Yahweh giveth us the land, that we will deal kindly and truly with thee.				j 57 ^b
c' 20 Gen 246 Ex 101 5	15 Then she let them down by a cord through the window: for her house was upon the town wall, and she dwelt upon the wall. 16 And she said unto them, Get you to the mountain, lest the pursuers light upon you; and hide yourselves there three days, until the pursuers be returned: and afterward may ye go your way. 17 And the men said unto her, We will be guiltless of this thine oath which thou hast made us to swear.				k 57 ^a
d' Ct Gen 1917 e' Gen 2811 321 f' Gen 321 cp 192	18a Behold, when we come into the land, thou shalt bind this line of scarlet thread in the window which thou didst let us down by: and thou shalt gather unto thee into the house ... 18b thy father, and thy mother, and thy brethren, and 18c all thy father's house. 19 And it shall be, that whosoever shall go out of the doors of thy house into the street, his blood shall be upon his head, and we will be guiltless: and whosoever shall be with thee in the house, his blood shall be on our head, if any hand be upon him. 20 But if thou utter this our business, then we will be guiltless of thine oath which thou hast made us to swear. 21 And she said, According unto your words, so be it. And she sent them away, and they went: and she bound the scarlet line in the window.				l 170 m 119 ^d
g' Gen 3828	22 And they went, and came unto the mountain, and abode there three days, until the pursuers were returned: and the pursuers sought them throughout all the way, but found them not. 23 Then the two men returned, and descended from the mountain, and passed over, and came to Joshua the son of Nun; and they told him all that had befallen them. 24a And they said unto Joshua, Truly Yahweh hath delivered into our hands all the land. 24b And moreover all the inhabitants of the land do melt away before us.				n 1
h' Gen 245 41	31a And Joshua rose up early in the morning,				o 2
i' Gen 243					
j' 5 = come upon Ex 188 k' 5 = given 245 11 cp 252 l' Cp 9 924 a 612 16 716 810					

210b So 5 cp 235. T utterly destroyed.

12 This clause is wanting in 5; it may be a doublet of 12 derived from E.

13a One story seems to have contained a promise of the safety of the 'father's house,' while the other specified the inmates of doublets in 18. By the parallels in 625 and 26 the 'father's house' (cp Gen 247) is assigned to J, and the list of relatives to E. As the two narratives run side by side, 13a must have been followed by a promise (comprising the words in 18b) resembling that in 14 18ac 19.

14 M 5 instead of you to die.

15 The clauses describing the situation of Rahab's house seem explanatory insertions. (5) lacks both, as well as 'by a cord.'

17 Apparently an editorial attempt to connect the broken sequence in J 14 18. The words are derived from 20.

18a An editorial reference to 15.

18b This clause may be simply reproduced editorially from 13a, or it may be a misplaced fragment of E's record of the promise.

18c So 5 as in 13, T household. The phrase is not supplemental but parallel to 'father, mother, and brethren.'

21a (5) closes the verse at the dismissal of the men. The double 'and they went' 21. can hardly be due to the same hand.

21b 5 as in 22; T departed.

22 The sequel of the instructions in 16 'get you (5 = go) to the mountain.' The words 'until the pursuers were returned' seem awkwardly placed before the statement of their search; they are not found in 5, and may be editorial.

24 The whole verse may possibly be an editorial supplement, cp 9, though the first clause seems satisfactorily continuous with 23. For additions introduced by 21 'and moreover' cp 711 Gen 4015 Ex 39b.

31a The narrative of the passage of the Jordan in 3-4 is extraordinarily complicated, and presents the utmost difficulties to the analyst. That it is composite is sufficiently proved by the diversity of the statements concerning the twelve sacred stones which commemorated the event. According to 4^{ab} 8b they were taken out of the midst of the river, and carried across to the western bank where the people camped for the night. In 4^{ab} they are set up in the Gilgal. But in 4⁹ twelve stones are set up in the middle of the river. The Greek translators, conscious of the duplication, regarded these as an independent memorial, inserting the words 'also twelve other': so also 2 'alios quosque duodecim lapides' (2 paraphrases, and the Arabic version omits the verse). This device can hardly be accepted; especially as

	J	E	R ^d	J	E	P ^r
b Cp 3 14			1 ^b And they 'removed from 'Shittim, ...			
c 21			1 ^a and they came to Jordan, "he and all the children of Israel; and they 'lodged there			a 6
d 4 ³ s 611 89			"before they passed over.			
Gen 32 ¹³ 21			2 "And it came to pass 'after 'three days, that the 'officers 'went through			
cp 17 ⁸			the midst of the camp; 3 and they 'commanded the people, saying, When			
e 5 = at the end			ye see the "ark of the covenant of Yahweh your God, and the priests the			
of 9 ¹⁶			Levites bearing it, then ye shall 'remove from your place, and go			
f 11 ¹¹			after it.			
g 11 ¹⁰						
A 5 = passed 11						
i Num 35 ⁵						
j Ex 26 ² 8						
k 5 cp Deut			4 ^b "That ye may 'know the way by			
20 ¹⁸ 27 ³			which ye must go; for ye have not			
l Cp 7 11 ²⁰ 20 ⁶			passed this way "heretofore.			
m Ex 4 ¹⁰ 21 ²⁹			5 And Joshua said unto the people,			
Deut 19 ⁴			"Sanctify yourselves: for 'to-morrow			
n Num 11 ¹⁸ Ex			Yahweh will do 'wonders 'among			b 58
19 ²²			you.			
o Ex 8 ¹⁰ 23 20			6 "And Joshua 'spake unto the priests,			
9 ⁵ 18 al			saying, "Take up the ark of the cove-			
p Ex 3 ²⁰ 34 ¹⁰			nant, and pass over before the people.			
q 11			And they 'took up the ark of the			
r 5 = bear 3 14			covenant, and went before the people.			
s Deut 2 ²⁵			7 And Yahweh said unto Joshua,			
t 4 ¹⁴			"This day will I begin to 'magnify thee			
u Deut 4 ¹⁰ 5			in the sight of 'all Israel, "that they			c 2 ^a
v 1 ⁵			may know that, "as I was with Moses,			
w Ex 27 ²⁰			so I will be with thee".			
x 15 4 ¹⁹ ct Ex 2 ³						
y Gen 45 ⁴			9 "And Joshua said unto the children			
z Num 11 ²⁴			of Israel, "Come hither, and hear the			
			"words of Yahweh your God. 10 ^a And			
			... 4 ^a "Yet there shall be a space between			
			you and it, about 'two thousand cubits			
			by 'measure: come not near unto it.			
			... 8 "And "thou shalt command the			
			priests that bear the ark of the covenant,			
			saying, When ye are come to the "brink			
			of the waters of Jordan, ye shall stand			
			"still in Jordan. ...			

other signs of combination of sources are obvious. Two explanations are given concerning the stones 4^b and 21... In 31¹⁷ 41^a the entire narrative has passed over; but the process is repeated in 41¹⁰. Literary marks of variety are no less apparent. The affinities of 3⁷ 41^a 21-24 with D are as clear as those of 41¹⁸ 19 with P. It thus becomes probable that the phenomena observable elsewhere are repeated here: the existing text contains elements from all four hands, J E R^d and P. But in the process of fusion others also have had a share, as the variations of 5 further indicate. In the following notes an attempt is made to justify the distribution verse by verse. The passages assigned to P show that this source was not employed as the foundation of the narrative, but was worked in afterwards ct Ex 14, and cp ante 315 *Introd* § 5 1.

31^a The marginal parallels justify the ascription of the first and last clauses to J, but the reference to Shittim points to E in 21. J's story is continued (cp margins) in 5 9.

1¹⁰ This phrase occurs elsewhere only in Num 27²¹ P; 5 does not contain it. Does it perhaps belong to the beginning of P's story, the rest of which has been set aside, or is it a late scribal explanation?

2 The three days' interval, the officers passing through the midst of the camp and commanding the people, connect this passage with 1¹⁰. E: and the occurrence of the word 'remove' 3 is a further link with 1¹⁰.

3 The designation of the ark varies in different passages. Oldest and simplest is 'the ark of Yahweh' 13 41¹¹, or 'the ark' alone 14 17 (implied in the use of the article הָאָרֶץ) cp Num 10³³. Later than this, and probably traceable to Deuteronomic influences, is the title 'ark of the covenant' 6 and 11 (where הָאָרֶץ shows that the title which follows is a later addition), or 'ark

of the covenant of Yahweh your God' 3 cp 19 and 1^a. Lastly P's title 'ark of the testimony' occurs in 41¹⁰. The priests the Levites' as in 9¹⁰. E, however, appears to have recognized the Levitical priesthood cp Deut 10⁸, and probably assigned to it the function of carrying the ark in connexion with the institution of the Tent of Meeting Ex 33⁷. 5 expands, 'and our priests and the Levites bearing it.'

4^a The number 2,000 cubits, and the technical 'by measure,' both point to P: so does the prohibition of approach to the ark by unconsecrated persons cp Num 1⁵¹ &c.

4^b An addition to 3 showing the handiwork of R^d: similar expansions may be traced in 7 and 10^b.

5 The instructions to the priests to carry the ark in front of the people seem to be the sequel of 3. As the procession sets out (followed by the people) the subsequent summons to the Israelites in 9 10^a 11 must be ascribed to J. E's narrative is continued in 14.

7 Bennett in Haupt's *SBOT* proposes to insert 41^{b-3} at this point in E.

8^a As the priests have received their instructions to cross over before the people and have already started 5, the fresh command to stand in the river (while the people cross) must be drawn from another source. The initial formula הָאָרֶץ הָאֵלֶּה finds its only parallel in Ex 27³⁰; the term 'ark of the covenant' may be a harmonist's substitute for 'testimony' which has survived in 41¹⁰ (where the priests come out last after the tribes have marched over). The verse is therefore ascribed to P cp 15 and 41¹⁰.

8^b 5 simply 'ye shall stand': 'in' ct 4^a, 'in the midst of.'

9 The announcement of the approaching crossing of the ark 9 10^a 11 is another doublet of 8, and is shown by the margins to belong to J.

	J	R ^d	E	P ^e	
a' Ex 7 ¹⁷ Num 16 ²⁸	Joshua said, 'Hereby ye shall know that the living God is ^b among you: ^{10b} and that he will without fail ^d drive out from before you the ^b Canaanite, and the Hittite, and the Hivite, and the Perizzite, and the Girgashite, and the Amorite, and the Jebusite.				d 39 ^b
b' Deut 7 ¹	¹¹ Behold, the ark of the covenant ¹⁰ of the 'Lord of all the earth passeth over before you into Jordan.				
c' 18 Mic 4 ¹³ Zech 4 ¹⁴ 6 ^{5†}	¹² Now therefore take you ^d twelve men out of the tribes of Israel, for every tribe a man. . . .				
d' 4 ⁴	¹³ And it shall come to pass, when the ^e soles of the feet of the priests that bear the ark of Yahweh, the 'Lord of all the earth, shall ^f rest in the waters of Jordan, that the waters of Jordan shall be ^e cut off, [even] the waters that come down ^g from above; and they shall stand in one heap.				e 169 ^a
e' 4 ¹⁸ cp 13 ③ om f' Ct 15 g' 16 ⁴⁷	¹⁴ And it came to pass, when the people ^b removed from their tents, to pass over Jordan, the priests that ^b bare the ark of the covenant being before the people",				
f' 4 ¹⁸	¹⁵ And when they that bare the ark were come unto Jordan, and the feet of the priests that bare the ark were dipped in the ^b brink of the water, (for Jordan overfloweth all its ^k banks all the time of harvest,) ¹⁶ the waters which came down ^f from above stood, [and] ^h rose up in one ⁱ heap, a ^j great way ^h off, at Adam, the city that is beside Zarethan: and those that went down toward the ^k sea of the ^h Arabah, [even] the Salt Sea ^k , were ^h wholly cut off: and the people ^h passed over right against Jericho.				
g' Cp 13 Ex 15 ⁸ 7' Gen 21 ¹⁶	¹⁷ And the priests that bare the ark of the covenant of Yahweh stood firm on ^f dry ground in the midst of Jordan.				
h' 12 ⁸ Deut 31 ¹⁷	^{17b} And ^c all Israel passed over on dry ground, until ^m all the nation were passed ^m clean over Jordan.				
i' Gen 7 ²² Ex 14 ^{21b} ct 4 ²²	^{41a} And it came to pass, when all the nation were clean passed over Jordan, . . .				
m' 4 ¹ 5 ⁶ 8 ^a					
n' 4 ¹ 5 ⁶ ⑤ Deut 21 ⁶ cp 14 Josh 4 ¹⁰ 5 ⁸					

³¹ That this phrase is not connected with 'the covenant' is shown by the article *הַיְהוָה*. Its use in later prophecy suggests that it is here an editorial addition or possibly an incorporation from P. Stenjern, however, supposes the original to be 'the ark of Yahweh Lord of the whole earth' as in ¹³ D².

¹² In its present position this verse leads to nothing, so that it can hardly be in its right place. Most critics give it to E cp 4^{1b} 2⁴. But if P had a story of the stones cp 4^{7b} 20, this might have belonged to it. The formula 'for every tribe a man' employs ^j as in Num 13²; whereas 4² has ^j. On the other hand *שָׁבוּ* (for 'tribe') only occurs in P^e e.g. 22⁹ Num (32³³) 36².

¹³ The main part of this verse seems due to J (cp 'ark of Yahweh' 4¹¹). But it has apparently taken up into itself a phrase or two from the corresponding declaration in P. There can be little doubt that J represented the waters of the Jordan as 'cut off' cp 4^{7a}. But the description that follows is open to challenge. ⑤ reads simply 'and the waters which come down shall stand.' The peculiar term 'from above' occurs elsewhere only in P cp 169^a, and seems introduced from ¹⁶; 'heap' also may have been incorporated from ¹⁶, as a reminiscence of Ex 15⁸.

¹⁴ The sequel of this introduction seems to be found in 4^{1b}.

¹⁵ This passage is closely connected with ⁸. The description of the division of the river is much more elaborate than J's, and the reference in ¹⁶ to the two bodies of water—the mass of the stream flowing down from the North suddenly arrested—the rest draining away South into the Dead Sea,—shows how carefully the whole situation has been thought out. The distance

at which the waters are stopped, provides for the interval specified in ⁴; the fullness of the stream heightens the wonder, and reminds the reader that it is springtime when the river is swollen; and the allusion to the harvest prepares for the pass-over-celebration in 5¹⁰. These circumstances together with the phraseological indications seem to justify the ascription to P. The difficulty that the ark is carried on this occasion by priests instead of Levites Num 3³¹ 4¹⁶, may be met by the considerations (1) that this was a fixed element in the story (cp the Levitical treatment of 1 Kings 8¹⁻⁶, *Intro* i 82), and (2) that the occasion demanded a higher form of sacerdotal service.

^{16a} RV inserts *that* to connect this verse with ¹⁴.

^{16b} The phrase 'rose up in one heap,' introduced without any connecting particle, may be a touch from an editorial hand.

^{16c} M. Another reading is, *off from*.—⑤'s variants show that the text is uncertain.

^{16d} M. See Deut 1¹.

^{16e} The word *חָסִי* may have crept in later, cp its use in 17^b 4^{1a}.

^{16f} ⑤ *stood* (*עָמַד* for *עָרַב*). This reference to the march shows that 4^{10b} belongs to another document.

^{17a} ⑤ proves that the words 'of the covenant of Yahweh' have been added. The passage seems to carry on the story of ¹³ cp 'midst of Jordan' 4^{3b} 8^b, not used in the fragments assigned to P. The word 'firm' stands at the end of the sentence in ⑤, and is wanting in ⑥. It may be an addition.

^{17b} In 17^b 4^{1a} the marks of R^d are again significant. The expression 'all the nation' seems a variant of another D formula 'all Israel.'

	J	R ^a	E	P ^a	
a 3 ¹²		1 ^b "that Yahweh spake unto Joshua, saying, 2 Take you "twelve men out of the people, out of every tribe			
b 1 ¹¹		a man, 3 ^a and b command ye them, saying. . . .			
c Cp 8 ^b		... 3 ^b "Take you hence out of the midst of Jordan, out of the place where the priests' feet stood firm, twelve stones, and c carry them over with you, and lay them down in the d lodging place, where ye shall lodge this night:			a 53
d 1 ¹¹ Ex 23 ²⁰		4 Then Joshua called the "twelve men, whom he had e prepared of the children of Israel, out of every tribe a man: 5 and Joshua said unto them, Pass over before f the ark of Yahweh your God into the midst of Jordan, and take you up every man of you a stone upon his shoulder, according unto the number of the g tribes of the children of Israel.			
e Ex 24 ⁴		6 that this may be a sign h among you, that when your children i ask in time to come, saying, What mean ye by these stones? 7 ^a then ye shall say unto them, Because the waters of Jordan were j cut off before the ark of the covenant of Yahweh; when it passed over Jordan, the waters of Jordan were cut off.			
f 3 ^{10a}					
g Ex 13 ¹⁴ cp 12 ²⁸					
A 3 ¹³					
		8 ^b And they took up twelve stones out of the midst of Jordan, k as Yahweh spake unto Joshua, according to the number of the tribes of the children of Israel; and they c carried them over with them unto the place where they l lodged, and laid them down there.		... 7 ^b "And these stones shall m be for a memorial unto the children of Israel for ever. 8 ^a And the children of Israel n did so as Joshua commanded.	b 27 c 113 d 189 ^b
i Ct 20		9 "And Joshua o set up twelve stones in the midst of Jordan, in the place where the feet of the priests which			

4^{1b} Cp 3¹⁴. The narrative of the memorial stones is extraordinarily confused. The conflict between ^a and ^b has been already noted cp 3¹². In 1^b ^a there seems to be a preparation for 4. cp 3¹². The narrative form of 1^b resembles that of 3^a; and 'command . . . saying' 3^a is parallel to 3^b 1¹¹ E. But the plural in the words of Yahweh to Joshua is perplexing? Whom does Yahweh address? (G) reads 'thou.'

3^b The instructions in ^a do not agree with those in ^b; they find their fulfilment in 8^b. The contrast with ^b points to J, and this is confirmed by the occurrence of J's word 'lodge.' Wellhausen conjectured that in its original form this was addressed to the people generally, so that the number of stones was not limited to twelve. The object of the story apparently is to account for the ancient stone-circle known as 'the Gilgal,' which doubtless contained more than twelve stones. The reference to the 'place where the priests' feet stood firm' seems borrowed from ^a, and is unrepresented in (G). (G) 'standing-place of the priests' feet' is a different word from 'stood' 3¹⁵ 17^a, and occurs only here in Hex. 3^b is continued in ^c which finds a strong J parallel in Ex 13¹⁴. 'Take up' 3^b 8^b (קָחַ) is different from קָמַח in ^a.

^a (G) 'before me before Yahweh'; but 'before me' can hardly be original.

7^b The stylistic affinities of 7^b 8^a plead strongly for P. If this be admitted, it is clear that P also had an account of the stones. There do not seem to be any traces of it in 1^b 7^a; but cp 3¹² 4²⁰.

8^b Another doubtful passage apparently founded on 8^b: (G) 'as Yahweh commanded Joshua when the children of Israel were clean passed over.' The rest of the verse carries out 8^b, and the record of the transit of the people and the priests is completed in 10^b (where 'hasted' makes decidedly for J) and 11^b.

^a The incongruity of this passage with the adjacent narrative has been already noted 3¹⁴. It expressly states that the stones were set up in the middle of the river and remained there, whereas ^a and ^b both ordain that they shall be taken up out of the river-bed, ^a adding that they shall be deposited on the other side, and ^b implying a similar purpose in the instruction to the twelve men to lift the stones on to their shoulders, obviously to carry them away. The phraseological indications are in favour of D. Steuern, having already assigned 3^b 8^a to D², is obliged to attribute ^a to R^a with the addition of ('other'), a result which does not seem critically satisfactory.

	J	R ^d	E	P ^a	
j Cp Deut 10 ⁵ 1 Kings 8 ²⁴		bare the ark of the covenant stood : and they are there, *unto this day. 10 ^a For the priests which bare the ark stood in the midst of Jordan, until everything was ² finished that Yahweh commanded Joshua to speak unto the people, *according to all that Moses com- manded Joshua.			e 33 ^a
k 317b		10 ^b And the people hasted and passed over. 11 ^a And it came to pass, when all the people were clean passed over, that the ark of Yahweh passed over, and the priests, in the presence of the people.			f 43
l Ct 317b		12 ^a And the *children of Reuben, and the children of Gad, and the half tribe of *Manasseh, passed over armed before the children of Israel, as Moses spake unto them.			
m 131 ⁵ 24 22 ⁹ Num 32 ¹ 26 112 12 ⁶ 22 ¹ n 112					
o Num 32 ³⁰ 27				... 13 ^a About forty thousand ready *armed for war passed over before Yahweh unto battle, to the *plains of Jericho. . .	g 2 ^a
p 3 ⁷		14 On that day Yahweh *magnified Joshua in the sight of all Israel ¹⁰ , and they feared him, as they feared Moses, all the days of his life.		15 ^a And Yahweh spake unto Joshua, saying, 16 Command the priests that bear the ark of the *testimony, that they come up out of Jordan. 17 Joshua therefore commanded the priests, saying, Come ye up out of Jordan. . .	h 13 ^a i 10 ^a
q 312		18 And it came to pass, when the *priests that bare the ark of the cove- nant of Yahweh were come up out of the midst of Jordan, and the *soles of the priests' feet were lifted up unto the *dry ground, that the *waters of Jordan *returned unto their place, and went *over all its banks, *as aforetime.		19 And the *people came up out of Jordan on the *tenth day of the first month, and	j 123
r 317					
s Ex 14 ^{27b}					
t 5 Gen 31 ² 5 Ex 5 ⁷ 14 ^a					

¹⁰ Not in (5); after the preceding clause the words seem superfluous. They may be due to an annotator anxious to vindicate the foresight of Moses in making all necessary arrangements beforehand; or they may have a more general significance for the picture of Joshua's fidelity to Mosaic ordinance cp 11¹⁶.

^{11a} This clause seems the natural connexion between 10^b and 11^b. At first sight the general mode of expression resembles that of 1^a; but there are slight variations, 'all the people' for the rare and grandiose 'all the nation,' and the sing *on* for *on*. With 1^a cp 5⁸ Deut 31⁶. The formula 'it came to pass when' is much more frequent in JE. 11 is therefore regarded as homogeneous J.

^{11b} *5* is here ambiguous, *לפני* having also the meaning 'before' 3⁶, according to which the ark crossed before the people, leading the way for them. The rendering of RV implies that the ark remained in the river-bed till the people had reached the other side, a conception which also seems to underlie P's narrative.

¹² R^d is perhaps traceable in 12, as well as in 14 21-24 51. At the outset of 12 the formula resembles that of P^a (instead of D's 'Reubenites' &c), and the whole passage (even 'the Manasseh' cp 23⁹) would be quite explicable as the introduction to 13 in which P is universally recognized, the only other verbal link with D being the word 'armed' *הכשירים* 14 *et* 13 *הכשירים* Num 32²⁷. But a very probable correction of the text finds *הכשירים* also in Num 32¹⁷, so that it cannot be claimed exclusively for D.

On the other hand there seems a contrast between 'passing over before the children of Israel' cp Deut 31⁶ and 'passing over before Yahweh' cp Num 32²¹.

¹³ This passage seems to be introduced from P (cp the margins), but it was noted by Kuen (*Hex* 104) that the figure is inconsistent with the fighting-strength assigned to the two and a half tribes in Num 26. It might be supposed that some remained behind to protect the women and children, but Num 32²¹ expressly required 'every armed man' of the tribes settling in the East to cross the Jordan. The incongruity is probably due to the secondary character of the later sections of P. Steuern, an addition to D².

¹⁵ Knobel and Schrader early assigned these verses to P, though recent critics (save Dillm) have not followed them. But the 'ark of the testimony'—when there is no suspicion of redaction—affords strong evidence, which other indications confirm. For 'spake' (*5* said) saying' cp 185^d: 'command' (*וַיִּצַו*) at the beginning of an instruction or law cp 12 Lev 6⁹ 24² Num 5³ 26³ 34² 35²⁸: the tense 'that they come' cp Lev 24² Num 5³ 35². Further, the repetition in 17 'and Joshua commanded' is much in P's style.

¹⁸ An addition to J's close derived from 31⁵. The expression 'as aforetime' elsewhere always brings the sentence to an end; in 5 the words 'over all its banks' follow after.

¹⁹ On the use of this term in P^a cp *Introd* § 5 2, ante 316.

J	R ^d	E	P ⁱ
<p>510 ¹ ² = drink 3⁸ 15 cp 15¹</p> <p>24²⁶</p> <p>x Deut 11²⁷ ³ y Deut 6³⁰ z Deut 8³ a' Ct 31⁷ ⁴ cp Ex 14¹⁶ b' 21⁶ 51⁸ c' 1 Kings 8⁶⁰ d' Deut 28¹⁰</p> <p>a 10⁵ 24¹³ b 12⁷ 22⁷ ⁵ om c Cp 11³ Deut 17¹¹ 80 d 21⁰ e 21¹</p> <p>f Cp 21¹⁰ g Ex 20²⁵ ⁶ h Ex 4²⁵ i Gen 22¹⁵</p> <p>j Deut 15² ⁷ k 6⁶ 10³⁴ Deut 214¹⁶ l Deut 23⁶ 24⁹ 25¹⁷ ⁸ m Ex 12²⁹ n Deut 27 o 3^{17b} p Cp 31^{7b} ⁹ Deut 214¹⁶ q Deut 1³⁴</p> <p>r 31⁷ 41⁸ ¹⁰ s 4⁹ ¹¹</p> <p>t Gen 30^{25b} u Gen 22¹⁴ ¹²</p> <p>v 41⁹ w Num 9³ x Ex 12⁶ y Ex 12¹⁸ Deut 16⁶ ct Ex 12⁶</p>	<p>...²⁰ "And those twelve stones, which they took out of Jordan, did Joshua "set up in Gilgal.</p> <p>21 "And he spake unto the children of Israel, saying, "When your children shall "ask their fathers in time to come, saying, What mean these stones? "22 then ye shall "let your children know, saying, Israel came over this Jordan on "dry land. "23 For Yahweh "your God "dried up the waters of Jordan from before you, until ye were passed over, as Yahweh your God "did to the Red Sea, which he dried up from before us, until we were passed over: "24 "that "all the peoples of the earth may know the hand of Yahweh, that it is "mighty; that "they may "fear Yahweh your God "for ever.</p> <p>25 "And it came to pass, when all the "kings of the Amorites, which were "beyond Jordan "westward, and all the kings of the "Canaanites, which were by the sea, "heard how that Yahweh had dried up the waters "of Jordan from before the children of Israel, until "we were passed over, that their heart "melted, neither was there spirit in them any more", because of the children of Israel.</p> <p>2 "At that "time Yahweh said unto Joshua, Make thee "knives of "flint, and circumcise again the children of Israel the "second time. "3 And Joshua made him knives of flint, and circumcised the children of Israel at "the hill of the foreskins.</p> <p>4 "And this is the "cause why Joshua did circumcise: all the people that came forth out of Egypt, "that were males, [even] "all the men of war, died in the wilderness by the "way, after they came forth out of Egypt". "5 "For all the people that came out were circumcised: but all the people that were "born in the wilderness by the "way as they came forth out of Egypt, they had not circumcised. "6 For the children of Israel walked "forty years in the wilderness, till "all the nation, even the "men of war which came forth out of Egypt, were "consumed, because they "hearkened not unto the voice of Yahweh: unto whom Yahweh "swore that he would not let them see the land which Yahweh "swore unto their fathers that he would give us, a "land flowing with milk and honey. "7 And their children, whom he raised up in their stead, them did Joshua circumcise: for they were uncircumcised, because they had not circumcised them by the "way. "8 And it came to pass, when they had "done circumcising "all the nation, that they abode in their "places in the camp, till they "were whole.</p> <p>9 And Yahweh said unto Joshua, This day have I rolled away the "reproach of Egypt from off you. "Wherefore the name of that place was called "Gilgal, "unto this day.</p>	<p>"encamped in Gilgal, on the east "border of Jericho.</p>	<p>k 1 l 12 m 80^b n 44^a o 13^a a 21^b</p> <p>b 58^a c 107 d 69^a</p> <p>e 14^a f 2^a</p>

4²⁰ The source of 20 is doubtful. Are the stones those named in 5? Then the statement probably belongs to E. But if they are the memorial stones of 7^b, the passage should be referred to P. Cp 17 is used of a similar action by Joshua 24²⁶ E: but it is also a favorite word of P Ex 40³ &c.

21 The Deuteronomistic character of this section is apparent from the parallels.

51 M Another reading is, *they*.

2 The account of the circumcision of the people 2-9 has been enriched with a Deuteronomistic addition by R^d in 4-8, as the parallels cited in the margins prove. The original narrative is contained in 2, 3, and seems best referred to J by analogy with Ex 4²⁵ (which does not at all necessarily imply that J conceived circumcision to have been universal in Egypt). According to this story the name of the great stone circle called 'the Gilgal' is explained as 'rolling.' What was 'rolled' away? 'The reproach of Egypt.' In connexion with a story of circumcision the phrase can only imply that Joshua now performed a rite which the Israelites had neglected in Egypt, so that they incurred the scorn of their circumcised masters, the Egyptians. The editor, however, seeks to avoid this interpretation by the explanation that it was only necessary for the new generation which had arisen since the Exodus 5⁷. The opening formula 'at that time' (occurring only in this position Deut 10¹⁵) seems due

to R^d, and so probably are the references to previous circumcision, to harmonize with 5, as though there had been a national practice in Egypt.

3 M Or, *Gibeath ha-araloth*.

4 (5)'s text in 4-8 varies widely from 5. It is possible that a phrase here and there may be due to R^d, such as the rare plural 'males' (absent from 5 as well as 'all the men of war') cp 17² Ex 13¹² 15.

5 seems unrepresented in 5, and as it interrupts the connexion of 4 and 6 (Stenurn), it may be a later insertion; 5^b is not wanted, being a duplicate of 7^b. In 6, there may be some secondary expansions.

6 5 lived, i.e. recovered cp Num 21⁶. 2 Kings 1².

7 M That is, *Rolling*.—'Unto this day' is absent from 5 (cp 7^{26a} out of all occurrences in Joshua).

10 P's record of the first camp in the land of Canaan. 5, however, begins 'And the children of Israel kept the passover,' as if the first clause were due to editorial junction, the sequence on 4¹⁹ not requiring it. The phrases 'on the morrow after the passover' 11 and 'on the morrow' 12 are not found in 5, which also transfers 'in the selfsame day' from 11^b to the opening of 12. The peculiarities of language 'even' 'old corn,' and the mention of 'parched corn' along with unleavened cakes point to Pⁱ rather than P^e.

	J	R ^a	E	P ^a
z Num 33 ³				
a' Lev 24 ¹⁴				
U' Ex 16 ²⁵				
c' Lev 23 ³⁰ Deut 14 ²² §				
d' Gen 81 ^{5b}				
e' Gen 33 ¹² Num 22 ³² §				
f' Num 22 ²⁸				
g' Cp 1 Kings 22 ¹⁹				
h' 7 ⁶				
i' Cp 22 ^{28b}				
j' Ex 3 ⁵				
k' Gen 45 ²¹				
a 81 cp Deut 24 ²⁴ §				
	13 "And 'it came to pass, 'when Joshua was by Jericho, that he 'lifted up his eyes and 'looked, and, behold ^d , there stood a man 'over against him with his sword 'drawn in his hand: and Joshua went unto him, and said unto him, Art thou for us, or for our adversaries? 14 And he said, Nay; but [as] 'captain of the 'host of Yahweh am I now come. And Joshua 'fell on his face to the earth ^h , and did 'worship, and said unto him, What saith my 'lord unto his 'servant? 15 And the captain of Yahweh's host said unto Joshua, 'Put off thy shoe from off thy foot; for the place whereon thou standest is holy ^j . "And Joshua 'did so.			11 And they did eat of the "old corn of the land on the 'morrow after the pass-over, unleavened cakes and "parched corn, in the "selfsame day. 12 And the 'manna ceased on the morrow, after they had eaten of the "old corn of the land; neither had the children of Israel manna any more; but they did eat of the "fruit of the "land of Canaan that year.
	61 "Now Jericho "was straitly shut up because of the children of Israel: none went out, and none came in.			
	2 "And Yahweh said unto Joshua, "See, I have "given into thine hand			

511 12 M Or, *produce*. Or, *corn*.—§†.
 13 This narrative seems to be the beginning of J's account of the divine commission to Joshua, parallel with that to Moses Ex 3¹. . . But in its present form it must have been abbreviated, as the vision leads to nothing. No instructions are given to him; the attempt to establish an immediate connexion with 6¹. cannot be regarded as successful, though the place of the incident in JE suggests that it was intended to prepare the way for the story of the capture of Jericho. Kuenen, assuming that the phrase 'Yahweh's host' represented a late conception, regarded this as one of the secondary sections of J. But the precise words do not occur elsewhere (cp Ps 103²¹ 148²); while parallels of idea may be found in Gen 32² and 1 Kings 22¹⁹.

14 M Or, *prince*.—Cp 22¹⁹.

15 This clause is wanting in §.

61^a This verse seems to break the connexion between 5¹⁵ and 6²: it bears no clear marks of editorial composition, and is therefore conjecturally ascribed to E.

1^b M § shut the gates and was shut in.

2^a The narrative of the fall of Jericho shows clear traces of diversity of sources. The signal for the capture is to be given by a great shout. But in 5^{20b} this depends on the blast of a ram's horn; in 10^{16b} 20^a on the orders of Joshua. Similarly Rahab and her kindred are saved twice over 22. and 25 cp 17. The intricacies of the processions, however, defied resolution until Wellhausen provided the key (*Comp*³ 123), pointing out that the present confusion results from the amalgamation of two stories, each relating a sevenfold procession, but conceiving the time-order differently. In the opening verses 2. Joshua is instructed to march round the city once each day for six days cp 11¹⁴; when the march is repeated on the seventh day¹⁵, the people shout at his summons 16^b 20^a and capture the city 20^c. But in 4. . . a more elaborate picture is presented. The ark is carried round the walls, preceded by seven priests bearing

trumpets of rams' horns, and the troops march in front and rear. The signal is to be given, when the city has been compassed seven times, by a long blast; when the shout rises at the sound, the walls will fall 5^{20b}. In both stories the number seven is firmly lodged; but whereas one distributes the process over seven successive days 14 15^a, the other apparently places the seven marches on the same day. The result is that after single circuits on six separate days, seven circuits are finally made on the seventh, or thirteen altogether, which obviously breaks up the symmetry of the narrators' intentions. The additions to the text which seem due to this arrangement in 4¹⁵ are indicated by smaller type. Other modifications seem traceable to the compiler, who anticipates the trumpet-signal for the shout of faith by describing the priests as blowing their horns continuously upon the route 5. 15, thus depriving the final blast of its significance. In assigning the two stories to their respective sources, the linguistic evidences will be found to yield some delicate confirmations. Thus in 6 the description of Joshua points to E, and this is supported by the parallel to the trumpet Ex 10¹³, and the instructions to the priests which resemble those before the passage of the Jordan 3⁶ independently attributed to E. Similarly 'lodged' 11 and 'rose early' 12 15 make for J. The text of § has been in many passages so much abbreviated, that it is of little use for comparison. The translators have apparently sought to evade difficulties by omissions. Steuern, on the other hand, thinks that § represents a more original text, and distributes the story between D² E and R^a. Of the latter, however, no definite traces seem recoverable before the annotations in 25^b 24^b.

2^b R^d may have been at work here cp 9⁹, and the margins. In 3 § reads *thou* as in the latter clause of the verse. Dillm supposes that 'going about the city once' cp 11 and 'thus shalt thou do six days' are additions designed to emphasize the contrast with 4. But whatever may be the case with the first

	J E	R ^d	J E P ^r
b 1 ¹⁴	Jericho, and the king thereof, [and] the ^b mighty men of valour. ³ And ye shall compass the city, ^a all the men of war, going about the city once. Thus shalt thou do six days. . .		
c 5 ⁴			
d Ex 19 ¹³	... ⁴ And seven priests shall bear seven ^a trumpets of ^a 'rams' horns before the ark: and the seventh day ye shall compass the city seven times, and the priests shall blow with the trumpets. ⁵ And it shall be, that ^a when they make a long blast with the ram's horn [and] when ye hear the ^a 'sound of the trumpet, all the people shall ^a 'shout with a great shout; and the wall of the city shall fall down ^a 'flat, and the people shall go up every man straight before him'. ⁶ And Joshua the ^a 'son of Nun called the priests, and said unto them, ^a 'Take up the ^a 'ark of the covenant, and let seven priests bear seven trumpets of rams' horns before the ark of Yahweh;		
e 20b cp Ex 19 ¹⁶ f 20b ct 10 20a			
g 1 ¹			
h 12b 3 ⁶ § = bear i Cp 6b 7b 13 3 ²⁴			
j 7 9 13 Deut 31 ⁸ k 3 ⁶ §	7 ^a And ^a 'they said unto the people, Pass on, and compass the city. ^{7b} and let the ^a 'armed men ^a 'pass on before the ark of Yahweh. ⁸ And ^a 'it was so, that when Joshua had spoken unto the people, the seven priests bearing the seven trumpets of rams' horns before Yahweh ^a 'passed on, and blew with the trumpets: and the ^a 'ark of the covenant of Yahweh ^a 'followed them. ⁹ And the ^a 'armed men ^a 'went before the priests that blew the trumpets, and the rearward ^a 'went after the ark, [the priests] blowing with the trumpets as they went.		
l 9 13 3 ⁶ § m 3 ⁶			
n § = say unto 16b	10 And Joshua commanded the people, saying, Ye shall not shout, nor let your voice be heard, neither shall any word proceed out of your mouth, until the day I ^a 'bid you shout; then shall ye shout. ¹¹ So he caused the ark of Yahweh to compass the city, going about it once: and they came into the camp, and ^a 'lodged in the camp.		
o 3 ¹ p 15 3 ¹	12 ^a And Joshua ^a 'rose early in the morning, . . . ^{12b} And the priests ^a 'took up the ark of Yahweh. ¹³ And the seven priests bearing the seven trumpets of rams' horns before the ark of Yahweh went on continually, and blew with the trumpets: and the ^a 'armed men went before them; and the rearward ^a 'came after the ark of Yahweh, [the priests] blowing with the trumpets as they went.		
q Gen 19 ¹⁵	14 And the second day they compassed the city once, and returned into the camp: so they did six days. ¹⁵ And it came to pass on the seventh day, that they ^a 'rose early at the ^a 'dawning of the day, and compassed the city after the same manner seven times: ^a 'only on that day they compassed the city seven times.		a 284
r Cp 2 2 ⁹	16 ^a And it came to pass at the seventh time, ^a 'when the priests blew with the trumpets, ^{16b} ^a 'And Joshua ^a 'said unto the people, Shout; for Yahweh hath ^a 'given you the city. ¹⁷ And the city shall be ^a 'devoted, [even] it and all that is therein, to Yahweh: ^a 'only Rahab the harlot shall ^a 'live, she and all that are ^a 'with her in the house, ^a 'because she ^a 'hid the messengers that we sent.		b 189
s Cp 25a t 21 ⁹ u 25b ct 24 6 §	18 ^a 'And ye, ^a 'in any wise keep yourselves from the devoted thing, lest when ye have ^a 'devoted it, ye take of the devoted thing; so should ye make the camp of Israel ^a 'accursed, and ^a 'trouble it. ¹⁹ ^a 'But all the silver, and gold, and vessels of brass and iron, are ^a 'holy unto Yahweh: they shall come into the ^a 'treasury of Yahweh.		c 85
v 725 Gen 34 ³⁰ w 24b ct Num 31 ²² .. 54			d 290b

clause, the second seems clearly needed to prepare for 14: the rest of the instructions to Joshua concerning the events of the seventh day (what about the sabbath?) have been removed to make way for E, whose narrative has lost its opening.

6^a M Or, jubile trumpets.

5^a § idiom as in Ex 19¹³, when the ram's horn soundeth long. This clause is not in G which reads simply 'when ye blow with the trumpet (cp 20b) all the people &c'; it seems a duplicate to the following 'when ye hear' which is guaranteed by 20b. The phrase has an antique air, but can hardly be assigned to J which has no place for it, nor to E¹ contrasted with E², as there are no other adequate indications of such a distinction.

6^b M § in its place.

7^a M Another reading is, *he*.—This seems preferable cp 16b 3⁵: the clause is the sequel of 5.

8 This clause is not found in G which renders the rest of 8.

by imperatives. The present § punctuation probably disguises an older interpretation, according to which 6 contained instructions for the procession instead of narrative. This begins in 12b 'took up' cp 'take up' 6.

16^a This construction may be translated by 'that,' Driver, *Tenses* § 78 (1), and the sequel is then found in 20b.

16^b So §. RV connects the clause with the preceding.

17^a M See Lev 27²⁵ Deut 20¹⁷.

17^b This clause is lacking in G cp 20b. The preceding may also be editorial.

18^a The opening words 'and only' distinctly suggest an addition here. The verse seems a preparation for the story in 7. Bennett and Addis join Dillmann in reading with G 'lest ye covet' חסדו חסדו cp 7²¹ and Deut 7²⁵.

18^b M § devoted.

19 A further expansion cp 24b, where the 'treasury of the

	J	E	R ^d	J	E	P ^e
	20 ^a	So the people shouted,				
	20 ^b	^a And [the priests] blew with the trumpets: and it came to pass, when the people heard the 'sound of the trumpet, that the people 'shouted with a great shout, and the wall fell down 'flat, so that the people went up into the city, every man straight before him.				
x Gen 19 ⁴ y Gen 34 ²⁶ op z 21 ¹⁵⁰	20 ^c	and they took the city. ²¹ And they 'devoted all that was in the city, both man and woman, ^a both young and old, and ox, and sheep, and ass, with the 'edge of the sword.				
a' 21 ¹³	22	And Joshua said unto the 'two men that had spied out the land, Go into the harlot's house, and bring out thence the woman, and all that she hath, 'as ye sware unto her. ²³ And the young men the spies went in, and brought out Rahab, and her 'father, and her mother, and her brethren, and all that she had, all her 'kindred also they brought out; and they set them 'without the camp of Israel. ²⁴ And they 'burnt the city with fire, and all that was therein: only the silver, and the gold, and the vessels of brass and of iron, they put into the 'treasury of the 'house of Yahweh.				e 720 ^b
b' Ct 21 op 82 ^b Deut 13 ¹⁶	25	But Rahab the harlot, and her 'father's household, and all that she had, did Joshua 'save alive; and she 'dwelt in the midst of Israel, unto this day; because she hid the 'messengers, which Joshua sent to spy out Jericho.				
c' 21 ¹³ d' Gen 19 ¹⁹ e' 9 ⁷ 13 ¹³ 16 ¹⁰ f 26 ⁶ g' Gen 24 ³ h' Gen 38 ¹ Num 22 ⁴	26	And Joshua 'charged them with an oath 'at that time, saying, 'Cursed be the man before Yahweh, that riseth up and buildeth this city Jericho: With the loss of his firstborn shall he 'lay the foundation thereof, and with the loss of his 'youngest son shall he 'set up the gates of it. ²⁷ So Yahweh was 'with Joshua, and his 'fame was in all the land.				f 24
i' 5 ¹ op 1 Kings 16 ³⁴ j' Gen 35 ²⁰ op k 21 ¹⁵⁰ l 15 ¹⁵ m 9 ⁹ n Gen 38 ²⁰ Num 26 ³⁰	71	^a But the children of Israel 'committed a trespass in the devoted thing: for Achan, the son of Carmi, the son of Zabdi, the son of 'Zerah, of the 'tribe of Judah, took of the devoted thing: and the anger of Yahweh was kindled against the children of Israel.				g 9 ^a a 76 ⁴ b 76 ⁵
b Gen 12 ⁸ 22 ²⁷ c Num 13 ^{17b} d Ct 21 op Num 21 ³² 22 ¹²	2	And Joshua sent men 'from Jericho to Ai, which is beside 'Beth-aven, on the 'east side of Beth-el, and spake unto them, saying, 'Go up and 'spy out 'the land. And the men went up and spied out Ai. ³ And they returned to Joshua, and said unto him, Let not all the people go up; but let about two or three thousand men go up and smite Ai; make not all the people to 'toil thither; for they are but 'few. ⁴ So there went up thither of the people about three thousand men: and they fled before the 'men of Ai. ⁵ And the 'men of Ai smote of them about thirty and				
e 5 ¹ Pl ^a op 24 ¹³ f Cp 25 ⁵¹ g 8 ²⁰ 25 op 9 ⁶ h 24 ¹⁰						

house of Yahweh' suggests later arrangements, 1 Chron 29¹. For the formula 'holiness is it to Yahweh' cp 70⁰.

^{20b} These opening words simply reproduce ^{15a}; the absence of a subject cp 9¹³ and the repetition suggest that they are supplemental.

^{20b} M. § in its place.

²¹ So M. § the same root as in 17. T utterly destroyed.

²² Not in G. Apparently an editorial touch founded on the combined narrative 21⁷.

²³ M. § families.—Cp 65. (G) more briefly 'her brethren and her kindred and all that she had, and they set her' &c, where the different position of 'her kindred' indicates the probable presence of additions to the text. For 'set' Gen 19¹⁶ cp P's usage Ex 16²⁴ Lev 24¹² Num 15²⁴ al: exclusion from the camp as unclean cp 150^b.

²⁴ Cp 1 Chron 29⁸. The reference to the temple is lacking in G.

²⁵ So in 17 only; G spies. The clause is probably editorial, as in 17.

⁷¹ An introduction to the story of Achan from the hand of R^d. The affinities of the passage with P are shown by the terms 'trespass' and 'tribe' as well as by the genealogy of Achan. The use of the ancient phrase 'the anger of Yahweh was kindled' finds a parallel in P^e Num 32¹⁰ 13 cp 233. It may possibly signify that this verse is based on an older statement of J.

²⁶ No clear signs of combination of separate sources can be detected in this narrative. The clauses in 3 'let not all the people go up' and 'make not all the people toil thither' might be regarded as doublets if other conflicting statements could be

discovered: but in the absence of substantial divergence this view receives no support. The main story shows most affinity with J cp the margins, the phrases 'men of Ai' 4 'oh Lord' 5 'wherefore' 10 'sanctify yourselves' 11 'thus saith Yahweh' 12, the unusual term for 'man' 14, even the detail 'ran' 22, all pointing to J's manner of narration. But it has been treated editorially both by R^d and R^p. Traces of R^d will probably be found in 5b 7b 11 12b 15b 23; while the hand of R^p may be seen in 1 18, 24. The aggregation in 11 where 22 'and also' recurs five times over at the beginning of successive clauses, is probably the result of this kind of expansion. Steuern agrees that the story is mainly from one source, but identifies it with E.

²⁶ G omits 'from Jericho' 'Beth-aven on the east side of' 'and spake unto them' 'go up and'; and Steuern strikes them all out of the text. The first may quite possibly be a late addition; on the second cp 20; the third seems required for the following 'saying'; and the fourth appears guaranteed by the sequel 'went up and spied.'

²⁰ G Bethel, the following words of § being absent. Wellhausen, therefore, suggested that a late scribe had adopted the language of prophetic condemnation Amos 5⁵ Hos 4¹⁵ al, and converted Beth-El, 'house of God,' into Beth-Aven, 'house of nought.' Still later, another scribe, not perceiving the significance of the name, added the geographical description cp Gen 12⁶. But a place called Beth-aven seems to be well established 1812 1 Sam 13⁵ 14²³. Cp Driver, Joel and Amos 177; Buhl, Geographie des alten Palästina (1896) 174, who rejects Schlatter's attempt to identify Beth-aven everywhere with Bethel. Steuern, on the other hand, denies its existence.

²⁴ G Ai, as in the following clause; cp Jaser, Num 21²².

J E R^d J E P^r
 six men: and they chased them [from] before the gate even unto
 "Shebarim, and smote them at the going down: and the hearts of the people
 "melted, and became as water. ⁶ And Joshua "rent his clothes, and "fell to
 the earth upon his face before "the ark of Yahweh until the evening, he
 and the "elders of Israel; and they put dust upon their heads. ⁷ And
 Joshua said, "Alas, O "Lord Yahweh, wherefore hast thou at all brought
 this people over Jordan, "to deliver us into the hand of the Amorites, to "cause
 us to perish? would that we had been "content and dwelt beyond Jordan!
 "Oh Lord, "what shall I say, after that Israel hath "turned their backs
 before their enemies! ⁸ For the Canaanites and "all the inhabitants of the
 land shall "hear of it, and shall "compass us round, and "cut off our name
 from the earth: and what wilt thou do for thy "great name? ¹⁰ And
 Yahweh said unto Joshua, Get thee up; "wherefore art thou thus "fallen
 upon thy face? ¹¹ Israel hath sinned; "yea, they have even transgressed my
 covenant which I commanded them: yea, they have even "taken of the
 devoted thing; and have also stolen, and "dissembled also, and they have even put it
 among their own stuff. ¹² Therefore the children of Israel cannot stand
 before their enemies, they "turn their backs before their enemies, because
 they are become "accursed: "I will not be "with you any more, except ye
 "destroy the devoted thing from among you. ¹³ Up, sanctify the people, and
 say, "Sanctify yourselves against to-morrow: for "thus saith Yahweh,
 "the God of Israel, There is a devoted thing in the midst of thee,
 O Israel: thou canst not stand before thine enemies, until ye take away
 the devoted thing from among you. ¹⁴ "In the morning therefore ye
 shall be "brought near ^bby your tribes: and it shall be, that the tribe
 which Yahweh taketh shall come near by families; and the family
 which Yahweh shall take shall come near by households; and the
 household which Yahweh shall take shall come near "man by man.
¹⁵ And it shall be, that he that is taken with the devoted thing shall be
 burnt with fire, he and "all that he hath: because he hath "transgressed the
 covenant of Yahweh, and because he hath "wrought folly in Israel.
¹⁶ So Joshua "rose up early in the morning, and "brought Israel near
 "by their tribes; and the tribe of Judah was taken: ¹⁷ and he brought
 near the "family of Judah; and he took the family of the Zerahites:
 and he brought near the family of the Zerahites "man by man; and
 Zabdi was taken: ¹⁸ and he brought near his household man by man;
 and Achan, "the son of Carmi, the son of Zabdi, the son of Zerah, of the "tribe of Judah, was
 taken. ¹⁹ And Joshua said unto Achan, "My son, "give, I pray thee, glory to
 Yahweh, the God of Israel, and "make confession unto him; and "tell me now what thou
 hast done; "hide it not from me. ²⁰ And Achan answered Joshua, and
 said, Of a "truth I have sinned against Yahweh, the "God of Israel, and

7⁵ M Or, the quarries.

⁷ This verse seems to have received some Deuteronomic touches, possibly 'Lord Yahweh,' and more decidedly in the clause concerning the Amorites cp Dent 1⁸⁷, and et Canaanites ⁹, though Steuernagel assigns ⁹ also to B^d.

¹¹ The first verb is in the singular: the remaining five follow in pl, introduced by וְ . The 'transgression of the covenant' embodies a Deuteronomic idea cp 23¹⁶ Deut 17² Judges 2²⁰ 2 Kings 18¹² Jer 34¹⁸; and the clause 'which I commanded them' has the same sort of echo cp 22² Deut 31⁵ 29 Judg 2²⁰ 2 Kings 17¹³ Jer 1¹⁴ Mal 4⁴. The third and fourth verbs are unrepresented in Q , and may be yet later additions: the fivefold וְ can hardly be original. ^{12a} M See 61¹⁴.

17b The change of address here from Joshua to the guilty people, and the use of **הַטְּמִי** suggest another hand.

¹⁵ The peculiar distribution of this title in the Hexateuch has aroused critical suspicion. Prior to Josh it occurs only in Ex ³² 32³⁷ cp 34²⁸; but in Josh it is frequent, 7¹⁹, 8³⁰ 9¹¹, 10⁴⁰ 42 13¹⁴ 13³⁴ 14²¹ 24²⁴ 24²⁵. Some of these passages show affinity with D (8³⁰ 10⁴⁰ 13¹⁴ 14²¹ 24²⁵), others with P (9¹¹, 22¹⁶). Dillm accordingly ascribes its employment in Josh to R^d (so Addis here, *Hex* i 212, but in *ii* 154, RP), while Kuenen, *Hex* 342, and Holzinger, *Hex* 502, assign it regularly to RP. But it is used in the narrative-books which

follow e.g. Judg 4⁵ 5⁵ 11²¹ 23 &c, and in the formula of the text Judg 6¹ 1 Sam 10¹⁸ 2 Sam 12⁷ &c, where there is no need to suspect the activity of either B^d or B^p. It can hardly, therefore, be regarded as the sole property of any single school; its occurrence in the Song of Deborah guarantees its antiquity; and it is consequently not treated here as a sign of editorial revision in the interest either of D or P, though its repeated use is probably due to some later scribal preference.

¹⁴ The passage which follows may owe something to later expansion, but it cannot be said to present any decisive marks of D (Addis, *Her* ii 152), save in ^{15b}. D does not inflict burning on human beings: cp *Leut* 13¹⁴. The penalty is named in P^h *Lev* 24²¹, and is probably a survival of older use. The method of selection indicated in ¹⁴ seems to occur in another case: *Sam* 10²⁶, ascribed by Budde in Haupt's *SBOT* to E².

17a **M** According to some ancient authorities, *families*.—(Y) curtails ¹⁷.

^{17b} **M** According to some ancient authorities, *by households*.

¹⁴ Reproduced from ¹. The word מִשְׁבֵּט suddenly introduced for 'tribe,' instead of מִשְׁפָּחָה ¹⁴ ¹⁶, is decisive for **P**.

19a (5) & omit 'my son.' The phrases 'give glory' and 'make confession' seem later in style, and are probably additional.

195 **M** Or, *give praise*.—Cp **Ezr** 10¹¹.

	J	E	R ^d	J	E	P ^e
m' Cp Gen 45 ²⁸			m' thus and thus have I done ^x : ²¹ when I saw among the spoil a goodly			
' Gen 25 ²⁵			"Babylonish" mantle, and two hundred shekels of silver, and a wedge			
o' Gen 24 ²²			of gold of fifty shekels o' weight, then I v' coveted them, and took them;			
n' Gen 3 ⁶ Ex			and, behold, they are c' hid in the earth in the midst of my tent, and			
34 ²⁴			the silver under it. ²² So Joshua "sent messengers, and they 'ran unto			i 70
o' 2 ⁸			the tent; and, behold, it was hid in his tent, and the silver under it.			
r' Gen 32 ⁸			²³ And they took them from the midst of the tent, and brought them			
			unto Joshua, and unto "all the children of Israel; and they 'laid them			
a' 5 ² 2 Sam 15 ²⁴			down before Yahweh. ²⁴ And Joshua, "and all Israel with him, took			
			Achan the son of Zerah, and the silver, and the mantle, and the wedge of gold, and his			
			sons, and his daughters, and his oxen, and his asses, and his sheep, and his tent, and d' all			
t' Gen 34 ³⁰			that he had: and they brought them up unto the valley of Achor.			
u' Cp 15			²⁵ And Joshua said, Why hast thou 'troubled us? Yahweh shall trouble			
			thee this day. "And all Israel stoned him with stones. And they "burned			
v' Ex 32 ¹² Deut			them with fire, and stoned them with stones. ²⁶ And they raised over him			
13 ¹⁷			a great heap of stones, unto this day; and Yahweh "turned from the			
w' Gen 11 ⁹ 25 ¹⁵			fierceness of his anger. "Wherefore the name of that place was called,			
			The valley of "Achor, unto this day.			
			²⁷ And Yahweh said unto Joshua, "Fear not, neither be thou dismayed:			a 44 ^c
a Cp 2 11 10 ⁷ 17 ¹⁷			take "all the people of war ^a with thee, and Arise, go up to Ai;			
1 Sam 13 ¹⁵ 13 ¹⁵			^{1b} see, I have given into thy hand the king of Ai, and his people, and his city,			
b 62 cp Num 21 ³⁴			and his land: ^{2a} and "thou shalt do to Ai and her king as thou didst unto			b 84
Deut 3 ²			Jericho and her king: ^{2b} only the d'spoil thereof, and the cattle thereof, shall ye			c 89
c Deut 3 ²			"take for a prey unto yourselves:			
d 27 11 ¹⁴ 2103			^{2b} set thee an ambush for the city behind it. ³ So Joshua arose, and "all			
			the people of war, to go up to Ai: and Joshua chose out thirty thousand			
e 14			men, "the mighty men of valour, and sent them forth by night. ⁴ And he			
f Ex 32 ⁸			commanded them, saying, "See, ye shall lie in ambush against the city,			
g Ex 34 ²			behind the city: 'go not very far from the city, but be ye all 'ready:			
h 5 = come near			⁵ and I, and all the people that are with me, will 'approach unto the			
7 ¹⁴			city: and "it shall come to pass, when they come out against us, as at			d 3 ^b
i Cp 7 ⁴			the 'first, that we will flee before them; ⁶ and they will come out after			
j 16 cp 4 ¹⁸ 5			us, till we have 'drawn them away from the city; for they will say,			
			They flee before us, as at the first; "so we will flee before them: ⁷ and ye			

7²⁰ Albers and Steuern understand this expression as implying that nothing further need be said; ²¹ therefore is a later explanation, and ²² must go with it. But they seem necessary for the story: for the usage cp 2 Kings 9¹².

²¹ M. 5 mantle of Shinar.—Cp Gen 10¹⁰.

²³ 5 'the elders of Israel' cp 6.

²⁴ This clause stands in 5 at the end of the sentence, after 'all that he had,' where 5 reads 'and all the people with him.' Its position betrays the awkwardness of the insertion. For 'all Israel' as a sign of R^d cp 3' and 2a^a. The subsequent enumeration of Achan's family and goods is probably an expansion. 5 reads 'And Joshua took Achan the son of Zerah and brought him up to the valley of Achor, and his sons... and all that he had, and all the people with him, and he brought them up to Emek-Achor (valley of Achor)': where the dislocation and the repetition point to the earlier and simpler text. The purpose of the editor is plain: he seeks to show that the action of Joshua conformed to the standard of the law cp Deut 13¹⁵, which demanded that goods subject to 'devotion' should all be burned.

²⁵ The literary phenomena here are perplexing. 'All Israel' seems due to R^d, but the following words 'stoned him with stones' (סר) are elsewhere characteristic of P^e 152. On the other hand, the second 'stoned them with stones' (סר) is a formula found solely in D, Deut 13¹⁰ 17² 22²¹ 24.* The accumulation of punishments, stoning, burning, and stoning again, must be caused by successive textual manipulations. The first story contemplated execution by fire ¹⁵: R^d and R^p have each added his own formula, and a scribe has intermixed them. The burning and the second stoning do not appear in 5. In ²⁶ the cairn is raised over Achan alone, as though he were the only sufferer.

²⁶ M. That is, Troubling.

²⁷ The narrative of the capture of Ai does not yield easily to analysis; but it contains at least one clear proof of dual origin.

In 5-9 Joshua dispatches a force of thirty thousand men by night, who are instructed to lie in ambush on the west side, between Ai and Bethel. There, also, at a subsequent stage in the story ¹², he posts five thousand men, although thirty thousand are already on the spot. These statements must be regarded as independent versions of the same transaction, though the disproportion in the numbers is striking. The first seems to belong to a narrative related by numerous parallels with previous passages assigned to J; the second is therefore provisionally ascribed to E. Further evidence of combination of two sources may be found in the sequel. In one account the events follow the course indicated in 5-7; in another, Joshua stretches out his javelin and continues to hold it extended until the inhabitants of the city have been devoted ¹⁸ 26. The analogy of this incident with the significance of the outstretched hand of Moses Ex 6²² 17¹¹ wielding the rod, confirms the view that the elements which are incongruous with J may be attributed to E. One or two slight stylistic indications arise out of this partition, thus cp 'men of Ai' ²⁰ with 'inhabitants of Ai' ²⁴ 26, and their parallels elsewhere. The whole story has received numerous additional touches from R^d, whose hand has been active from end to end. Various curtailments in 5 are probably due to the desire to escape discrepancies by omission.

¹⁵ The touches of R^d in 1. are numerous, and possibly really include more than is indicated in the text. The opening phrase cp 10²⁵ recalls Deut 1²¹ 31⁸; Dillm further ascribes to R^d the peculiar expression 'all the people of war': the parallel in Deut 3² makes it highly likely that the clause 'see, I have given' &c likewise belongs to him, as ^{2a} certainly does. Thus the whole introduction has gathered round the command 'Arise, go up to Ai, ... set thee an ambush.'

⁴ 5 as in 1b 2b. T behold.

⁶ Absent from 5. Probably an accidental repetition from the close of the previous verse.

	J E	R ^d	J E P ^r
i Num 14 ²⁴	shall rise up from the ambush, and 'take possession of the city: 'for Yahweh 'your God will 'deliver it into your hand.	8 ^a And it shall be, when ye have 'seized upon the city, that ye shall 'set the city on fire.	o p ^r f p ^{5a}
i 2 Sam 39 ¹² u 19 6 ^a z cp 2a	9 ^b According to the 'word of Yahweh shall ye do: 'see, I have commanded you.	9 And Joshua sent them forth: and they went to the ambushment, and abode between Beth-el and Ai, on the west side of Ai: but Joshua 'lodged that night among the 'people.	z 99
o 61L p 1 Sam 13 ¹⁵ z Sam 18 ¹ p 7 ^d	10 And Joshua 'rose up early in the morning, and 'mustered the people, and went up, he and the 'elders of Israel, before the people to Ai.	11 And all the people, [even] 'the [men of] war that were with him, 'went up, and drew nigh, and came before the city, and 'pitched on the north side of Ai: now there was a valley between him and Ai.	
r 10 ⁵ 12 ⁵	12 ^w And he took about five thousand men, and set them in ambush between Beth-el and Ai, on the west side of 'the city.	13 'So they set the people, even all the host that was on the 'north side of the city, and their 'liers in wait that were on the 'west of the city; and Joshua 'went that night into the midst of the vale.	
o Cp 11 i Cp 9 12	14 'And it came to pass, "when the king of Ai saw it, that they 'hasted and rose up early, and the men of the 'city "went out against Israel to battle, "he and all his people, "at the time appointed, before the Arabah; but he wist not that there was an ambush against him "behind the city.	15 And Joshua and 'all Israel 'made as if they were beaten before them, and 'fled by the way of the wilderness.	h 43
u Gen 24 ³⁰ v Num 21 ³³ Deut 28 ³ 3 ² 20 ⁷ 1 Sam 4 ¹ u Cp 4	16 And all the people that were in 'the city were 'called together to pursue after them: and they pursued after Joshua, and were 'drawn away from the city.	17 And there was not a man 'left in Ai 'or Beth-el, that went not out after Israel: and they left the city open, and pursued after Israel.	i 69
z Cp 5 & 20b ^w y 6 Judg 6 ³⁴ 15 ²² 1 Sam 14 ²⁰ †	18 And Yahweh said unto Joshua, 'Stretch out the javelin that is in thy hand toward Ai; 'for I will give it into thine hand. And Joshua stretched out the javelin that was in his hand toward the city. . .	19 And the ambush 'arose 'quickly out of their place, and they 'ran 'as	j 43 ^c k 70
r Ex 9 ²² 10 ¹² 21 cp 17 ¹¹			
o Cp 7			

8^r Two marks of D point to expansion here. 'Deliver' = 'give' 6. (9) passes from 7^a to 8^b.

9 This clause is wanting in (9). A difficulty arises at this point in connexion with 13^b. As the narrative stands, Joshua and the people march up to Ai on the day following the dispatch of the thirty thousand 10; the second ambush is posted 12; and Joshua spends a second night before the attack in 'the midst of the vale.' The thirty thousand, therefore, lie in wait a whole day doing nothing. Part of the difficulty is removed by the recognition of the fact that 12 is not from the same source as 9, and that 12 is an editorial attempt to bring 12 into line with the sequence indicated in 3-9. But where did Joshua sleep? According to 9 at Gilgal which he had not himself left, 'in the midst of the people' הָעָם: according to 13 'in the midst of the vale' הַבְּקִיעַ. Ewald, therefore, proposed (*Hist.* ii 248⁷) to read 'the vale' in 9, and this suggestion has been widely adopted. But if so, he had already quitted Gilgal, and his departure in 10 must be ascribed to a new source. On the other hand the formula in 3 'arose to go up' does not seem to imply as much as the more common sequence 'arose and went up.' It is sufficiently explained by the preparatory dispatch of the men selected for the ambush, the plan being completed by Joshua's own departure next morning. A similar connexion 'lodged' 'rose up early' will be found in 1 Sam 13¹⁵ 2 Sam 18¹ assigned by Budde (in Haupt's *SBOT*) to J. The elders of Israel act with Joshua in 7^d J. In spite, therefore, of Dillm, Kittel, Albers, and Addis, the text adheres to the view of Wellh and Kuen in regarding 10 as continuous with 9; though it should be added that these masters regard 3a as the introduction to 12.

11a 6 'all the people the war.' Apparently produced by adding הַמִּלְחָמָה in forgetfulness of the article in הָעָם: cp 31¹⁴ 17 6. Is this an indication that the phrase in 1 'all the people of war' is editorial? (so Dillm).

11b The series 'went up . . drew nigh . . came . . pitched' suggests the possibility of some amalgamation.

12a Cp 15^w. The text of (9) is here extremely brief, the 'five

thousand' being omitted, and 13 being dropped altogether.

12b M. Another reading is, Ai.—וְיָרָד לְיָרְדָה.

13a M. Or, *So the people set all etc.*—The verse seems part of the first combination of JE as it shows no trace of R^d. 'North' cp 11, 'West' 9 12.

13b 6 apparently 'his heel,' an ambiguous phrase designed by R (Dillm) to harmonize the discrepant numbers.

13c M. Some MSS read *lodged that night in*.—וַיִּלָּחֶם לַיְלָה.

14a The narrative here presents some signs of composite origin, though the text defies resolution. The verb 'they hasted' has no subject: 'rose up early' is not the natural sequel of 'seeing' and 'making haste': 'men of the city' and 'he and all his people' seem duplicates.

14b Perhaps Ai, as in 12; cp 'men of Ai' 20.

14c Apparently a Deuteronomic phrase cp 25⁶.

14d M. Or, *to the place appointed*.—Either rendering involves difficulties, for no specification of time or place has been named. Bennett proposes וְיָרָד לְיָרְדָה 'at the going down.' The matter is further complicated by the unexpected mention of the Arabah which seems like another doublet cp 14a^w.

15a (9) omits. Cp 2a^w. The formula occurs again 21 24 et 14 17 22. (9) seems to curtail considerably, omitting the last clause.

15b Addis, quoting Kimhi, regards this rendering as lacking grammatical justification, and urges that this belongs to a story in which the Israelites were really beaten, and only recovered themselves 'by the magical effect of Joshua's outstretched spear.' The word is unusual in the sense of defeat in battle (נִפְחָה, Niph here only).

16 M. as in 12b^w.

17 Wanting in (9). As the ambush lay between Ai and Beth-el according to both stories, it is not easy to see how the men of Beth-el could have joined in the pursuit. It is hardly likely, therefore, that these words belong to a narrative of joint attack on Ai and Beth-el, of which nothing is said elsewhere. They seem due rather to awkward editorial supplementation.

18 Probably due to R^d cp 7^b.

19 These words result from the incorporation of 18. The am-

	J	E	R ^d	J	E	P ^r
			soon as he had stretched out his hand, and entered into the city, and took it; and they ^b hasted and ^m set the city on fire. ²⁰ And when the ^b men of Ai looked behind them, they ¹ saw, and, behold, the smoke of the city ^c ascended up to heaven, and they had no ⁿ power to flee this way or that way: ^a and the people that fled to the wilderness turned back upon the pursuers.			
^b 21 25 7 ^a at 24 26			²¹ And when ^d Joshua and all Israel saw that the ambush had taken the city, and that the smoke of the city ^c ascended, then they turned again, and slew the ^v men of Ai. ²² And the other came forth out of the city ^c against them; so they were in the midst of Israel, some on this side, and some on that side: and they smote them, ⁿ so that they let none of them remain or escape. ²³ And ^j 'the king of Ai they ^v took alive, and brought him to Joshua.			
^c \S = went up Gen 19 ²⁸			²⁴ And it came to pass, when Israel had ^v made an end of slaying all the ⁿ inhabitants of Ai in the field, ⁿ in the wilderness wherein they pursued them, and they were all fallen by the edge of the sword, ^c until they were consumed, that ⁿ all Israel returned unto Ai, and ^j smote it with the edge of the sword.			
^d Cp 16			²⁵ And all that fell that day, both of men and women, were twelve thousand, even all the ^v men of Ai.			
^e Cp 5 14			²⁶ ^a And Joshua drew not back his hand, wherewith he stretched out the javelin, until he had ^t devoted all the ⁿ inhabitants of Ai.			
^f Cp 14 10 ²³			²⁷ ^b Only the cattle and the ^d spoils of that city Israel ^t took for a prey unto themselves, according unto the ⁿ word of Yahweh which he commanded Joshua.			
^g 10 ²⁰ Deut 31 ²⁴ 1 Sam 24 ¹⁸ al ^h 18 23 11 10 ¹⁰ at 20			²⁸ ^a And Joshua burnt Ai, and ^v made it an ⁿ heap for ever, [even] a desolation, ⁿ unto this day.			
ⁱ 10 ²⁰ Deut 21 ⁵ ^j 10 ²⁸ 19 ⁴⁷ Num 21 ²⁴ cp 15 ¹⁵⁰			²⁹ And the ^j 'king of Ai he ^t hanged on a tree until the eventide: ^a and ^m at the going down of the sun Joshua commanded, and they took his carcass down from the tree, and cast it at the ⁿ entering of the gate of the city, and ^c raised thereon a great heap of stones, unto this day.			
^k Cp Jer 68 10 ²² 49 ³			³⁰ ⁿ Then Joshua ^p built an altar unto Yahweh, the ^c 'God of Israel, in mount			
^l 10 ²⁶						
^m Deut 16 ⁶						
ⁿ 20 ⁴ Judg 9 ⁵⁵ 44						
^o 7 ²⁶						
^p Deut 27 ⁵						
^q 7 ¹³						

bush on the west side could hardly have seen Joshua among the Israelites fleeing eastwards towards the Arabah 14.

^{830a} M \S hands.

^{830b} This statement anticipates the narrative of ²¹ which is the obvious sequel of ²⁰. It must therefore be ascribed to another source. \S omits it. Is it simply editorial, or does it point (in connexion with 15b 24) to a story of flight in E? J prepares for 'flight' ¹, but says nothing beforehand of the 'wilderness.'

²² \S 'until they had left none remaining or escaped.' The formula occurs in 10²³ (24) 37 39. 11⁸ Deut 2³⁴ 3³ Num 21³⁵† cp 2 Kings 10¹¹ and seems to have a Deuteronomic complexion. For the addition 'or escaped' cp Jer 42¹⁷.

^{24a} Another collocation of phrases from different sources; thus 'in the field' || 'in the wilderness (\S mountain)'; 'edge of the sword' twice; 'until they were consumed' cp 20¹⁷ 31^{7b} &c. Cp 10²⁰. \S again curtails, omitting 'and they were all' &c.

^{24b} (\S Joshua. Cp 15¹⁵⁰).

^{26a} \S as in 24. T for. The verse is wanting in \S , save that the last words 'all the inhabitants of Ai' appear in place of 'all the men of Ai' 25.

^{26b} So \S M. T utterly destroyed.

^{27a} \S as in 26. T so. The statement is independent of 19-21, and may possibly belong to E^d cp Deut 13¹⁶.

^{27b} M Or, mound, \S tel.—Deut 13¹⁶.

²⁹ This verse contains one or two phrases in D's style, and may have assumed its existing form in connexion with the law now embodied in Deut 21²². Cp 10²⁷.

³⁰ This section is clearly connected with Deut 27¹⁻⁸ 12, but the precise nature of the connexion cannot be exactly determined. That passage was believed to embody an early instruction of E. The erection of such an altar would not after all be inconsistent with the fundamental principle of the unity of the sanctuary, as the people had not yet taken possession of their inheritance, and the place which Yahweh would choose for his worship was not yet selected. The original command in E, however, probably pointed to some special sanctuary at Shechem. Does this story similarly rest on E's account of its fulfilment? The corresponding element would then be disengaged as follows:—*'Then Joshua built an altar to Yahweh in Mount Ebal, an*

altar of unhewn stones upon which no man had lift up any iron: and they offered (\S he offered) thereon burnt offerings to Yahweh, and sacrificed peace offerings.' Many critics suppose that such an original nucleus may be thus recovered. Other phenomena, however, rather point in the direction of the derivation of the whole narrative (with modifications) from Deut 27. If the E passage were original, it would probably be found in its actual place in the series of E's traditions. But this could hardly be its present position. It is not obvious how Israel could have performed such a ceremony at the gates of Shechem without having conquered Central Canaan, but of such a conquest no further record remains, and the narrative in 10 shows that it had not yet taken place. \S places 20-25 after 9¹: is this a deliberate transposition, or a sign of the late addition of this passage which found insertion at different points in different texts? The former seems on the whole more probable in view (1) of the indications of accommodation in \S elsewhere, and (2) of the fact that the narrative makes no reference to Deut 27¹⁴⁻²⁶, presumably because that interpretation of the curse was not then known. The historical difficulty is not overcome by \S 's arrangement, which locates the scene in face of a great military coalition against the Israelites: other critics have accordingly suggested that it once marked the close of the whole conquest, and followed 11²³. Dillm conjectured that J^m once contained a fuller account of the campaign in Middle Canaan, the story of the advance of Joshua from Ai to Shechem having been curtailed cp Kittel, *Hist* i 289: E then proceeded to relate the fulfilment of the instructions in Deut 27¹⁻⁸, and on that nucleus the present narrative is based in correspondence with the expanded form in Deut. The text, however, does not actually correspond to Deut 27¹⁻⁸. The writer has apparently wished to simplify the transaction, or has misunderstood the original instruction. The plastered stones Deut 27²⁻⁴ are never mentioned, and the law is apparently inscribed on the unhewn blocks of the altar. It is so difficult to believe that the writer actually meant this, that it seems almost needful to suppose some accidental omission. But the rest of the story also shows considerable departures from its predecessor. The two groups into which the nation is divided, do not stand on the mountains

	J	E	R ^a	J	E	P ^b
¹⁰ Deut 27 ⁴			¹⁰ Deut 27 ⁴			
¹¹			¹¹			
¹² 2 Kings 14 ⁶ ¹³			¹² 2 Kings 14 ⁶ ¹³			n 190
¹⁴ Deut 27 ⁴			¹⁴ Deut 27 ⁴			
¹⁵ Deut 17 ¹⁸			¹⁵ Deut 17 ¹⁸			
¹⁶ Deut 29 ¹⁰ 31 ²⁸			¹⁶ Deut 29 ¹⁰ 31 ²⁸			
¹⁷ Lev 24 ¹⁶ 22			¹⁷ Lev 24 ¹⁶ 22			
¹⁸ Cp 23 ⁴			¹⁸ Cp 23 ⁴			
¹⁹ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			¹⁹ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			²⁰ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			²¹ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			²² Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			²³ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			²⁴ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			²⁵ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			²⁶ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			²⁷ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			²⁸ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			²⁹ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			³⁰ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			³¹ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			³² Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			³³ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			³⁴ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			³⁵ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			³⁶ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			³⁷ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			³⁸ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			³⁹ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			⁴⁰ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			⁴¹ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			⁴² Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			⁴³ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			⁴⁴ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			⁴⁵ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			⁴⁶ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			⁴⁷ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			⁴⁸ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			⁴⁹ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			⁵⁰ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			⁵¹ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			⁵² Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			⁵³ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			⁵⁴ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			⁵⁵ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			⁵⁶ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			⁵⁷ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			⁵⁸ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			⁵⁹ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			⁶⁰ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			⁶¹ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			⁶² Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			⁶³ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			⁶⁴ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			⁶⁵ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			⁶⁶ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			⁶⁷ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			⁶⁸ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			⁶⁹ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			⁷⁰ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			⁷¹ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			⁷² Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			⁷³ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			⁷⁴ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			⁷⁵ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			⁷⁶ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			⁷⁷ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
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			⁷⁹ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			⁸⁰ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			⁸¹ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			⁸² Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			⁸³ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			⁸⁴ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			⁸⁵ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			⁸⁶ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			⁸⁷ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			⁸⁸ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			⁸⁹ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			⁹⁰ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			⁹¹ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			⁹² Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			⁹³ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			⁹⁴ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			⁹⁵ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			⁹⁶ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			⁹⁷ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			⁹⁸ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			⁹⁹ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			
			¹⁰⁰ Deut 27 ¹² 11 ²⁹			

Deut 27¹², but in front of them; and the whole law is solemnly read aloud to them (instead of the recitation of the liturgical curses Deut 27¹⁵⁻²⁶). The change in the position of the people may have some reference to the obscure instruction in Deut 11²⁰, as well as to the wish to provide a situation suitable for the reading of the law: but in view of the close adherence of R^a in Josh 1 (for example) to prior Deuteronomistic material, it may be doubted whether this section can be ascribed to the earlier stage of the Deuteronomistic redaction, or whether it must not rather be regarded as among the latest and more independent additions of the school. Some indication of this is perhaps to be found in the Levitical phrase 'as well the stranger as the home-born' ²³, though this may easily be isolated as a detached insertion. Kuenen viewed ²³ and the reference to 'the blessing and the curse' ²⁴ as later insertions, but 'the awkwardness may arise from the effort of a single Deuteronomistic editor to recognize at once Deut 27¹⁻⁸ and 11¹⁻¹⁵' (Addis, *Hex* ii 153; so Albers, 125). Steuern prints ²³⁻²⁵ as R^b, revised apparently by a final Deuteronomistic editor.

²³ M. ²⁴ whole.

^{23a} M. See Deut 27²⁻⁴.

²⁵ M. Or, which he wrote in etc.

²⁶ M. Or, commanded at the first, that they should bless the people of Israel.

²⁷ These words seem to be explanatory of the preceding clause, but as they cannot be so in reality, they must be treated as a later insertion to rectify the apparent omission in ²³ cp Driver 'Joshua' in Smith's *DB* vol i pt ii 1812⁷.

²⁸ M. ²⁹ walked.

³⁰ Various elements are blended in the story of the Gibeonites. By common consent the hand of R^a may be traced in ²³ 10 ²⁴. ²⁷; and equally plain is the derivation of 17-21 from P with

corresponding touches in 16 ²⁷. The narrative that remains has been differently judged: on the one hand Budde and Kittel (i 290) regard it as single (after the text has undergone various restorations): on the other hand, Wellh Kuen Dillm, followed by Addis Albers Bennett and Oettli, find clear traces of duality. Thus in ³ the negotiators are called 'inhabitants of Gibeon,' in ⁷ 'Hivites'; in ³ ²³ ²⁴ Joshua is prominent, while in ⁷ ¹⁴ the 'men of Israel' act independently; in ⁶ 'we are come from a far country' is parallel to 'from a very far country thy servants are come' ⁹; 'make a covenant' ⁶ 11b 15b 16b has a doublet in 'make peace' ¹⁵. The linguistic indications collected in the margin are not decisive: but the 'men of Israel' passages seem to belong to J cp 10⁶ ²⁴ and 'men of Ai' ⁷ ²⁴. ²⁵; for 'inhabitants of Gibeon' ¹ cp 8²⁴ ²⁶ E, while the leadership of Joshua and the reference to the camp ^{6a} also make for E. ³ was probably followed by an account of their preparations for the visit to the camp cp 11.

³¹ So ³ at the beginning of ³ and ⁴. T ³ but when, ⁴ omit and. This expresses a possible logical connexion, but obscures the probability that the narrative is really a compound product.

³² The guile described in ⁴, reappears in 12-14. In ¹⁴ the Israelites are represented not by Joshua ³ ²⁴, but by 'the men' of Israel cp ^{6b} ⁷, who themselves conduct the negotiations. These passages, therefore, are ascribed to J. This distribution is confirmed by the obvious break between ⁷ and ⁸.

³³ M. Another reading, followed by most ancient versions, is, took them provisions. See 12.

³⁴ Probably editorial, resulting from the union of ⁷ and ⁸.

³⁵ The unexpected appearance of this name may be due to its previous use in some passage now eliminated in the process of compilation.

	J E	R ^d	J E P'	
w 111 ot 5 14 § x Cp 8	11 ^a And our 'elders and all the 'inhabitants of our country spake to us, saying, Take "provision in your hand for the journey, and go to meet them, and say unto them, "We are your servants. . . .			e 151
y Cp 4 ^m	...11 ^b "Now, therefore, make ye a 'covenant with us. 12 This our bread we 'took hot for our provision out of our houses on the day we came forth to go unto you; but now, behold, it is dry, and is become mouldy: 13 and these wine-skins, which we filled, were new; and, behold, they be rent: and these our "garments and our shoes are become old by reason of the very long journey. 14 And the "men took of their "provision, and 'asked not counsel at the mouth of Yahweh.			
z Gen 24 ⁵⁷ § Is 30 ^d	15 ^a And Joshua made peace with them. ...15 ^b And "made a 'covenant with them, to "let them live.			
a' Gen 7 ³ 121 ²		...15 ^c "And the 'princes of the 'congregation swore unto them.	f 131 g 45	
b' 3 ² §	16 ^a And it came to pass at the b'end of "three days, ...16 ^b "after they had made a 'covenant with them. . . . 16 ^c that they heard that they were their neighbours. 16 ^d and that they 'dwelt among them.		h 119 ^d	
c' 18 ²⁶ d' 18 ²⁵ e' 1814 26 ⁷ f' 71 ³		... 17 And the children of Israel journeyed, and came unto their cities on the third day. Now their cities were Gibeon, and "Chephirah, and "Beeroth, and "Kiriath-jearim. 18 And the children of Israel smote them not, because the 'princes of the 'congregation had sworn unto them by Yahweh, the 'God of Israel. And all the congregation 'murmured against the princes. 19 But all the 'princes said unto all the 'congregation, We have sworn unto them by Yahweh, the God of Israel: now therefore we may not touch them. 20 This we will do to them, and let them live; "that there be no 'wrath upon us, because of the oath which we swore unto them. 21 "And the 'princes said unto them, Let them live: so they became hewers of wood and drawers of water unto all the 'congregation; as the princes had spoken unto them.	i 114 j 178	
g' Gen 29 ²⁵ h' Cp 9 i' Gen 411 j' Cp 624 Ex 2319 34 ²⁶ k' Cp 1Deut 174 l' 11. m' 2311 Deut 415 §	22 ^a And Joshua 'called for them, and he 'spake unto them, saying, "Wherefore have ye "beguiled us, saying, We are "very far from you? ... 22 ^b when ye 'dwell among us? 23 Now therefore ye are 'cursed, and there "shall never fail to be of you bondmen, both "hewers of wood and drawers of water for the 'house of my God. 24 And they answered Joshua, and said, Because it was certainly 'told thy servants, how that Yahweh 'thy God commanded his 'servant Moses to give you all the land, and to "destroy all the inhabitants of the land from before you; therefore we were sore afraid "for our lives because of you, and have		k 139 l 118 ⁵ m 228	
			n 34 ^a	

911 § as in ^{eb}. T and now. The Hivites' explanations have been withdrawn to make room for E's narrative: at this point they renew in the same words their former request; or possibly R1^c reproduces it as a connecting link.

14 § the princes cp 156 18., which Steuern adopts, assigning the verse to P, cp ante p 318^d (319).

15^b § they made is 'the men' 14. The subject may have been changed in harmony with the first clause.

16^a At this point R introduces a fragment where the terms of P's organization are unmistakable cp 17-21. It is noticeable that this fragment of P follows the story of J. There is no allusion to Joshua or Eleazar: 'the princes' take the negotiations into their own hands like the 'men of Israel' ^{eb} 7 cp 14, and the congregation murmurs against their leadership as in Num 14² Ex 16² against Moses and Aaron.

16^b The reference to the Covenant may be simply a supplemental touch of R1^c; but the apparent doublet in the second part of the verse suggests that J also had a narrative of the discovery. 20 § as in Num 153. T lest wrath be.

21 After 20 it would be natural to find an announcement of the destiny of the Gibeonites. § accordingly reads 21^a 'let them live and become hewers of wood and drawers of water for all the congregation.' § adds 'and all the congregation did' as the princes had spoken unto them—which is much in P's manner.

22^a M. § shall not be cut off from you.—Cp 313 Gen 41²⁶ §.

23^b These words may be an editorial supplement founded on 21, as the change from 'a bondman' § sing to the pl seems to suggest: but they may also be derived from some old proverbial phrase cp Deut 29¹¹. § 'a bondman nor a hewer of wood for me and my God,' apparently by abbreviation.

J	E	R ^d	J	E	P ^r
n ¹ Deut 6 ²⁸ 12 ²⁸	done this thing. ²⁵ And now, ²⁶ behold, we are in thine hand: as it seemeth				
n ¹ Gen 30 ¹¹ 37 ⁸¹	²⁶ And so did he unto them, and ²⁷ delivered them out of the hand of the				
Ex 2 ¹⁰ 3 ⁸ 18 ⁹ .	children of Israel, that they slew them not. ²⁷ And Joshua made them				
	that day hewers of wood and drawers of water for the ²⁸ congregation, and for				
y ¹ Lev 17 ⁴	the ²⁹ altar of Yahweh, ³⁰ unto this day, in the ³¹ place which he should choose.				
n ¹ 11 ¹ Gen 29 ¹³	10 ¹² ³² Now it came to pass, ³³ when ³⁴ Adoni-zedek king of Jerusalem				
1 ¹ 2 ¹ 3 ¹	³⁵ heard how Joshua had ³⁶ taken Ai, and had ³⁷ devoted it; as he had ³⁸ done				
1 ¹ 2 ¹ 3 ¹	to Jericho and her king, so he had done to Ai and her king;				
1 ¹ 2 ¹ 3 ¹	... ³⁹ and how the ⁴⁰ inhabitants of Gibeon had ⁴¹ made peace with Israel,				
1 ¹ 2 ¹ 3 ¹	... ⁴² and were ⁴³ among them; ⁴⁴ that ⁴⁵ they feared greatly, because Gibeon				
1 ¹ 2 ¹ 3 ¹	was a great city, as one of the royal cities, and because it was greater				
1 ¹ 2 ¹ 3 ¹	than Ai, and all the ⁴⁶ men thereof were mighty. ⁴⁷ Wherefore Adoni-				
1 ¹ 2 ¹ 3 ¹	zedek king of Jerusalem sent unto ⁴⁸ Hoham king of Hebron, and unto				
1 ¹ 2 ¹ 3 ¹	Piram king of Jarmuth, and unto Japhia king of Lachish, and unto				
1 ¹ 2 ¹ 3 ¹	Debir king of Eglon, saying, ...				
1 ¹ 2 ¹ 3 ¹	... ⁴⁹ Come up unto me, and help me, and let us smite Gibeon: for it				
1 ¹ 2 ¹ 3 ¹	hath ⁵⁰ made peace with Joshua and with the children of Israel. ⁵¹ There-				
1 ¹ 2 ¹ 3 ¹	fore the five kings of the ⁵² Amorites went up. ...				
1 ¹ 2 ¹ 3 ¹	⁵³ And the king of Jerusalem, the king of Hebron, the king of Jarmuth,				
1 ¹ 2 ¹ 3 ¹	the king of Lachish, the king of Eglon, ⁵⁴ gathered themselves together,				
1 ¹ 2 ¹ 3 ¹	⁵⁵ they and all their hosts, and ⁵⁶ encamped against Gibeon, and made war				
1 ¹ 2 ¹ 3 ¹	against it. ⁵⁷ And the ⁵⁸ men of Gibeon sent unto Joshua to the ⁵⁹ camp				
1 ¹ 2 ¹ 3 ¹	to Gilgal, saying, ⁶⁰ Slack not thy hand from ⁶¹ thy servants;				
1 ¹ 2 ¹ 3 ¹	... ⁶² come up to us ⁶³ quickly,				
1 ¹ 2 ¹ 3 ¹	... ⁶⁴ and save us, ...				
1 ¹ 2 ¹ 3 ¹	⁶⁵ and help us: for all the kings of the ⁶⁶ Amorites ⁶⁷ that dwell in the hill				
1 ¹ 2 ¹ 3 ¹	country are ⁶⁸ gathered together against us.				
1 ¹ 2 ¹ 3 ¹	⁶⁹ So Joshua went up from Gilgal, he, and ⁷⁰ all the people of war				
1 ¹ 2 ¹ 3 ¹	with him.				
1 ¹ 2 ¹ 3 ¹	⁷¹ And ⁷² all the mighty men of valour. ⁷³ And Yahweh said unto Joshua, ⁷⁴ Fear				
1 ¹ 2 ¹ 3 ¹	them not: for I have ⁷⁵ delivered them into thine hands; there shall not a man				
1 ¹ 2 ¹ 3 ¹	of them ⁷⁶ stand before thee.				
1 ¹ 2 ¹ 3 ¹	⁷⁷ And Joshua came upon them ⁷⁸ suddenly; ⁷⁹ for he went up from Gilgal				
1 ¹ 2 ¹ 3 ¹	all the night.				
1 ¹ 2 ¹ 3 ¹	... ⁸⁰ And Yahweh ⁸¹ discomfited them before Israel.				

⁹² This phrase, cp Gen 16⁶, and 'thy servants' ²¹ cp ⁷³, suggest a possible J base for these verses.

⁹³ The words 'unto this day &c' sound extremely abrupt, and are in fact incompatible with the first part of the verse, as Joshua had nothing to do with the Gibeonites' functions as temple-servants in Jerusalem. Steuern adopts the additional clause of G, 'so the Gibeonites became hewers of wood and drawers of water for the altar of Yahweh' unto this day &c.

¹⁰¹ The narrative of the battle with the five kings again offers difficult problems. Some (e.g. Addis, *Hex* i 219) regard it as substantially unitary. It has also, however, been frequently divided into two parts at ¹⁵; the main story 1-11 ¹⁶ being then assigned to E, with a supplement ¹²⁻²⁷ derived from J (so Albers, Budde, and Kittel, *Hist* i 304⁴ ⁵). The ascription of ¹²⁻²⁷ to J has much in its favour cp ¹⁶. But if this be accepted, it is plain that the story of the flight presupposes a prior narrative of a defeat. A careful examination of 1-11 seems to reveal traces of amalgamation. In ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴ occur allusions to the peace made by the inhabitants of Gibeon cp ³ ¹⁵, which may be referred by the results in 9 to E. The presence of E elements is further confirmed by reference to the kings of the Amorites 'inhabitants' of the hill-country ⁶. These are specified as five ⁷, but the localities immediately named do not correspond to the designation, and in ¹²⁻²⁷ the name Amorite does not occur. It may be conjectured, accordingly, that the enumeration in ¹⁶ ²³ is not from the same hand as ⁶; and this note of distinction is emphasized by the different words for 'gathered' in ¹⁶ and ²³ (⁷⁷ and ⁷²). Further doublets may be remarked in 'inhabitants of Gibeon' ¹² and 'men of Gibeon' ²⁴ cp ⁸⁰ ²⁴, 'save us' and 'help us' ⁶, 'discomfited' and 'smote them with a great smiting' ¹⁰, 'the ascent of Beth-horon' ¹⁰ and 'the descent' ¹¹.

These last verses indeed seem to contain separate accounts of the overthrow of the allies. In one story the king of Jerusalem and his four royal comrades are defeated at Gibeon, and pursued to Makkedah, where they are dragged from their hiding-place and executed: in the other, five Amorite kings from the hill country are discomfited at Gibeon; during their flight to Azekah their troops are overpowered by a great hail-storm, the kings presumably perishing in the rout. The combined narrative has been handled by R^d ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴ ²³, but the Priestly Redactor seems to have left it untouched.

¹¹⁸ (9) Adoni-bezek cp Judg 1⁵, which Budde prefers, *Richter* ⁶³. . .
¹¹⁹ So G M. *T utterly destroyed*. Cp 8²³ ⁶²; or is it a touch of R^d, like the following clause?

¹²⁰ The plural is somewhat awkward, for who are 'they'? It would seem that a portion of J's opening has been curtailed. 'And because it was greater than Ai' wanting in G.

¹²¹ The message in ⁴ 'come up to me and help me' finds a duplicate in ⁶²; and as it is closely connected with indications of E ⁴² ⁶², it is itself assigned to that source.

¹²² G *Jebusites*. The curious order of ⁴ here 'and gathered themselves together and went up, the five kings of the Amorites, the king of Jerusalem' &c suggests some conflation of sources. The text may be decomposed into the statement that the Amorite kings 'went up' cp ⁴, while the supporters of Adoni-zedek assembled and encamped against Gibeon.

¹²³ The words interrupt the sequence 'come up' and 'help' cp ⁴: 'save' is nowhere else used by E, cp Ex 2¹⁷ 14³⁰ J, Deut 20⁴ 22²⁷ 28²⁹ 31 D, Josh 22²² P²⁴.

¹²⁴ G as in ¹⁰. T *Joshua therefore*.

¹²⁵ G 'All the night went he up from Gilgal,' as if an editorial explanation of the suddenness of the attack.

	J E	R ^d	J E P ^r
¹⁰ Cp 20 Num ¹¹ 28 5	^{10b} And he "slew them with a great slaughter" at Gibeon, and chased them by the way of the ascent of Beth-horon, "and smote them to Azekah, and unto Makkedah.		
² Ct the ascent ^{10b} cp 7 ⁵	¹¹ And it came to pass, as they fled from before Israel, while they were in the "going down of Beth-horon, that Yahweh cast down great stones from heaven upon them unto Azekah, and they died: they were more which died with the hailstones than they whom the children of Israel slew with the sword.		
⁷ cp Deut 120	¹² "Then spake Joshua to Yahweh in the day when Yahweh "delivered up the Amorites before the children of Israel; and he said in the "sight of Israel, Sun; "stand thou still upon Gibeon; And thou, Moon, in the valley of Aijalon.		• 43 ^a
² Cp Gen 19 ¹⁵ ^a Cp Ex 9 ¹⁸ 24b ^{10b} 14 11 ⁶	¹³ And the sun stood still, and the moon stayed, Until the nation had avenged themselves of their enemies. Is not this written in the book of "Jashar? And the sun stayed in the midst of heaven, and "hasted not to go down about a whole day. ¹⁴ And there was "no day like that before it or after it, that Yahweh "hearkened unto the voice of a man: for Yahweh "fought for Israel.		f 245 g 2 ^a h 218 ^b i 1 ^a
¹⁰ Gen 3 ⁸	¹⁵ "And Joshua returned, and "all Israel with him, unto the camp to Gilgal.		
^c Gen 29 ³ ^d Gen 39 ⁴ 41 ²⁴ ^e Gen 19 ¹⁷ 45 ⁹ ^f Deut 25 ¹²	¹⁶ "And these five kings fled, and "hid themselves in the cave at Makkedah. ¹⁷ And it was "told Joshua, saying, The five kings are found, hidden in the cave at Makkedah. ¹⁸ And Joshua said, "Roll great stones unto the mouth of the cave, and "set men by it for to keep them: ¹⁹ but "stay not ye; pursue after your enemies, and "smite the hindmost of them; "suffer them not to enter into their cities: for "Yahweh your God hath "delivered them into your hand. ²⁰ And it came to pass, when Joshua and the children of Israel had "made an end of "slaying them with a very great slaughter, "till they were consumed, and the "remnant which remained of them had entered into the "fenced cities, ²¹ that all the people returned "to the camp to Joshua at Makkedah in peace: none "moved his tongue against any of the children of Israel. ²² Then said Joshua, Open the mouth of the cave, and bring forth those five kings unto me out of the cave. ²³ "And they did so, and brought forth those five kings unto him out of the cave, "the king of Jerusalem, the king of Hebron, the king of Jarmuth, the king of Lachish, the king of Eglon. ²⁴ And it came to pass, when they brought forth those kings unto Joshua, that Joshua called for all the "men of Israel, and said unto the "chiefs of the men of war which went with him, Come near, put your feet upon the necks of these kings. And they came near, and put their feet upon the necks of them.		
¹⁰ 19 ²⁶ ct 14 ¹⁵ 5	²⁵ And Joshua "said unto them, "Fear not, nor be dismayed; "be "strong and of good courage: for thus shall Yahweh "do to all your enemies "against whom ye fight.		j 44 ^c k 106 ^a
¹⁰ Cp 81 ¹⁰ 16 9 ¹⁰ Cp 42 ³ 9b ¹⁰ 11 17	²⁶ And "afterward Joshua "smote them, and put them to death", and		

10^{10b} This clause with its second ^{10b} and he slew them seems to indicate another hand, and may be an editorial touch founded on the story of the flight to Azekah ¹¹. In ¹⁶. the fugitives make for Makkedah and still onwards ¹⁶. On ¹¹, sequel of ^{10a}, cp ^{12a}.

^{12a} The citation from the Book of Jashar and the prose story in ^{10b} appear to belong to another cycle of traditions, unrelated to the story of the great hailstorm ¹¹. The present form of ¹² is generally admitted to owe something to R^d. For the style of opening with ¹² and impf cp ⁸⁰ 22¹ R^d, but also Ex 15¹ Num 21¹⁷ J. Kittel, *Hist* i 302², proposes to render "spake Joshua of Yahweh, in praise of Yahweh, the song not being addressed to him but to the sun and moon. ^{12b} M 5 be silent.

¹³ M Or, *The Upright*. See 2 Sam 1¹⁸.—Cp *Intro* II 1^e, i 19. This clause is wanting in G.

¹⁴ The opening of ¹⁴ shows no parallel with D, but the phrase "hearken to the voice" is common to D and JE ⁵⁸ and ²⁴⁴ b; and while J uses the expression "fight" of Yahweh Ex 14³⁰, it is frequent in D cp below ⁴² 23¹⁰ Deut 130³² 20⁴. The hand of R^d, therefore, may have been at work here.

¹⁵ This verse is identical with ⁴³ and may have been inserted here by accidental anticipation. G does not contain it. Other

critics regard it as marking a close of a section: thus Dillm connects it with ¹²⁻¹⁴ due to R^d in its present form, while Albers and Kittel attach it to 1-11.

¹⁶ In ¹⁶⁻²⁷ numerous parallels occur with other passages independently assigned to J. Cp especially ²¹ "none whetted his tongue" Ex 11⁷, "men of Israel" ²⁴ 9^{6b}, and the account of the execution of the kings ²⁶. || 8²⁹.

¹⁹ Probably an addition of R^d. For "suffer" = "give" cp Deut 18¹⁴ and ¹¹⁸. In the last clause the evidence is clearer. ²⁰ 5 pl, ct ²⁸.—sg. Pl only in Jer 31² Obad 14 Joel 2²³ Job 27¹⁵. The verb "remain" occurs nowhere else. "Fenced cities" only in 19²⁶ (29) Num 32¹⁷ 26 P. The construction is peculiar, so that the text is doubtful.

^{21a} Not in G. Nothing has been said of an encampment at Makkedah. The word is probably due to a scribe's accidental association with "returned to the camp" ¹⁶ 43.

^{21b} M 5 whetted.—Cp J Ex 11⁷.

²³ (5) does not contain "and they did so." Possibly supplemental.

²⁵ 5 = with: ¹⁰ for ¹⁰ as often in Jer Kings &c. Cp 14¹².

²⁶ The adverb stands in an unusual place in 5, and is unre-

J R E P
 2^d 3^d
 2^d 3^d 22 23 25 27 28
 Deut 13¹⁶ 20¹³
 op 20¹⁵
 2^d 20 27 29 62
 2^d 20 22 27 29. 223
 2^d 20 22 29 23 101
 2^d 21 24 26 28 43
 7²⁴

"changed them on five trees: and they were hanging upon the trees until the evening. ²⁷ And it came to pass at the time of the "going down of the sun, that Joshua commanded, and they took them down off the trees, and cast them into the cave wherein they had hidden themselves, and laid great stones on the mouth of the cave, "until this very day.

²⁸ And Joshua took Makkedah on that day, and "smote it with the edge of the sword, and the "king thereof; he "devoted them and all the "souls that were therein, he "left none remaining: and he "did to the king of Makkedah as he had done unto the king of Jericho.

²⁹ And Joshua passed from Makkedah, "and "all Israel with him, unto Libnah, and fought against Libnah: ³⁰ and Yahweh "delivered it also, and the king thereof, into the hand of Israel; and he "smote it with the edge of the sword, and all the "souls that were therein: he left none remaining in it; and he did unto the king thereof as he had done unto the king of Jericho.

³¹ And Joshua passed from Libnah, and all Israel with him, unto Lachish, and encamped against it, and fought against it: ³² And Yahweh delivered Lachish into the hand of Israel, and he took it on the second day, and smote it with the edge of the sword, and all the "souls that were therein, according to all that he had done to Libnah.

³³ Then Horam king of Gezer came up to "help Lachish; and Joshua smote him and his people, until he had left him none remaining.

³⁴ And Joshua passed from Lachish, and all Israel with him, unto Eglon; and they encamped against it, and fought against it; ³⁵ and they took it on that day, and smote it with the edge of the sword, and all the "souls that were therein, he "devoted that day, according to all that he had done to Lachish.

³⁶ And Joshua went up "from Eglon, and all Israel with him, unto Hebron; and they fought against it: ³⁷ and they took it, and smote it with the edge of the sword, "and the king thereof, and all the cities thereof, and all the "souls that were therein; he left none remaining, according to all that he had done to Eglon; but he "devoted it, and all the "souls that were therein.

³⁸ And Joshua returned, and all Israel with him, to Debir; and fought against it: ³⁹ and he took it, and the king thereof, and all the cities thereof; and they smote them with the edge of the sword, and "devoted all the "souls that were therein; he left none remaining: as he had done to Hebron, so he did to Debir, and to the king thereof; "as he had done also to Libnah, and to the king thereof.

⁴⁰ So Joshua smote "all the land, the hill country, and the South, and the lowland, and the slopes, and all their kings; he left none remaining: but he "devoted "all that breathed, as Yahweh, the "God of Israel, commanded.

⁴¹ "And Joshua smote them from Kadesh-barnea even unto Gaza, and all the "country of Goshen, even unto Gibeon. ⁴² And all these kings and their land did Joshua take at one time, because Yahweh, the God of Israel, "fought for Israel. ⁴³ "And Joshua returned, and all Israel with him, unto the camp to Gilgal.

¹¹ "And it came to pass, "when Jabin king of Hazor heard thereof, that he "sent to Jobab king of Madon, and to the king of Shimron, and to the king of Achshaph,

2^d 11¹⁶ 28⁶
 2^d 11¹¹ 14 Deut
 20¹⁶
 2^d 7²³
 2^d 7 = land 11¹⁶
 2^d 10¹
 2^d 10²

presented in G. Is the following phrase original? Cp 11¹⁷ and the narrative in 8²⁹. ²⁷ also shows parallels with D as in 8²⁹.

10³⁷ The formula 'this self-same day' is elsewhere peculiar to P cp 5¹¹ and 138. Other signs of R^p may be seen in 20^b and probably in 22 30 35 37 39.

²⁸² The generalized summary of the conquest of Southern Canaan appears to owe its present form and position to R⁴. What earlier material may lie beneath it cannot now be determined. But it is probable that it is founded on older detail. The capture of Makkedah ²⁸³ is the natural sequel of the previous story; and the aid brought by the king of Gezer to Lachish ²⁸⁴ breaks the monotonous uniformity of the record. But in ²⁸⁵ the king of Hebron, already executed at Makkedah, perishes a second time. Is this accidental oversight, or does it represent a different tradition? On the other hand, while Hebron, Lachish and Eglon are mentioned, nothing is said of Jerusalem and Jarmuth. On the whole it does not seem possible to sift out the data which R⁴ may have derived from prior sources: and the passage is therefore ascribed entire to the Deuteronomic redaction. On touches by R⁶ cp ²⁸⁶ For another account of the capture of Hebron and Debir cp 14¹³⁻¹⁹.

28b 35 37 39 40 So M. *So M. ϕ . T utterly destroyed.*

20c The use of the term 'soul' for 'person' is a recognized

characteristic of P cp ¹⁴⁶. Its appearance here and in ^{30 32 35 37} seems to be due to B^p. In ⁴⁰ the Deuteronomion formula 'all that breathed' has been left standing, ⲉ ⲡⲁⲣ ⲉⲃⲣⲉⲛⲉ. This formula remains in ⲉ in ^{30 30 35 37 39}, in place of the usual rendering for 'soul' viz ⲡⲱⲭⲓ. ⲉ therefore translated from a text which still retained 'all that breathed' in each passage.

30 A similar construction in 32. 37ab 39 Deut 11⁶ 15¹⁶. Cp Driver 'Joshua' in Smith's *DB⁹* vol i pt ii 181⁵, and *Notes on Samuel* i Sam 5¹⁰. ³⁶ Absent from (9).

³⁷ (H) omits. Ct on the one hand ^{23.} and on the other ¹⁴¹⁴ where Hebron is in the possession of the three sons of Anak.

³⁹ Absent from (H). ⁴¹ 'And Joshua smote them' (S) om.

⁴³ Absent like ^{1b} from (M). Some critics have assigned the verse to JE. But its form seems clearly derived from R^d cp ²⁰ 31 34 36 38.

11¹ The account of the overthrow of the confederation led by Jabin king of Hazor at the waters of Merom, seems due to the hand which recorded the similar disaster to the kings allied with Adoni-zedek of Jerusalem 10¹ 3 &c: see in particular the parallels to 11¹ 4⁷. It is therefore assigned to J, and further parallels in 4⁶ confirm the ascription. But it has been expanded by R^d, whose additions may be seen in 2. 10. ., possibly in 6, and more clearly in 8.

* As ④ omits 'and the king thereof' in 28 and 37, Steuernagel conjectures that similar omissions in the MT of 33-35 are due to corresponding imperfect attempts to bring the different narratives into accord.

	J	E	R ^d	J	E	P ^a
c Cp 9 ¹			² and to the kings that were on the north, in the 'hill country, and in the Arabah south of Chinneroth, and in the lowland, and in 'the heights of Dor on the west, ³ to the 'Canaanite on the east and on the west, and the Amorite, and the Hittite, and the Perizzite, and the Jebusite in the hill country, and the 'Hivite under Hermon in the land of Mizpah.			
d Cp 5 ¹ Deut 11 ³⁰			⁴ And they went out, 'they and all their hosts with them, 'much people, even as the 'sand that is upon the sea shore in 'multitude, with horses and chariots very many. ⁵ And all these kings met together; and they came and pitched together at the 'waters of Merom, to fight with Israel.			
e Judg 3 ⁸			⁶ And Yahweh said unto Joshua, 'Be not afraid 'because of them: for 'to-morrow at this time' will I 'deliver them up all slain before Israel: thou shalt 'hough their horses, and burn their chariots with fire. ⁷ So Joshua came, and 'all the people of war with him, against them by the 'waters of Merom 'suddenly, and fell upon them. ⁸ And Yahweh 'delivered them into the hand of Israel, and they 'smote them, and 'chased them unto great Zidon, and unto Misrephoth-maim, and unto the valley of Mizpeh eastward; and they smote them, until they 'left them none remaining. ⁹ And Joshua did unto them 'as Yahweh bade him: he 'houghed their horses, and burnt their chariots with fire.			a 59
f 10 ¹⁴ Gen 30 ³⁰			¹⁰ And Joshua turned back 'at that time, and took Hazor, and smote the king thereof with the sword: for Hazor 'beforetime was the head of all those kingdoms. ¹¹ And they smote all the 'souls that were therein with the edge of the sword, 'devoting them: there was none left that 'breathed: and he burnt Hazor with fire. ¹² And all the cities of those kings, and all the kings of them, did Joshua take, and he smote them with the edge of the sword, and 'devoted them; 'as Moses the 'servant of Yahweh commanded. ¹³ 'But as for the cities that stood on their mounds, Israel burned none of them, 'save Hazor only; that did Joshua burn. ¹⁴ And all the 'spoils of these cities, 'and the cattle, the children of Israel 'took for a prey unto themselves; but every man they smote with the edge of the sword, 'until they had 'destroyed them, neither left they any that 'breathed. ¹⁵ 'As Yahweh commanded Moses his servant, so did Moses command Joshua: and so did Joshua; 'he left nothing undone of all that Yahweh commanded Moses.			b 110
g 17 ¹⁴ Gen 30 ³⁰			¹⁶ So Joshua took 'all that land, the hill country, and all the South, and all the 'land of Goshen, and the lowland, and the Arabah, and the hill country of Israel, and the lowland of the same; ¹⁷ from 'mount Halak, that goeth up to Seir, even unto 'Baal-gad in the valley of Lebanon unto mount Hermon: and all their kings he took, and smote them, and put them to death. ¹⁸ Joshua made war 'a long time with all those kings. ¹⁹ There was not a city 'that 'made peace with the children of Israel, save the Hivites the inhabitants of Gibeon: they took all in battle. ²⁰ For it was of Yahweh to 'harden their hearts, to come against Israel in battle, that he might 'devote them, that they 'might have no favour, but that he might 'destroy them, 'as Yahweh commanded Moses.			c 84
h Gen 22 ¹⁷ 32 ¹²			²¹ And Joshua came 'at that time, and 'cut off the 'Anakim from the hill country, from 'Hebron, from 'Debir, from 'Anab, and from all the hill country of Judah, and from all the hill country of Israel: Joshua 'devoted them with their cities. ²² There was none of the 'Anakim left in the land of the children of Israel: only in 'Gaza, in Gath, and in Ashdod, did some remain.			d 59
i Cp Deut 1 ¹⁰ 28 ²²			²³ So Joshua took 'the whole land, according to all that Yahweh 'spoke unto			e 34 ^a
j 1 ¹						f 4
k 5 ¹ = fear not 8 ¹						g 91
l Deut 7 ¹⁹ 5 ¹						
m Ex 9 ¹⁸ 5 ¹						
n 10 ¹²						
o Gen 49 ⁶						
p 8 ¹ 10 ¹						
q 10 ⁹						
r 10 ^{10b}						
s 10 ³⁰						
t Ex 17 ¹⁰ 5 ¹						
u 11 ¹⁵ 15 ¹⁵ Deut 20 ¹⁰ 13 ²⁰						
v 10 ²⁸						
w 10 ⁴⁰ cp 28 ²⁸						
x 10 ⁴⁰ Deut 20 ¹⁷						
y 1 ¹						
z Deut 1 ²³ 4 ¹²						
aa 8 ²⁷						
bb Deut 7 ²⁴						
cc 10 ⁴⁰						
dd 10 ⁴¹						
ee 12 ⁷ 13 ⁵						
ff 5 ¹ = many days 22 ²³ 23 ¹ Deut 1 ⁴⁶ 2 ¹ 20 ¹⁹						
gg 10 ⁴ 4 ⁵						
hh 23 ⁴ Deut 12 ²⁰						
ii 10 ³⁸						
jj 15 ¹⁰						
kk 13 ⁵						
ll 5 ¹ = all the 10 ¹⁰						

11² M Or, *Naphoth Dor*.10 A summary of the northern conquest corresponding to 10²⁰⁻⁴¹ in the South. It has been surmised that in 10-12 R^d has incorporated some older material. On the other hand 13 reads like a subsequent qualification. Its connexion with D is obvious enough; as it is not clear that it is of really later origin than the context, it is not marked by distinction in type. Its characteristics are sufficiently explained if more ancient data lie beneath 10-12.

11 12 So M 5. T utterly destroying, utterly destroyed.

14 Wanting in G.

15 M 5 he removed nothing.

17 M Or, the bare mountain.—Cp 12⁷.

19 G that Israel did not take, omitting save . . . Gibeon; this clause may be a later gloss.

20a M 5 make strong.—Dillm, NDJ 677, cites the phrase in proof of the affinities of R^d with the earlier P: it is not D's usual phrase cp Deut 230 708; but as it is also used by JE cp Ex 4²¹, the comparison has little value.

20b So M 5. T utterly destroy.

20c M Or, might not sue for favour.—Cp Ex 9⁵. 5 'favour' cp 1 Kings 8²² 32. = 'supplication.' Cp ante p 314 § 4 37.20d This formula, found here only in R^d compared with more than thirty occurrences in P 189^c, may be due to R^d. R^d uses a different phrase cp 23.21a The continuity of 21-23 with 10-20 has been often doubted. Linguistically, it plainly belongs to the school of D. But in relating the capture of Hebron and Debir 10³⁸ 22, no mention was made of the Anakim. Moreover in 14¹² where the hand of R^d is clear, the reduction of the Anakim in Hebron is attributed to Caleb cp 15¹³⁻¹⁹. Further in 23 the conquest is stated to be complete, and the division of the land begins. But in 13⁶ the arrangement of the inheritances has still to be effected. It seems better therefore to regard this as the supplemental assertion of another writer in the same Deuteronomical school.

21b So M 5. T utterly destroy.

22 5 as in 10. The entire conquest is here summed up, in preparation for the distribution cp 12⁷.

J	E	R ⁴	J	E	P ¹
n' 12 ¹ 18 ¹⁰ cp Ezek 48 ²⁰ e' 14 ¹⁸		Moses; and Joshua gave it for an inheritance unto Israel "according to their divisions "by their tribes. And the land "had rest from war.			b 112 ^b
a 1 ¹⁸ b Deut 3 ⁸ c Deut 4 ¹⁰ d Deut 3 ¹ e Deut 2 ²⁶ f Deut 3 ²⁶ g Deut 3 ¹² h 1 ¹⁸ i 13 ²⁰ Num 33 ⁴⁰ j Deut 3 ¹¹ k 6 in Deut 14 l Deut 3 ¹⁰ m Deut 3 ¹⁴ n 1 ¹ o Deut 3 ¹²		12 ¹ "Now these are the kings of the land, whom the children of Israel smote, and "possessed their land "beyond Jordan "toward the sunrising, "from the valley of Arnon unto mount Hermon, and "all the Arabah eastward: "Sihon king of the Amorites, who dwelt in Heshbon, and ruled from "Aroer, which is on the edge of the valley of Arnon, and "[the city that is in] the "middle of the valley, and half "Gilead, even unto the river "Jabbok, the border of the children of Ammon; "and the Arabah unto the sea of "Chinneroth, eastward, and unto the sea of the Arabah, even the Salt Sea, eastward, the way to "Beth-jeshimoth; and on the south, under the "slopes of Pisgah: "and the border of Og king of Bashan, of the "remnant of the Rephaim, who dwelt at "Ashtaroth and at Edrei, "and ruled in mount Hermon, and in "Salecah, and in all Bashan, unto the border of the "Geshurites and the Maacathites, and half Gilead, the border of Sihon king of Heshbon. "Moses the "servant of Yahweh and the children of Israel smote them: and Moses the servant of Yahweh gave it for a "possession unto the "Reubenites, and the Gadites, and the half "tribe of Manasseh.		a 88 b 21 ^a	c 8 ^a
p 11 ¹⁷ q 11 ²³ r 11 ²⁶ s 9 ¹		7 And these are the kings of the "land whom Joshua and the children of Israel smote beyond Jordan westward, from "Baal-gad in the valley of Lebanon even unto "mount Halak, that goeth up to Seir; and Joshua gave it unto the "tribes of Israel for a "possession according to their "divisions; "in the "hill country, and in the lowland, and in the Arabah, and in the "slopes, and in the wilderness, and in the South; the "Hittite, the Amorite, and the Canaanite, the Perizzite, the Hivite, and the Jebusite: "the king of Jericho, one; the king of Ai, which is beside Beth-el, one; "the king of Jerusalem, one; the king of Hebron, one; "the king of Jarmuth, one; the king of Lachish, one; "the king of Eglon, one; the king of Gezer, one; "the king of Debir, one; the king of Geder, one; "the king of Hormah, one; the king of Arad, one; "the king of Libnah, one; the king of Adullam, one; "the king of Makkedah, one; the king of Beth-el, one; "the king of Tappuah, one; the king of Hopher, one; "the king of Aphek, one; the king of "Laasharon, one; "the king of Madon, one; the king of Hazor, one; "the king of Shimron-meron, one; the king of Achshaph, one; "the king of Taanach, one; the king of Megiddo, one; "the king of Kedesh, one; the king of Jokneam in Carmel, one; "the king of Dor in "the height of Dor, one; the king of "Goiim in Gilgal, one; "the king of Tirzah, one: all the kings thirty and one.		d 88 ^a e 112 ^b	
1 14 ¹⁵ a 23 ¹ Gen 18 ²¹ 24 ¹ b Gen 15 ¹ c 6 to possess it cp 18 ²⁵ d 18 ¹⁷ 22 ¹⁶ Ezek 47 ¹⁰ Joel 4 ⁴ e Judg 3 ¹ 1 Sam 6 ¹⁶ f 10 ⁴¹ g Deut 2 ²⁶		13 ¹ "Now Joshua was "old and well stricken in years ^a , and Yahweh said unto him, Thou art old and well stricken in years, and there remaineth yet "very much land to be "possessed. 2 This is the land that yet remaineth: all the "regions of the Philistines, and all the Geshurites; "from "the Shihor, which is before Egypt, even unto the border of Ekron northward, [which] is counted to the Canaanites: the "five lords of the Philistines; the "Gazites, and the Ashdodites, the Ashkelonites, the Gittites, and the Ekronites; "also the "Avvim, on the south: all the			

12¹ R⁴ here inserts a list of the kings conquered by Joshua east and west of the Jordan. The summary in 1-6 is founded on the narrative in Deut 2-3, ⁶ being apparently later than Deut 3¹⁴. The source of the list in 2-24 is unknown. The enumeration at first follows the account of Joshua's campaigns 6-7, but it further specifies a number of kings who are not mentioned in other similar surveys; e.g. those of 13 Geder, 14 Hormah, Arad, 15 Adullam, 16 Bethel, 17 Tappuah, Hopher, 18 Aphek of the Sharon (9), 21 Taanach, Megiddo, 22 Kadesh, Jokneam, 24 Tirzah. For Dor 23 cp 11²: "Goiim in Gilgal" cp 23¹⁰.

² M See Deut 2²⁶.
^{7a} (9) Amorites cp 10²⁵ 6b. In 24¹³ (9) corrects to twelve. If that reading be accepted E's figure was afterwards expanded by R⁴.
^{7b} M See 11¹⁷.

¹⁸ 6 'king over the Sharon' (or plain). The preposition 6 shows that this is not the name of a city cp 22¹. The comparison of 6 points to the original reading (Wellh Holl Dillm) 'the king of Aphek in Sharon, one.' The number of kings is thus reduced to thirty. (9) drops another out of 19.

^{23a} M Or, Naphath-dor.

^{23b} M Or, nations.—Dillm, Oettli, Driver, Addis, Bennett, Steuern follow 6 in reading 'the nations in Galilee.'

13¹ The second half of Joshua relates the allotment of the newly conquered land, chiefly on the basis of P. But at the outset 13¹⁻⁷ a difficulty occurs. The implication of 1 is

that the conquest is as yet far from complete. This verse cannot therefore belong to the expansions of R⁴ which are founded on the view that the whole land was subdued by Joshua: it must be derived from an older source, and literary parallels point to J. But in 2-6 R⁴ explains the previous statement in a quite different sense as applying to remote outlying regions in the south and north. Yet again in 7 these distant patches are to be distributed among the nine and a half tribes which settle west of the Jordan. Plainly 2-6 is not really related to 1 and 7, for the land to be divided in 7 is not that described in 2-6. Kuenen accordingly (*Hex* 135) suggested that 1 was originally connected with 18², and referred to the land which had still to be conquered when Judah and Joseph (Judges 1².. 22.) had secured their positions. In some fragments still preserved in Joshua and generally ascribed to J cp 13¹, various places are enumerated which the Israelites failed to reduce, but they are quite different from those named in 2-6. R⁴ in transferring 1 and 7 from their context failed to bring them into harmony with the situation as he conceived it, though he probably raised the number of seven tribes up to nine and a half.

³ M Commonly called, the brook of Egypt. See Num 34⁵.—It may, however, be doubted whether the significance of this name elsewhere, Is 23³ Jer 2¹⁸ 1 Chron 13⁷, permits this identification. Cp Dillm in loc.

⁴ M Or, also the Avvim: from the south, all etc.

	J	E	R ^d	J	E	P ^r
A Deut 17			Land of the Canaanites, and Mearah that belongeth to the Zidonians, unto Aphek, to the border of the Amorites: ⁵ and the "land of the Gebalites, and all Lebanon, ⁶ toward the sunrising, from J Baal-gad under mount Hermon unto the ⁷ entering in of Hamath: ⁸ all the inhabitants of the hill country from Lebanon unto Misrephoth-maim, even all the Zidonians; them will I ⁹ drive out from before the children of Israel: ¹⁰ only ¹¹ allot thou it unto Israel for an inheritance, ¹² as I have commanded thee.			a 39 ^b b 84
f 115 j 117 k Num 13 ²¹ 34 ^{8a} l 118 m 23 ⁴ Esak 45 ¹ n 47 ²³ o 1 ⁸ p Ex 23 ¹⁶ Deut 12 ²¹			⁷ Now therefore divide "this land for an inheritance unto the nine tribes, and the half tribe of Manasseh. ⁸ With "him the Reubenites and the Gadites received their inheritance, which Moses ⁹ gave them, ¹⁰ beyond Jordan eastward, even as Moses the ¹¹ servant of Yahweh gave them; ¹² from "Aroer, that is on the edge of the valley of Arnon, and the city that is in the middle of the valley, and all the "plain of Medeba unto Dibon; ¹³ and all the cities of Sihon king of the Amorites, which ¹⁴ reigned in Heshbon, unto the border of the children of Ammon; ¹⁵ and Gilead, and the border of the Geshurites and Maacathites, and all mount Hermon, and all Bashan unto Salecah; ¹⁶ all the "kingdom of Og in Bashan, which ¹⁷ reigned in "Ashtaroth and in Edrei (the same was left of the remnant of the Rephaim); for these did Moses smite, and drave them out. ... ¹⁸ And the children of Israel drave not out the Geshurites, nor the Maacathites: but Geshur and Maacath ¹⁹ dwelt "in the midst of Israel, ²⁰ unto this day. ²¹ Only unto the 'tribe of Levi he gave none inheritance; ²² the offerings of Yahweh, the "God of Israel, made by fire are his inheritance, ²³ as he spake unto him.			c 21 ^a
p Deut 31 ³ q 11 r 12 ² s Op 12 21 t 12 ⁵ u 12 ⁴ v 15 ²² 16 ¹⁰ w 71 ³			¹⁵ "And Moses gave unto the ¹⁶ tribe of the children of Reuben 'according to their families. ¹⁷ And their border was from "Aroer, that is on the edge of the valley of Arnon, and the city that is in the middle of the valley, and all the "plain by Medeba; ¹⁸ Heshbon, and all her cities that are in the "plain; Dibon, and Bamoth-baal, and Beth-baal-meon; ¹⁹ and Jahaz, and Kedemoth, and Mephaath; ²⁰ and Kiriathaim, and Sibmah, and Zereth-shahar in the mount of the valley; ²¹ and Beth-peor, and the "slopes of Pisgah, and Beth-jeshimoth; ²² and all the cities of the "plain, and all the kingdom of Sihon king of the Amorites, ²³ which ²⁴ reigned in Heshbon, ²⁵ whom Moses smote with the "chiefs of Midian, "Evi, and Rekem, and Zur, and Hur, and Reba, the "princes of Sihon, that dwelt in the land. ²⁶ Balaam also the son of Beor, the soothsayer, did the children of Israel ²⁷ slay with the sword among the rest of their slain. ²⁸ And the border of the children of Reuben was Jordan, and the border [thereof]. ²⁹ This was the inheritance of the children of Reuben 'according to their families, the cities and the "villages thereof. ³⁰ And Moses gave unto the ³¹ tribe of Gad, unto the children of Gad, 'according to their families. ³² And their border was Jazer, and all the cities of Gilead, and half the land of the children of Ammon, unto Aroer that is ³³ before Rabbah; ³⁴ and from Heshbon unto Ramath-mizpeh, and			d 26 e 142 ^b f 112 g 91 h 165 i 65 ^b j 183 ^b k 64
x 6 = princes y 191 z Num 31 ⁸ aa Mic 5 ⁴ Esak 32 ³⁰ Ps 83 ¹¹ (Dan 11 ²⁹) ab Gen 25 ¹⁶						

13^b The ungrammatical text seems corrupt, cp Dillm and Steuern.

⁷ 'This land' obviously means the land of Canaan in the broad sense, not the separate and distant localities named in 2-4. The verses, therefore, are discontinuous. But as J does not recognize the division of the tribe of Manasseh, and apparently sets the Manassite colonization of Gilead at a later date cp Num 32²⁰; the numerical reference must be an addition.

⁸ Another breach of continuity, for according to ⁷ 'him' denotes the Western branch of Manasseh, and according to ⁸ the Eastern. On the evidence of mutilation of the text afforded by G cp Dillm.

⁹ M Or, table land.

¹² G מלכות; a peculiar form cp 21 27 30*. Ct Deut 34 10 13 21.

¹³ So G as in 16¹⁰. T nevertheless. This passage, clearly cognate with 15²² 16¹⁰ 17¹² Judg 11²¹ 27. . ., belongs to a group of fragments of an early account of the settlement, portions of which seem to have been preserved in Judg 1. This group is universally assigned to J cp Introd ante p 307. The later writer of 11 included the territory of the Geshurites and Maacathites in the settlement of the Trans-jordanic tribes, though in 12⁴ Deut 31⁴ it is expressly said to have formed the Israelite boundary.

¹⁴ G as it stands is really ungrammatical: (G) does not contain 'the fire-offerings' (apparently imported from Deut 18¹), and

simply reads 'Yahweh the God of Israel is his inheritance' cp 23 and Deut 18² 10⁹.

¹⁵ At this point another description of the territory allotted to the Trans-jordanic tribes is introduced. Its fresh term for 'tribe,' its recurring formulae 15 23. 24. 31., and its sequel in 14¹⁻⁶, all connect it unmistakably with P. Notice the 'children of Reuben' 18, 'children of Gad' 24, for the 'Reubenites and Gadites' of 8. (G) introduces the section 15-23 by a formal title. 'And this is the division which Moses divided to the children of Israel in the plains of Moab beyond the Jordan at Jericho' cp 23, which has been accepted as original by Hollenberg, Kuenen, Dillm, Bennett, Addis, Steuern.—Oettli (on the other hand) suspecting it to be derived from 32. It is true that the term *καταμερίσμός* does not occur again, (G) having different renderings in 14¹ 19⁵¹; but as *καταμερίσμός* is used in Lev 25¹⁶ Num 31¹⁸ 34³ Deut 19⁸ (Πι Pi Hiph Hithpa) (G) may represent a formula like that in 19⁵¹, 'these are the inheritances which Moses distributed for inheritance.'

¹⁶ 17 21 M Or, table land.—(G) does not contain 'by Medeba.'

²⁰ M Or, springs.—The only occurrence in P cp 28.

²¹ Absent from G.

²³ A later annotator has here converted the Midianite kings of Num 31⁸ into dependent allies of Sihon, and thus united the campaigns of Num 21²¹⁻²² and 31.

J	E	P ¹	
		Betonim; and from Mahanaim unto the border of 'Debir; ²⁷ and in the valley, Beth-haram, and Beth-nimrah, and Succoth, and Zaphon, the rest of the kingdom of Sihon king of Heshbon, 'Jordan and the border [thereof], unto the uttermost part of the sea of Chinnereth beyond Jordan eastward. ²⁸ 'This is the inheritance of the children of Gad, 'according to their families, the cities and the 'villages thereof.	
		²⁹ 'And Moses gave [inheritance] unto the half tribe of Manasseh: and it was for the half 'tribe of the children of Manasseh 'according to their families. ³⁰ And their border was from Mahanaim, all Bashan, all the kingdom of Og king of Bashan, and all 'the towns of Jair, which are in Bashan, threescore cities: ³¹ and half Gilead, and half Ashtaroth, and Edrei, the cities of the kingdom of Og in Bashan, were for the children of Machir the son of Manasseh, <i>even for the half of the children of Machir</i> 'according to their families.	
<i>v</i> 14 ¹ 10 ⁵¹ Num 34 ²⁹ 5 ¹ Num 34 ¹⁵ 2 ^b		³² 'These are the inheritances which Moses ^v distributed in the 'plains of Moab, 'beyond the Jordan at Jericho, eastward. ³³ 'But unto the 'tribe of Levi Moses gave none inheritance: Yahweh, the God of Israel, is their inheritance, as he spake unto them.	<i>l</i> 188 ^a <i>m</i> 2 ^a
<i>a</i> Num 34 ¹⁷		¹⁴ 'And 'these are the inheritances which the children of Israel took in the 'land of Canaan, which 'Eleazar the priest, and 'Joshua the son of Nun, and the 'heads of the fathers' [houses] of the 'tribes of the children of Israel ^b distributed unto them, ² by the lot of their inheritance, as Yahweh 'commanded by the hand of Moses, for the nine 'tribes, and for the half tribe. ³ 'For Moses had given the inheritance of the two tribes and the half tribe 'beyond Jordan: but unto the Levites he gave none inheritance 'among them. ⁴ 'For the children of Joseph were two tribes, Manasseh and Ephraim: and they gave no portion unto the Levites in the land, save 'cities to dwell in, with the 'suburbs thereof for their 'cattle and for their 'substance. ⁵ 'As Yahweh commanded Moses, so the children of Israel did, and they divided the land.	<i>a</i> 188 ^a <i>b</i> 4 ^a <i>c</i> 12 ^b <i>d</i> 8 ^a <i>e</i> 16 ⁵ <i>f</i> 180 ^a
<i>c</i> Num 35 ² <i>d</i> Gen 31 ¹⁸ 34 ²⁸ 36 ⁶ <i>e</i> 10 ⁴⁸ <i>f</i> Cp 15 ¹⁷ Num 32 ¹² et Num 13 ⁶ <i>g</i> Gen 30 ²⁴ Ex 32 ²² Num 20 ¹⁴		⁶ 'Then the children of Judah drew nigh unto Joshua in 'Gilgal: and Caleb the son of Jephunneh the Kenizzite said unto him, 'Thou knowest the thing	<i>g</i> 2 ^b <i>h</i> 22 <i>i</i> 78 <i>j</i> 189 ^a

13²⁶ M Or, *Lidebir*.

²⁷ M Or, *having Jordan for a border*.

²⁹ Difficulties again present themselves in ²⁹-³¹. The opening statement 'and Moses gave unto the half tribe of Manasseh' is obviously incomplete; moreover 'tribe' is D's word עַמִּי ¹⁴ in contrast to P's בְּנֵי in the next clause. (9) however reads as in ¹⁸ ²⁴ 'and Moses gave unto the half tribe of Manasseh according to their families,' which has the merit of conformity. In ³¹ 'half Gilead' is assigned to Eastern Manasseh, though in ²⁵ all the cities of Gilead have been given to Gad. The introduction of the 'children of Machir' ³¹ is unexpected. According to P Num 26²⁹, Manasseh contained but one group of families, descended from Manasseh's only son Machir. If Manasseh was divided, therefore, half the children of Machir would be on each side of the Jordan: hence the somewhat clumsy insertion in ^{31b} which (9) makes still clumsier. Cp Num 32²⁹, Deut 31⁵. The whole passage is probably the result of an effort to harmonize various data, and may be a late insertion (so Bennett).

³⁰ M See Num 32⁴¹.

³² A sequel added by a later hand reproducing ¹⁴ in its original form: not found in (9).

¹⁴ At this point the compiler introduces P's description of the distribution of the land of Canaan among the nine and a half tribes. It is natural to infer from the opening and close of the narrative ¹⁴¹⁻⁵ and ¹⁰⁵¹ that the whole distribution was made by the same persons at the same time and place, viz before the tent of meeting in Shiloh. Such a simultaneous division also appears to be contemplated in Num 34¹³⁻²⁹, where ten 'princes' (instead of 'heads of fathers' houses') are appointed to assist Eleazar and Joshua. But in the present arrangement Judah Ephraim and Western Manasseh receive their lots first, apparently in Gilgal ¹⁴, and not till ¹⁸ does the whole congregation assemble at Shiloh, where the lots are drawn for the remaining seven tribes. But the analysis shows that ¹⁸ does not belong to its present sequel ²-¹⁰; the gathering of the entire nation at Shiloh implies that all the western tribes are engaged in a common act; and the dislocation of the division into two

groups spoils the symmetry of P's whole process. Dillmann therefore (followed cautiously by Driver) concedes Wellhausen's plea that ¹⁴¹⁻⁵ was originally preceded by ¹⁸ which stood as the introduction to P's account of the settlement. The reason for its transposition is not hard to divine. The older traditions represented the children of Judah and the house of Joseph as taking up their positions first by conquest. In combining these with the system of distribution by lot P's ideal scheme is broken in two, and his Shiloh scene is transferred to the place which it occupied in the story of JE after Judah Ephraim and Western Manasseh have already obtained their portions.

³ (9) omits ^{3a} down to 'beyond Jordan' which follow ², probably accidentally. The verse has a supplemental air and may be additional cp ⁴.

^{4a} In ⁴ some critics find the hand of the annotator, anxious to explain how the tribes can be reckoned as twelve without including Levi, and consequently emphasizing the dual character of the house of Joseph.

^{4b} M Or, *pasture lands*.—1756.

⁶ This passage is obviously not continuous with ¹⁻⁵: the scene is in Gilgal instead of Shiloh cp ¹⁸; Joshua acts alone instead of taking the second place after Eleazar; and Caleb does not as in P Num 13⁶ belong to Judah; he is not an Israelite at all, but a Kenizzite. The address of Caleb to Joshua is plainly founded on the narrative in Num 13-14, but the P elements of that story are ignored; from ⁷ it is clear that Caleb acted alone without any aid from Joshua cp Num 13²⁰ et Num 14⁶. The phraseology shows points of contact with both J^a or E^{1a} ('wholly followed' ⁸, 'from the time that' ¹⁰ ¹² ³⁶) and E¹ ('Moses the man of God' 'concerning' ⁶, 'brought word again' ⁷). But the whole representation has been recast under the influence of Deut 12¹. (cp 'spy out' ⁷, 'made the heart of the people melt' 'Yahweh my God' ⁸, 'thy foot hath trodden' ⁹, 'Anakim' 'great and fenced' 'drive them out' ¹²). The story, however, assumes that Hebron is not yet captured ¹⁰⁵⁶, nor the Anakim expelled ¹²¹. Another version is found in ¹⁵¹⁵. In ⁶ an editorial attempt has been made to harmonize Caleb's language with P by inserting 'and concerning thee.'

J	E	R ⁴	J	E	P ⁵
A Deut 33 ¹ i 11 f Deut 1 ¹⁹ k Deut 1 ²⁴ l Num 13 ^{26b} Deut 1 ³² m Deut 1 ³⁸ n 14 Num 14 ²⁴ Deut 1 ³⁸ o 1 ³¹ p Cp Deut 21 ⁴		that Yahweh spake unto Moses the ¹ man of God ² concerning me and concerning thee in Kadesh-barnea. ⁷ Forty years old was I when Moses the ³ servant of Yahweh sent me from ⁴ Kadesh-barnea to ⁵ spy out the land; and I ⁶ brought him word again as it was in mine heart. ⁸ Nevertheless my brethren that went up with me ⁹ made the heart of the people melt: but I ¹⁰ wholly followed Yahweh ¹¹ my God. ¹² And Moses swore on that day, saying, Surely the land whereon thy ¹³ foot hath trodden shall be an inheritance to thee and to thy children for ever, because thou hast ¹⁴ wholly followed Yahweh my God. ¹⁵ And now, behold, Yahweh hath kept me alive, ¹⁶ as he spake, these ¹⁷ forty and five years, from the time that Yahweh spake this word unto Moses, while Israel walked in the wilderness: and now, lo, I am this day fourscore and five years old. ¹⁸ As ¹⁹ yet I am as strong this day as I was in the day that Moses sent me: as my strength was then, even so is my strength now, for war, and to ²⁰ go out and to come in. ²¹ Now therefore give me this mountain, whereof Yahweh spake in that day; for thou heardest in that day how the ²² Anakim were there, and ²³ cities great and fenced: it may be that Yahweh will be ²⁴ with me, and I shall ²⁵ drive them out, ²⁶ as Yahweh spake. ²⁷ And Joshua blessed him; and he gave Hebron unto Caleb the son of Jephunneh for an inheritance. ²⁸ Therefore Hebron became the inheritance of Caleb the son of Jephunneh the Kenizzite, unto this day; because that he ²⁹ wholly followed Yahweh, the ³⁰ God of Israel. ³¹ Now the name of Hebron ³² beforetime was ³³ Kiriath-arba; [which Arba was] the greatest man among the ³⁴ Anakim. And the ³⁵ land had rest from war.	k 12 ¹¹¹ l 1 ¹ m 2 ⁹ n 2 ⁹ o 4 ⁴ p 2 ^{30b} q 2 ^{35b}		
q Deut 28 ⁶ r Deut 1 ²⁶ s 10 ²⁵ cp 11 ³⁰					
t 7 ¹³ u 11 ¹⁰ v 11 ²⁸					
a 14 ² b 2 s 21 18 ¹⁶ Num 34 ⁸ & c 2-4 cp Num 34 ²⁻⁸		15 ¹ And the ² lot for the ³ tribe of the children of Judah ⁴ according to their families was unto the border of Edom, even to the ⁵ wilderness of Zin southward, at the ⁶ uttermost part of the south. ⁷ And their south border was from the ⁸ uttermost part of the Salt Sea, from the ⁹ bay that looked southward: ¹⁰ and it went out southward of the ascent of Akrabbim, and passed along to Zin, and went up by the south of Kadesh-barnea, and passed along by Hezron, and went up to Addar, and ¹¹ turned about to Karka: ¹² and it passed along to Azmon, and went out at the brook of Egypt; and the ¹³ goings out of the border were at the sea: ¹⁴ this shall be your south border. ¹⁵ And the east border was the Salt Sea, even unto the end of Jordan. And the border of the north ¹⁶ quarter was from the ¹⁷ bay of the sea at the ¹⁸ end of Jordan: ¹⁹ and the border went up to Beth-hoglah, and passed along by the north of Beth-arabah; and the border went up to the stone of Bohan the son of Reuben: ²⁰ and the border went up to Debir from the valley of Achor, and so northward, looking toward Gilgal, that is ²¹ over against the ascent of Adummim, which is on the south side of the river: and the border passed along to the waters of En-shemesh, and the ²² goings out thereof were at En-rogel: ²³ and the border went up by the valley of the son of Hinnom unto the ²⁴ side of the ²⁵ Jebusite southward (the same is Jerusalem): and the border went up to the top of the mountain that lieth before the valley of Hinnom westward, which is at the uttermost part of the vale of Rephaim northward: ²⁶ and the border was ²⁷ drawn from the top of the mountain unto the ²⁸ fountain of the waters of Nephtoah, and went out to the cities of mount Ephron; and the border was drawn to Baalah (the same is Kiriath-jearim): ²⁹ and the border ³⁰ turned about from Baalah westward unto mount Seir, and passed along unto the side of mount Jearim on the north (the same is Chesalon), and went down to Beth-shemesh, and passed along by Timnah: ³¹ and the border went out unto the side of Ekron northward: and the border was ³² drawn to Shikkeron, and passed along to mount Baalah, and went out at Jabneel; and the ³³ goings out of the border were at the sea. ³⁴ And the west border was to the ³⁵ great sea, and the border [thereof]. ³⁶ This is the border of the children of Judah round about ³⁷ according to their families.	a 16 ⁵ b 6 ^{5b} c 9 d 18 ⁶ e 18 ⁷ f 12 ¹		
d 18 ¹² . Num 34 ² e 11 18 ¹⁴ 17 19 ¹³ Is 44 ^{12b} f 18 ¹⁸ Gen 7 ¹¹ cp 18 ⁸					
g Num 34 ⁶					g 18 ³⁵

14¹⁵ M That is, the city of Arba.—Ct 15¹⁵. The subsequent identification of Arba may be due to a later annotator.

15¹ With the exception of 15¹⁹ (cp 15¹⁹) the description of Judah's lot 1-12 20-32 is readily identified with E, showing characteristic affinities in substance and phrase, as the Margins prove. Some additions are noted in 26-28 and 45-47.

2 s M & tongue.—For the line between Judah and Benjamin

5-9 cp the description in the reverse direction 18¹⁴-19.

4 A trace of the direct speech apparently preserved by accident in the transformation of Num 34 into narrative. Cp 24^{2b} 2^{5b}.

28 M & shoulder.—10. 18¹². 16 18. Num 34¹¹.

32 18¹⁶ 28 ct 10¹. Cp Judg 19¹⁰. and Moore *in loc*.

	J E	R ^d	J E P ^a	
h 14 ⁶		13 "And unto Caleb the son of Jephunneh he gave a portion among the children of Judah, according to the commandment of Yahweh to Joshua, even Kiriath-arba, [which Arba was the father of Anak (the same is Hebron)]. 14 And Caleb drove out thence the three sons of Anak, Sheshai, and Ahiman, and Talmi, the children of Anak.		h 122 i 19 ^d
i Gen 23 ² j Judg 1:20 k Num 13:22		15 And he went up thence against the inhabitants of Debir: "now the name of Debir beforetime was Kiriath-sepher. 16 And Caleb said, He that smiteth Kiriath-sepher, and taketh it, to him will I give Achsah my daughter to wife. 17 And Othniel the son of Kenaz, the brother of Caleb, took it: and he gave him Achsah his daughter to wife. 18 And it came to pass, when she came unto him, that she moved him to ask of her father a field: and she lighted down from off her ass; and Caleb said unto her, What wouldest thou? 19 And she said, Give me a "blessing; for that thou hast "set me in the land of the South, give me also "springs of water". And he gave her the "upper springs and the nether springs.		
l Judg 1:14, 21†				
m Judg 1:24 n 5†				
o Cp 26 41 44 51 54 57 58. 62 1:22 19 ^d &c		20 "This is the inheritance of the "tribe of the children of Judah according to their families. 21 And the "uttermost cities of the "tribe of the children of Judah toward the border of Edom in the South were Kabzeel, and Eder, and Jagur; 22 and Kinah, and Dimonah, and Adadah; 23 and Kedesh, and Hazor, and Ithnan; 24 Ziph, and Telem, and Bealoth; 25 and Hazor-hadattah, and Keriioth-hezron (the same is Hazor); 26 Amam, "and Shema, and Moladah; 27 and Hazar-gaddah, and Heshmon, and Beth-pelet; 28 and Hazar-shual, and Beer-sheba, and "Biziothiah; 29 Baalah, and Iim, and Ezem; 30 and Eltolad, and Chesil, and Hormah; 31 and Ziklag, and Madmannah, and Sansannah; 32 and Lebaoth, and Shilhim, and "Ain, and Rimmon: all the cities are twenty and nine, "with their villages. 33 In the lowland, Eshtaol, and Zorah, and Ashnah; 34 and Zanoah, and En-gannim, Tappuah, and Enam; 35 Jarmuth, and Adullam, Socoh, and Azekah; 36 and Shaaraim, and "Adithaim, and Gederah, and Gederothaim; fourteen cities with their villages. 37 Zenan, and Hadashah, and Migdal-gad; 38 and Dilan, and Mizpeh, and Joktheel; 39 Lachish, and Bozkath, and Eglon; 40 and Cabbon, and "Lahmam, and Chithlish; 41 and Gederoth, Beth-dagon, and Naamah, and Makkedah; sixteen cities with their villages. 42 Libnah, and Ether, and Ashan; 43 and Iphtah, and Ashnah, and Nezib; 44 and Keilah, and Achzib, and Mareshah; nine cities with their villages.		

15^{13a} An introduction by a late writer in the manner of the Priestly compiler to incorporate an older fragment concerning Caleb's settlement in South Judah. This fragment reappears in Judg 1:10, where it is believed to belong to J's account of the conquest of 14⁶⁻¹⁵. Addis, following Meyer (ZATW i 140) and Budde (Richter und Sam 4.-) restores 13 in accordance with Judg 1:20 thus: 'And to Caleb the son of Kenaz a portion was given among the children of Israel, as Moses had spoken, namely Hebron. Then Caleb went up against the Canaanites who dwell in Hebron—now the name of Hebron in former times was Kiriath-arba.' According to R^d's view of the conquest Hebron and Debir had already been captured, and all their inhabitants had been devoted 10:26-29. Similarly in 11:21 the Anakim had been exterminated. It is evident therefore that this passage belongs to another group of narratives. As the three sons of Anak are only named elsewhere in Num 13:22, already assigned on independent grounds to J, further confirmation is obtained for the ascription of 14-19 to that source.

15^b M That is, the city of Arba.—Ct 14:15.

16 Not in (G) or Judg 1:10: perhaps introduced from Num 13:22 (cp Steuern).

17 Perhaps an annotation of R^d, cp 'beforetime' 11:10 14:15. On the other hand Moore allots the parallel passage in Judg 1:11 to J.

18a M Or, present.—Cp Gen 33:11.

18b M Or, given me the land of the South.

26 A difficulty arises in this list because it contains thirty-six cities, whereas according to 32 it should not name more than twenty-nine. The solution has been found by Kayser and Hollenberg. In 28 (G) reads 'her daughters' בנותיה for 'Biziothiah' בוזיה. But this is not one of P's expressions, and therefore suggests some manipulation of the text. Now the term occurs in a list in Nehemiah 11:36, enumerating 'Jeshua and Moladah and Beth-pelet, Hazar-shual and Beer-sheba and her daughters.' These names, therefore (Jeshua being probably represented by Shema), are supposed to have been introduced into the text by a later scribe: and six of the superfluous seven are thus identified. Beer-sheba, Moladah, and Hazar-shual are reckoned in 19^d to Simeon.—Steuern, however, thinks some of the names in Neh 11:36, introduced from this passage, and obtains the reduced number by comparing the varying omissions in different codices of (G).

28 (G) and her daughters: see preceding note.

32 Both here and 19^d (G) represents Ain Rimmon by one word. So also does Neh 11:32 treat it as a single name, En-rimmon (Rimmon's Well). If this emendation be adopted, the proper number of cities is then obtained cp 26^a.

36 Not in (G). There is again a discrepancy, fourteen cities are reckoned and fifteen are named. (G) treats Gederothaim as a common noun of ἐραυλεις αὐτης, and makes up the fourteen by inserting 'Membra' between Adullam and Socoh.

40 M Or, Lahmas.

J E

P

⁴⁵ Ekron, with her towns and her villages: ⁴⁶ from Ekron even unto the sea, all that were by the side of Ashdod, with their villages.

⁴⁷ Ashdod, her towns and her villages; Gaza, her towns and her villages; unto the brook of Egypt, and the great sea, and the border [thereof].

⁴⁸ And in the hill country, Shamir, and Jattir, and Socoh; ⁴⁹ and Dannah, and Kiriath-sannah (the same is Debir); ⁵⁰ and Anab, and Eshtemoh, and Anim; ⁵¹ and Goshen, and Holon, and Giloh; eleven cities with their villages.

⁵² Arab, and Dumah, and Eshan; ⁵³ and Janim, and Beth-tappuah, and Aphekah; ⁵⁴ and Humtah, and Kiriath-arba (the same is Hebron), and Zior; nine cities with their villages.

⁵⁵ Maon, Carmel, and Ziph, and Jutah; ⁵⁶ and Jezreel, and Jokdeam, and Zanoah; ⁵⁷ Kain, Gibeah, and Timnah; ten cities with their villages.

⁵⁸ Halhul, Beth-zur, and Gedor; ⁵⁹ and Maarath, and Beth-anoth, and Eltekon; six cities with their villages.

⁶⁰ Kiriath-baal (the same is Kiriath-jearim), and Rabbah; two cities with their villages.

⁶¹ In the wilderness, Beth-arabah, Middin, and Secacah; ⁶² and Nibshan, and the City of Salt, and En-gedi; six cities with their villages.

p Ct 18²⁸q 13¹⁸a Cp Judg 1³
b 1-3 of 5-8c 2 Sam 15²²d 18¹⁸14⁴ 17¹

... ⁶³ And as for the Jebusites, the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the children of Judah could not drive them out: but the Jebusites dwelt with the children of Judah at Jerusalem, unto this day.

¹⁶ And the lot for the children of Joseph went out from the Jordan at Jericho, at the waters of Jericho on the east, even the wilderness, going up from Jericho through the hill country to Beth-el; ² and it went out from Beth-el to Luz, and passed along unto the border of the Archites to Ataroth; ³ and it went down westward to the border of the Japhletites, unto the border of Beth-horon the nether, even unto Gezer: and the goings out thereof were at the sea.

⁴ And the children of Joseph, Manasseh and Ephraim, took their inheritance. ⁵ And the border of the children of Ephraim according to their

a 96

b 65b

15^{45a} The difference of form in these verses suggests a difference of source, which is confirmed by the fact that in 16⁴⁵ Ekron is allotted to Dan. On the other hand, the writer seems acquainted with P's formulae, 'the brook of Egypt' ⁴⁷ cp ⁴, the sea for a border ⁴⁷ cp ¹². The verses must be attributed, therefore, to the editorial process. Why Ashkelon is omitted cp Judg 1¹⁸ and Gath, is not apparent.

^{45b} M & daughters.—Cp 17¹¹ Num 21²⁵ 32.

⁴⁷ The unpointed & text reads 'and the sea was the boundary for a boundary' (cp Num 34^{6a}), i.e. all along. Addis adopts Kautsch's emendation 'and the boundary was the great sea all along.'

⁵⁰ (G) here adds a group of eleven cities with their villages beginning with Tekoa and Ephrathah (that is Bethlehem), in the hill country. This list is unanimously recognized as genuine, for otherwise an important district would be unaccountably ignored.

⁶³ This verse is not homogeneous with P, either in matter or form; for (1) P locates Jerusalem in Benjamin and not in Judah 18²⁸, and (2) he does not use the formulae 'drive out' 'dwelt with' 'unto this day.' It resembles the group of fragments named in 13¹⁸, its position here being due to the Compiler.

¹⁶ The account of the settlement of the house of Joseph in 16-17 is plainly composite, but its constituents are very curiously combined. After the elaborate survey of the inheritance of Judah at the hand of P, it is natural to look for a similar delineation of the lots of Ephraim and Manasseh. Elements of P are to be found by common consent in 16⁴⁻⁸ and 17¹⁻¹⁰, but the scale of description is much more contracted, and no lists of cities are appended resembling that in 15³⁰⁻³² cp 18²¹. . . 19². . . &c. If P ever contained such enumerations they have been removed by the Compiler, who has not here as in other cases 18¹¹⁻¹⁹ adopted large and continuous sections from this source. When the remaining passages are examined, some of them such as 16¹⁰ 17¹¹⁻¹³ seem at once assignable to the group indicated in

13¹⁸. What is the source of the rest? In many small matters P reveals its dependence on J just as D does on E: and it may be regarded as probable that if some of the material which cannot be ascribed to P be identified with J, the rest also may be attributed to that source. Thus in 16¹⁻³ the detail of the border of Ephraim is quite different from that in 5-7 cp 17⁷⁻⁹. The Editor has preserved two independent versions side by side. As the passage immediately preceding 15⁶³ belongs to J as well as the next fragment distinguishable from P in 16¹⁰, it is natural to regard 1-3 as an extract from the same source. Names similar in form to the Archite and Japhletite will be found in J Gen 10¹⁶⁻¹⁸ 15¹⁹⁻²¹. It is in harmony with another passage assigned to J 17¹⁴⁻¹⁸ that the 'house of Joseph' has only one lot cp 18⁵, whereas P distinguishes Ephraim and Manasseh, describing each separately 5-8 17¹¹. (in 5 Manasseh is named first as the firstborn 14⁴ et Gen 48⁵). Steuern, however, assigns 1-3 to P as the statement of the common south boundary of both tribes: the opening of 1 he restores thus 'And the lot came out for the children of Joseph [cp 19¹ 17²⁴ 33⁴⁰]. Their border began from the Jordan' &c. This ascription leads him to expel incongruous matter in 5 as later repetition.

² (G) joins 'to Luz' with 'to Bethel,' thus identifying them as usual cp 18¹³ Judg 1²³ Gen 28¹⁹ 35⁶.

³ This seems to be the origin of P's formula cp 5 15⁴, where, however, the term 'goings out' is applied to the boundary, not as here to the 'lot.'

⁴ At this point E incorporates a passage from P who designates the children of Joseph 'Manasseh and Ephraim' (instead of Ephraim and Manasseh Gen 48²⁰), strictly recognizing the primogeniture of Manasseh cp 17¹. The description of Manasseh's lot, therefore, might be expected first. E, however, has assimilated the order to that of his older source, and has taken out the Ephraim section of P that it may stand next to the corresponding section in J.

J E

P^a

families was [thus]: even the border of their inheritance eastward was ¹Ataroth-addar, unto Beth-horon the upper; ⁶ and the border went out westward at Michmethath on the north; and the border turned about eastward unto Taanath-shiloh, and passed along it on the east of Janoah; ⁷ and it went down from Janoah to Ataroth, and to Naarah, and ⁸reached unto Jericho, and went out at Jordan. ⁸ *From Tappuah the border went along westward to the brook of Kanah; and the ⁹goings out thereof were at the sea. *This is the inheritance of the ⁴tribe of the children of Ephraim ^aaccording to their families; ⁹ *together with the cities which were ^aseparated for the children of Ephraim in the midst of the inheritance of the children of Manasseh, ^aall the cities with their villages.

... ¹⁰ *And they ¹drave not out the Canaanites that dwelt in Gezer: but the Canaanites ¹dwelt in the midst of Ephraim, ¹unto this day, and became ^kservants to do taskwork^k.

17¹ *And ^athis was the lot for the ^atribe of Manasseh; for he was the ^bfirstborn of Joseph. As for Machir the ^bfirstborn of Manasseh, the father of Gilead, because he was a ^aman of war, therefore he had ^aGilead and ^aBashan. ² And [the lot] was for the rest of the children of Manasseh, ^baccording to their families: for the children of ²Abieser, and for the children of Helek, and for the children of Aziel, and for the children of Shechem, and for the children of Hephher, and for the children of Shemida: these were the male children of Manasseh the son of Joseph ^aaccording to their families. ³ But ^bZelophehad, the son of Hephher, the son of Gilead, the son of Machir, the son of Manasseh, had no sons, but daughters: and these are the names of his daughters, Mahlah, and Noah, Hoglah, Milcah, and Tirzah. ⁴ And they came near before ^cEleazar the priest, and before Joshua the son of Nun, and before the ^dprinces, saying, Yahweh commanded Moses to give us an inheritance among our brethren: therefore ^aaccording to the commandment of Yahweh he gave them an inheritance among the brethren of their father. ⁵ *And there fell ten ^aparts to Manasseh, beside the land of ^aGilead and ^aBashan, which is ^bbeyond Jordan; ⁶ because the daughters of Manasseh ^ahad an inheritance among his sons: and the land of Gilead belonged unto the rest of the sons of Manasseh. ⁷ And the border of Manasseh was from Asher to ¹Michmethath, which is ^bbefore Shechem; and the border went along to the right hand, unto the inhabitants of ^kEn-tappuah. ⁸ *The land of Tappuah belonged to Manasseh: but Tappuah on the border of Manasseh belonged to the children of Ephraim. ⁹ And the border went down unto the brook of ^kKanah, southward of the brook: these cities belonged to Ephraim among the cities of Manasseh: and the border of Manasseh was on the north side of the brook, and the ^kgoings out thereof were at the sea: ¹⁰ southward it was

16⁶ The text seems to have been here curtailed. How did the border get to Tappuah? Cp 17¹.

⁹ As no lists of cities are included in E's excerpts from P's summary of the inheritances of Manasseh and Ephraim, many critics have assigned ⁹ to JE, and supposed that the concluding formula was added by RP. But the curious word ^{הַבְּנוֹת} pleads strongly for P cp ⁹53 as against JE. It is true that such an addition to the formula in ^{9b} is not in P's style. But that formula stands in 15³⁰ as the beginning of an enumeration of the cities of Judah, and a similar list of the cities of Ephraim might have followed here. (In other cases, however, cp 188^b, it is placed at the close of the whole section.) Wellh suggested that the omission was due to a redaction hostile to the Samaritans, and this is quoted though with doubtful assent by Kuen. Cp the awkward clause in 17².

¹⁰ (G omits this clause, but adds a reference to 1 Kings 9¹⁶.

17¹ The style of P is plain in 1^a 3. 7 ^{9ac} and probably 10. But the other passages do not seem mutually coherent. In 1^b Machir is called the firstborn of Manasseh, while ² mentions six more sons. Yet P designates Machir as Manasseh's only son Num 26²⁹. He is then described by the curious title 'father of the Gilead' (i.e. the district) as having occupied it cp Num 32³⁰ J, and he is called 'a man of war' 10²⁴ J, 5⁶ 6³ & D, not used by P. After J, Bashan also is allotted to him cp Deut 3¹³ Josh 13²⁶ ²⁰, as here. In ² a fresh beginning is made for the rest of the children of Manasseh who are contrasted as male with the daughters of Zelophehad in ³. These six are identical in all but one name with the six sons of Gilead in Num 26³⁰⁻³².

Their insertion here seems due to the desire to provide Manasseh with a genealogy which would enable his tribe to hold land on both sides of the Jordan, the enumeration in Num 26³⁰⁻³² being preoccupied for the Eastern settlement. The familiarity of the writer with P's style may be seen in the phrases 'the rest' cp 6²¹ 20 26 34 40 (the ptep ^{נותר} twenty-two times altogether in P against once in JE Gen 30³⁶), 'according to their families,' 'these were the male children' &c.

^{1b} Dillm, insisting on the priority of P, here ascribes Bashan to R^d cp 1^a. On the general question cp ante p 317.

^{2a} The sequel of ² combined with ³. The annotator apparently makes up ten parts for Manasseh in Canaan by adding to the five shares of the families of Abieser Helek Aziel Shechem and Shemida five more shares for the female descendants of Hephher ³, forgetting that they were only entitled to one between them, corresponding to that of the original brothers. The fictitious arrangement is then completed by transferring the 'rest of the children of Manasseh,' i.e. the five clans named in ², from the west of the Jordan to the east, so as to harmonize with Num 26. It seems impossible to identify such a piece of systematizing with the methods of JE.

^{5b} M. 5 lines.

^{8c} Wanting in (G).

⁸ The description of the course of the border is interrupted by a note (which may have been founded on some older material in JE) to explain the difference between the ownership of the territory round the city, and that of the city itself. Cp 16⁶.

J R ^d E	P ^a
l 167	Ephraim's, and northward it was Manasseh's, and the sea was his border; and they 'reached to Asher on the north, and to Issachar on the east.
m Judg 1:27	11 "And Manasseh had in Issachar and in Asher "Beth-shean and her "towns, and Ibleam and her towns, and the inhabitants of Dor and her towns, "and the inhabitants of En-dor and her towns, and the inhabitants of Taanach and her towns, and the inhabitants of Megiddo and her towns, even the three "heights. 12 Yet the children of Manasseh could not "drive out the inhabitants of] those cities; but the Canaanites "would dwell in that land. 13 And "it came to pass, "when the children of Israel were "waxen strong, that they put the Canaanites to "taskwork, and did not utterly drive them out.
n 13 ¹³	14 "And the children of Joseph spake unto Joshua, saying, Why hast thou given me but one lot and one "part for an inheritance, seeing I am a "great people, forasmuch as 'hitherto Yahweh hath 'blessed me?
o 7 ⁷ Gen 18:27	15 And Joshua said unto them, If thou be a 'great people, get thee up to the forest, and 'cut down for thyself there "in the land of the Perizzites and of the Rephaim; since the "hill country of Ephraim is too 'narrow for thee.
p Judg 1:28	16 And the children of Joseph said, The hill country "is not enough for us: and all the Canaanites that dwell in the land of the valley have "chariots of iron, both they who are in "Beth-shean and her towns, and they who are in the valley of Jezreel. 17 And Joshua spake unto the house of Joseph, "[even] to Ephraim and to Manasseh, saying, Thou art a 'great people, and hast great power: thou shalt not have one lot only: 18 but the hill country shall be thine; for though it is a forest, thou shalt 'cut it down, and "the goings out thereof shall be thine: for thou shalt drive out the Canaanites, though they have "chariots of iron, and though they be strong.
q 1610	
r 18 17 116	
s Ex 7:16	
t § In this sense †	
u 161	
v 114 Judg 1:18	
a 19 ¹¹ 21 ² 22 ³	18 ¹ "And the whole "congregation of the children of Israel 'assembled themselves together at "Shiloh, and 'set up the tent of meeting there: and the land was 'subdued before them.
b Num 32:28	
c 2-10 L4u ^c	2 "And there remained among the children of Israel seven tribes, which

17^{11a} Another of the passages cognate with 13¹³. The linguistic indications make for J. On the text cp Dillm, Bennett, and Steuern.

11^b M § daughters.

11^c This clause is absent from the parallel passage Judg 1:26, and is also absent from § (together with the Taanach clause). It seems to be due to the previous mention of Dor, Endor being 'about twenty-five miles east of Dor' (Bennett).

11^d M See 11:3 12:23.

14 The source of 14-18 has been much discussed, and the literary question is here especially closely involved with the historical. At the outset it is clear that the Joseph-tribes are regarded as still undivided ('why hast thou given me') and as having only one lot. In 17 they are designated as the 'house of Joseph,' and Dillm accordingly proposed to read 'house' for 'sons' in 14a. From this Budde (ZATW vii 122-), and Richter und Sam 32-.) argued that the passage originally represented a stage in the tribal history when Ephraim and Manasseh were still united, and no Manassite clans had yet occupied Gilead. Pointing out that in 15 'the forest' is discriminated from Ephraim's territory, and that in 16 'a hill country' (§ does not contain 'the') is promised them, Budde suggested that the name Gilead had originally stood there, and this is accepted by Kittel, Hist i 265. In that case it would seem most natural to regard the passage as one document. But Kittel, while inserting Gilead in 15 and 16, follows Dillm in attributing 14. to E and 16-18 to J, finding a new beginning in 16; and he affirms that 'such peculiarities of form as prove J's authorship are only to be found in 16. . . Hist i 266'. But the divine blessing in 14 is paralleled only in J cp 26:10; the term 'great people' 14. 17 which Dillm claims for E is found 11:4 in J; 'hitherto' 14 cp Ex 7:16 J. In 15 the vbs 'cut down' 'is too narrow' are unique instances of their respective meanings, the second occurring in another sense 10:13

('hasted') J cp Gen 19:15 Ex 5:13a. There seems no need, therefore, to refuse the whole passage to J, though it is difficult to decide how much is now due to editorial handiwork cp Budde's textual corrections in Richt-Sam 36. The fivefold § in 18 can hardly be original; and if the view of Budde and Kittel be correct (it is adopted by Addis and Bennett) 18b must be an addition on the transfer of the passage to its present connexion, for the occupation of Gilead would not enable the Eastern settlers to drive out the Canaanites from the Vale of Jezreel. Budde further proposes to insert here Num 32:39 41. cp 32:39a. With the exception of various glosses attributed to E^p, Steuern gives 11-18 to J.

14^b M § line.

15 Wanting in §; probably a late gloss, cp Moore, Judges (ICC) 17. For 'Perizzite' cp Gen 13:7, 'Rephaim' 10:5.

16 M § is not found for us.—Cp Num 11:23.

17 Again a possible editorial annotation: the names are not found in §.

18 The entry of this word (fem pl) after the masc sing vb seems to break the grammatical order: it is absent from §, and is specially characteristic of P cp 1:87. The real subject is 'the forest.'

18¹ On the original place of this verse cp 14:12.

2 The description of the method by which the inheritances of the remaining tribes were settled by lot at Shiloh under Joshua's supervision, does not cohere with 1 and 11. . . The representation of P 14:19¹¹ puts Eleazar in the front and Joshua in the second place; here Joshua acts with independent initiative; 10a and 19¹¹ cannot proceed from the same writer. Noldeke assigned the passage to D, but though the style of R^d may be traced in 3 (7:10), the relief in which these passages stand out from their context (at least in 7) shows that they are not really essential to the piece. It is natural therefore to look for

J E

B¹

J E P¹

c Qal 14² 22²
 d Ex 16²⁸ Num 14¹¹
 e Hithpa Prov 18⁹ 24¹⁰
 f Deut 11⁸
 g 2³ om
 h Gen 13¹⁷
 i 2³ writ⁴
 j Cp 19³
 k Hithpat 11¹⁷
 m 2 10 5¹
 n Deut 10³
 o Cp 19³
 p 12² 13² 18
 q Cp 19³
 r 11¹⁷

s 10¹³ Deut 17¹⁸
 t 31²⁴ 5¹ Ex 17¹⁴
 u 11²³

v 10¹⁰ Lev 16⁹
 w 21²⁰ 46
 x 16⁴

had not yet 'divided their inheritance. ³ And Joshua said unto the children of Israel, ⁴How long are ye 'sluck to 'go in to possess the 'land, which Yahweh, the 'God of your fathers, hath given you? ⁴'Appoint for you three men for each tribe: 'and I will send them', and they shall 'arise, and walk through the land', and 'describe it, 'according to their inheritance; and they shall come unto me. ⁵ And they shall 'divide it into seven portions: Judah shall abide in his border on the south, and the 'house of Joseph shall abide in their border on the north. ⁶ And ye shall describe the land into seven portions, and bring the description hither to me: and I will 'cast lots for you here before Yahweh our God. ⁷ For the Levites have no 'portion among you; for the 'priesthood of Yahweh is their inheritance: and Gad and Reuben and the half 'tribe of Manasseh have 'received their inheritance 'beyond Jordan eastward, which Moses the 'servant of Yahweh gave them. ⁸ And the men arose, and went: and Joshua charged them that went to describe the land, saying, Go and walk through the land, and describe it, and come again to me, and I will 'cast lots for you here before Yahweh in Shiloh. ⁹ And the men went and passed through the land, and described it by cities into seven portions 'in a book, and they 'came to Joshua 'unto the camp at Shiloh. ¹⁰ And Joshua 'cast lots for them in Shiloh before Yahweh: 'and there Joshua divided the land unto the children of Israel 'according to their divisions⁹.

11 'And the lot of the 'tribe of the children of Benjamin 'came up 'according to their families: 'and the border of 'their lot went out between the children of Judah and the 'children of Joseph. ¹² And their border on

d 25³
 e 26³
 f 27³

g 2111

h 16⁵
 i 6⁵

the authorship in some antecedent of B¹. This can hardly be J, for the conception of a deputation of twenty-one persons travelling through the country and recording its natural features and its conquered cities does not fit his picture of slow progress amid many obstacles. Nor does it really seem more congruous with the scanty traces of E's view (cp *Introd* 3 2 end p 308). It obviously rests upon a theory of the subjugation of the people which was so complete as to permit the perambulation of the land by a small group of tribal representatives apparently without escort. This might be the view of a generalising editor of the older documents: and the passage is accordingly attributed in its earlier form to E² (with Kuenen and Bennett). There are, however, some slight incongruities as between ²⁴ and ²⁵; and certain notable peculiarities of language, which point in the direction of the vocabulary of B¹. Such are 'according to' ²⁴, 'priesthood' (never in Deut) and 'beyond Jordan' ²⁵ (for which D writes ²⁵ or ²⁵). There are traces elsewhere of revision by a late hand of this school: has this passage been touched in the same way? The older style is seen in 'arise and walk' ⁴, 'house of Joseph' ⁵; in other respects the phraseological parallels are mostly with B¹ and D.

¹⁸ 2, with another punctuation, 'they brought it to Joshua,' omitting the remaining words. The sanctuary is located in other passages at Shiloh, e.g. 18¹ P cp 1 Sam 13 &c, but not the camp (save in the late story Judg 21¹⁹). Dillm regarded Shiloh as probably harmonistic, and attributed to the same influence the occurrences in ⁹ (separated by the whole clause from the opening 'and here I will &c') and ¹⁰. So likewise Steuern.

^{11a} The sequel to the allotment of the seven portions at the sanctuary by Joshua ^{10a} would naturally be found in a description of the several inheritances. Such a description is indeed provided 18¹¹⁻¹⁹. But it is soon apparent that the greater portion of this survey (to state it in the lowest terms) is from the hand of P. The word for 'tribe' ²⁷ at once changes from ²⁷ to P's ²⁷ cp 19¹ 23, 31 39, 48 51, with other recurring P formulae, 18¹¹ 30, 28 19¹ 8 10 16, 23, 31, 39, 48 51 (for additional evidence see the margins). But this general ascription is not inconsistent with the incorporation of detail from other and older sources. An ancient fragment of this kind is at once recognised in 19⁴⁷. That an earlier statement lies at the base of ⁴⁹, is guaranteed by 24²⁰. Dillm (whose results are nearly all adopted by Addis, *Her* i 230-1) finds traces of JE in a large number of passages, including the whole or part of 19¹ 24 9-10 13 17 24 25 26 27 28 30 32 35-38 40 41 47 49-50. The criteria for this discrimination are not definitely stated; it will be noticed, how-

ever, that there is some inequality in the superscriptions. In 18¹¹ 19¹⁰ the lot 'comes up'; in 19¹ 17 24 32 40 it 'comes out.' But both uses are found in P; 'came up' Lev 16⁹ (RV 'fell'), 'came out' Josh 21⁴. Though uniformity might have been expected, this does not seem a reason for dividing the text. But further, some of the superscriptions are simple 18^{11a} 19¹⁰ 24 40, others are curiously duplicated, 19¹ 'for Simeon, for the tribe &c,' ¹⁷ 'for Issachar, for the children of Issachar &c,' ²² 'for the children of Naphtali' bis (RV in each case inserts 'even'). This duplication, however, is not quite fairly represented in the English order. In ¹⁷ 2 runs 'for Issachar came out the fourth lot, for the children of Issachar according to their families'; and similarly ²². The last case seems to present no difficulty at all, except the inversion of the order. It is not, however, the manner of P to designate the tribes as single persons. The occurrence of the names Simeon and Issachar, therefore, by themselves, awakens suspicion. It may be due to the incorporation of older material imperfectly welded with P. If these names, then, be from another source, why not much more? There seems no reason why, except the impossibility of distinguishing it. P must have had some kind of scheme on which to base his tribal arrangements. The lists of cities were probably not his own compositions. But in the setting of the present enumeration the materials and the framework seem no longer capable of separation. A question arises, however, about the numerals 19¹ 10 &c. These are now related to the arrangements for the seven tribes 18²⁻¹⁰. But P 14¹ regarded all the Western tribes as receiving their inheritances by lot. If 18¹¹⁻¹⁹ belongs to this scheme, the numerals must have been introduced by the Compiler, for in P's order (where Judah and Joseph 16⁴ stood first) Simeon 19² would have been fourth. The existing sequence produced by the incorporation of 18²⁻¹⁰ must therefore be redactional. Dillm, on the other hand, attributes it to JE.—The text is often defective, but where it does not bear on the literary history problems of textual criticism lie outside the scope of this work. (9) appears to curtail much, especially in the superscriptions.

^{11b} (9) adds 'first,' to correspond with 19¹ &c. On the originality of this enumeration see 11²³.

^{11c} This clause is sometimes attributed to JE on the ground of tautology with ^{11a}; but even if 'went (came) out' describes the issue of the lot from the urn (Dillm), the material fact of situation between the children of Judah and those of Joseph is new. 'Children of Joseph' cannot be claimed for JE on the strength of 16¹, when P has it 16¹.

	J E ⁴ E	P ⁴	
π 15 ⁶		the north "quarter was from Jordan; and the border went up to the "side of Jericho on the north, and went up through the hill country westward; and the 'goings out thereof were at the wilderness of "Beth-aven. ¹³ And the border passed along from thence to Luz, to the "side of Luz (the same is "Beth-el), southward; and the border went down to "Ataroth-addar, by the mountain that lieth on the south of Beth-horon the nether. ¹⁴ And the border was "drawn and turned about on the west quarter southward, from the mountain that lieth before Beth-horon southward; and the 'goings out thereof were at "Kiriath-baal (the same is Kiriath-jearim), a city of the children of Judah: this was the west quarter. ¹⁵ And the south quarter was from the uttermost part of Kiriath-jearim, and the border went out westward, and went out to the fountain of the waters of "Nephtoa: ¹⁶ and the border went down to the uttermost part of the mountain that lieth before the "valley of the son of Hinnom, which is in the vale of Rephaim northward; and it went down to the valley of Hinnom, to the side of the "Jebusite southward, and went down to "En-rogel; ¹⁷ and it was "drawn on the north", and went out at "En-shemesh, and went out to Geliloth, which is "over against the "ascent of Adummim; and it went down to the "stone of Bohan the son of Reuben; ¹⁸ and it passed along to the side "over against the Arabah northward, and went down "unto the Arabah: ¹⁹ and the border passed along to the side of "Beth-hoglah northward: and the 'goings out of the border were at the north "bay of the Salt Sea, at the south end of Jordan: this was the south border. ²⁰ And Jordan was the border of it on the east "quarter. "This was the inheritance of the children of Benjamin, "by the borders thereof round about, 'according to their families. ²¹ Now the cities of the tribe of the children of Benjamin 'according to their families were Jericho, and Beth-hoglah, and Emek-keziz; ²² and Beth-arabah, and Zemaraim, and Beth-el; ²³ and Avvim, and Parah, and Ophrah; ²⁴ and Chephar-ammoni, and Ophni, and Geba; twelve cities "with their villages; ²⁵ Gibeon, and Ramah, and Beeroth; ²⁶ and Mizpeh, and Chephirah, and Mozah; ²⁷ and Rekem, and Irpeel, and Taralah; ²⁸ and Zelah, Eleph, and the "Jebusite (the same is Jerusalem), Gibeath, [and] Kiriath; fourteen cities "with their villages. "This is the inheritance of the children of Benjamin 'according to their families.	j 187
γ 7 ^{2b}			
κ Ct 16 ²			
α' 16 ⁵			
ν 15 ⁹			
ε' 15 ¹⁰			
σ' 15 ⁹			
ε' 15 ⁶			
ζ' 15 ⁷			
θ' 15 ⁶			k 121
η' 19 ^{6b} 22 ¹²			
			l 188 ^b m 18 ^a
ι' 15 ²²			
α Cp 18 ^{11a}		19 ¹ And the "second lot came out for Simeon, [even] for the "tribe of the children of Simeon 'according to their families: and their inheritance was in the midst of the inheritance of the children of Judah. ² And they had for their inheritance "Beer-sheba, or Sheba, and Moladah; ³ and Hazar-shual, and Balah, and Ezem; ⁴ and Eltolad, and Bethul, and Hormah; ⁵ and Ziklag, and Beth-marcaboth, and Hazar-susah; ⁶ and Beth-lebaoth, and Sharuhin; ⁷ thirteen cities with their villages: ⁸ "Ain, Rimmon, and Ether, and Ashan, ⁹ four cities with their villages: ¹⁰ "and all the villages that were round about these cities to Baalath-beer, Ramah of the South. "This is the inheritance of the "tribe of the children of Simeon 'according to their families. ¹¹ "Out of the "part of the children of Judah was the inheritance of the children of Simeon: for the portion of the children of Judah was "too much for them: therefore the children of Simeon "had inheritance in the midst of their inheritance.	a 165 b 65 ^b c 188 ^b d 96 ^a
β Cp 15 ²²			
γ 17 ¹⁵ Num 16 ²⁷			

18¹² 18 M § shoulder.—Cp 15⁶.

18 (G) curtails here and in 19.

19² With this list cp 15²⁶⁻²⁸. It is exposed to the difficulty that thirteen cities are reckoned in the first group⁶, but fourteen are named. This is disguised in ² by the rendering 'or' for § 'and' (G reads *καὶ Σαῦαν* as in 15²⁶), but the error may possibly lie in some accidental repetition. Other divergences are due in Dillmann's view partly to copyists' errors on one side or other, partly to possible variations in the names of the cities, and partly to more extensive employment of JE by R.7 In 15²² Ain and Rimmon seem to form a compound name 'Rimmon's Well': similarly (G) here. Another name, therefore, is needed to make up the four; (G) supplies *Θαλαῦα* cp 1 Chron

17 (G) omits.

19 M § tongue.

4³² Tochen.8 This statement is not in P's form, who has already noted the villages in his usual mode. It is perhaps incorporated by R, but perhaps also by the Priestly Compiler himself. Cp 9^a.9^a Some of the phraseology of this verse is said to recall older sources eg 'line' cp 17¹⁴, but it also appears in P 17⁵. 17 is denied by Dillm to P in the sense of 'too much,' but occurs in Num 16²⁷. The conclusion is almost certainly P's; for 17 without object cp 96^a, and for 17 with 'inheritance' see 16⁹ 17^{14b} 19¹ cp 17⁹ 21⁴¹ 22^a. There is therefore no reason of style for refusing the verse to P; and it enhances the explanation in 1 with a new fact. It may, however, be an editorial supplement cp 16⁹.9^b M § line.

J R^d EP^r

1211

161

167

159

¹⁰ And the ^{third} lot ^dcame up for the children of Zebulun ^baccording to their families: and the ^{'border of their inheritance'} was unto Sarid: ¹¹ and their border went up westward, even to Maralah, and ^{'reached to Dabbesheth}; and it reached to the brook that is ^{'before Jokneam}; ¹² and it turned from Sarid ^{'eastward toward the sunrising unto the border of Chisloth-tabor}; and it went out to Daberath, and went up to Japhia; ¹³ and from thence it passed along eastward to Gath-hepher, to Ethkazin; and it went out at Rimmon which ^{'stretcheth unto Neah}; ¹⁴ and the border ^{'turned about it on the north to Hannathon}: and the ^{'goings out thereof were at the valley of Iphtah-el}; ¹⁵ ^{'and Kattath, and Nahalal, and Shimron, and Idalah, and Beth-lehem}: ^{'twelve cities with their villages}. ¹⁶ This is the inheritance of the children of Zebulun ^baccording to their families, these cities with their villages.

e 64

f 56

g 186

h 187

¹⁷ The ^{fourth} lot came out ^{'for Issachar, [even] for the children of Issachar} ^baccording to their families. ¹⁸ And their border was unto Jezreel, and Chesulloth and Shunem; ¹⁹ and Hapharaim, and Shion, and Anaharath; ²⁰ and Rabbith, and Kishion, and Ebez; ²¹ and Remeth, and En-gannim, and En-haddah, and Beth-pazzez; ²² and the border ^{'reached to Tabor, and Shahazumah, and Beth-shemesh}; and the ^{'goings out of their border were at Jordan}: ^{'sixteen cities with their villages}. ²³ This is the inheritance of the ^{'tribe of the children of Issachar} ^baccording to their families, the cities with their villages.

²⁴ And the ^{fifth} lot came out for the ^{'tribe of the children of Asher} ^baccording to their families. ²⁵ And ^{'their border was Helkath, and Hali, and Beten, and Achshaph}; ²⁶ and Allammelech, and Amad, and Mishal; and it ^{'reached to Carmel westward, and to Shihor-libnath}; ²⁷ and it ^{'turned toward the sunrising to Beth-dagon, and reached to Zebulun, and to the valley of Iphtah-el northward to Beth-emek and Neiel}; and it went out to Cabul on the left hand, ²⁸ and Ebron, and Rehob, and Hammon, and Kanah, even unto great Zidon; ²⁹ and the border ^{'turned to Ramah, and to the fenced city of Tyre}; and the border turned to Hosah; and the ^{'goings out thereof were at the sea} ^{'by the region of Achzib}: ³⁰ Ummah also, and Aphek, and Rehob: ^{'twenty and two cities with their villages}. ³¹ This is the inheritance of the tribe of the children of Asher ^baccording to their families, these cities with their villages.

³² The ^{sixth} lot came out ^{'for the children of Naphtali, [even] for the children of Naphtali, according to their families}. ³³ And their border was from Heleph, from the ^{'oak in Zaanannim, and Adaminekeb, and Jabneel, unto Lakkum}; and the goings out thereof were at Jordan: ³⁴ and the border ^{'turned westward to Aznoth-tabor, and went out from thence to Hukkok}; and it ^{'reached to Zebulun on the south, and reached to Asher on the west, and to Judah at Jordan toward the sunrising}. ³⁵ And the ^{'fenced cities were Ziddin, Zer, and Hammath, Rakkath, and Chinnereth}; ³⁶ and Adamah, and Ramah, and Hazor; ³⁷ and Kedesh, and Edrei, and En-hazor; ³⁸ and Iron, and Migdal-el, Horem, and Beth-anath, and Beth-shemesh; ^{'nineteen cities with their villages}. ³⁹ This is the inheritance of the ^{'tribe of the children of Naphtali} ^baccording to their families, the cities with their villages.

⁴⁰ The ^{seventh} lot came out for the ^{'tribe of the children of Dan} ^baccording to

19¹⁵ Another incongruity, only five cities out of twelve being named. Where are the seven? Dillm supposes that at the time of the editorial compilation many of the northern cities were in ruins, and R troubled himself little about their fate. An accidental omission seems a less cumbersome hypothesis (the union of 14 and 15 being very imperfect) cp 15^{59x}. On the other hand G omits the summary, as in 22³⁰ 38; are these later additions?

³² The description in 25-30 is curiously confused, the cities being enumerated in the process of tracing the border, and the numeration being again inconsistent with the concluding number. These peculiarities doubtless point either to awkward-

ness of compilation, or to subsequent corruption of the text: but they do not seem available for analytical purposes.

^{29a} M Or, the city of Mibzar Zor, that is, the fortress of Tyre.—Cp 35.

^{29b} M Or, from Hebel to Achzib.

³³ M Or, oak (or terebinth) of Bezaanannim.

³⁵ The introduction of this term into the list is unexpected, and has been thought to point to the incorporation of material from another source. Its use is rare cp 10²⁰ Num 32¹⁷ 36^a. But it does not seem possible to decide categorically in favour of M (Dillm). J Num 13²⁸ and D (which often rests upon M) 12³ 3⁵ &c Josh 14¹², use a different form.

JR^d EP^a

their families. ⁴¹ "And the 'border of their inheritance was Zorah, and Eshtaol, and Irshemesh; ⁴² and Shaalabbin, and Aijalon, and Ithlah; ⁴³ and Elon, and Timnah, and Ekron; ⁴⁴ and Eltekeh, and Gibbethon, and Baalath; ⁴⁵ and Jehud, and Bene-berak, and Gath-rimmon; ⁴⁶ and Me-jarkon, and Rakkon, with the border over against "Joppa.

A 5 = and
i Num 21²²
j Cp Num 32⁴¹.

...⁴⁷ "And the border of the children of Dan went out "beyond them :
for the children of Dan went up and 'fought against "Leshem, and 'took it, and smote it with the 'edge of the sword, and possessed it, and dwelt therein, and 'called Leshem, Dan, after the name of Dan their father.

i 156
j 150

40 L4u^b
k Gen 17²² al op
61
l Cp 90^a

m 24³⁰

n 14¹

o 18¹

p Ex 34²⁸ 5

a Num 35¹⁰..
b Num 35¹¹
c Deut 19⁵
d 82⁹

e Deut 19¹² 21³
22¹⁵ 23⁷
f Deut 19⁶
g Deut 23¹⁶

h 5 smote = killed
beforetime
= in time past
i Deut 19⁶

j Num 35¹²
k Deut 17⁹ 19¹⁷
26⁸ f

l Num 35⁷⁸
m 21²²
n 21²¹

⁴³ "This is the inheritance of the 'tribe of the children of Dan 'according to their families, these cities with their villages. ⁴⁹ "So they 'made an end of 'distributing the land for inheritance 'by the borders thereof; and the children of Israel gave an 'inheritance to Joshua the son of Nun in the 'midst of them, ⁵⁰ 'according to the commandment of Yahweh they gave him the city which he asked, even "Timnath-serah in the hill country of Ephraim: and he built the city, and dwelt therein.

k 18^a
l 19^a

⁵¹ "These are the inheritances, which "Eleazar the priest, and Joshua the son of Nun, and the heads of the fathers' [houses] of the tribes of the children of Israel, 'distributed for inheritance by lot in "Shiloh before Yahweh, at the 'door of the tent of meeting. So they 'made an end of dividing the land.

m 188^a
n 96^b
o 111^b

²⁰ "And Yahweh 'spake unto Joshua, saying, ² 'Speak to the children of Israel, saying, Assign you the cities of 'refuge, 'whereof I spake unto you by the 'hand of Moses: ³ that the 'manslayer that killeth any 'person 'unwittingly [and] 'unawares may flee thither: and they shall be unto you 'for a refuge from the 'avenger of blood. ⁴ And he shall 'flee unto one of those cities, and shall stand at the 'entering of the gate of the city, and declare his cause in the ears of the 'elders of that city; and they shall 'take him into the city unto them, and give him a place, that he may dwell among them. ⁵ And if the avenger of blood 'pursue after him, then they shall not 'deliver up the manslayer 'return, to his hand; because he 'smote his neighbour unawares, and hated him not beforetime. ⁶ And he shall dwell in that city, 'until he stand before the 'congregation for judgement, until the death of the high priest 'that shall be in those days: then shall the manslayer 'return, and come unto his own city, and unto his own house, unto the city from whence he fled.

a 185^a
b 185^b
c 123³
d 180^c
e 146^a
f 27⁷
g 132^b

⁷ And they 'set apart "Kedesh in "Galilee in the hill country of Naphtali, and "Shechem in the hill country of Ephraim, and 'Kiriath-arba (the same is

h 46^a
i 3

¹⁹⁴¹ The description of Dan's lot seems to have been curtailed. The boundary is not traced, and the usual enumeration of cities and villages is lacking.

⁴⁶ M 5 Joppa.

⁴⁷ This verse obviously interrupts the sequence of ⁴⁶ ⁴⁸ which 5 renders in continuity. On the other hand, 5 follows with a statement partly identical with Judg 1³⁴, to which ⁴⁷ is then attached. On the text cp Dillm and Budde RS 28.; the latter restores the original thus 58 (cp Addis)—'But the Amorites forced the children of Dan into the hill country, for they would not suffer them to come down to the valley, and they made their territory too narrow for them. So the children of Dan went up and fought against Leshem and took it, and smote it with the edge of the sword, and possessed it and dwelt therein, and called Leshem Dan, after the name of Dan their father. But the Amorites [originally *Canaanites* cp Budde, RS 16., and Moore, *Judges* (ICC) 53] contrived to dwell in Mount Heres and Aijalon and Shaalbim; yet the hand of the house of Joseph prevailed, so that they became tributary.' Cp Kittel, *Hist* i 270.

^{47b} M Or, from them: and &c.

^{47c} M In Judg 18²⁸ Laish.—Wellh proposes Leshâm, a lengthened form cp Ait and Etam, Ain and Enam, *De Gentibus et Fam* Jud 37.

^{49a} The statement that Timnath-serah was given to Joshua evidently rests on a source kindred with 24³⁰ i.e. E. But it may be doubted whether ⁴¹ is correctly assigned by many critics straight to E. The passage in its present form shows too many parallels with P to refer the whole of it to that collection. Unlike ⁴⁷ which has been thrust into its place by E, this is a case where the Priestly Compiler has done his own editing.

^{49b} Probably to be read as Piel 51.

²⁰ The account of the allotment of the cities of refuge presents some rather complicated phenomena. The opening ² clearly depends on Num 35¹⁰., though the juxtaposition of the word 'unawares' (Deut 19⁴ 4²) beside P's formula 'unwittingly' excites surprise. But ⁴ and in part ⁶ are full of the phrases of D, derived not only from the Deuteronomic version of the same law Deut 19, but from other parts of the Deuteronomic code, e.g. ⁴ 'take,' ⁵ 'deliver up,' ⁶ 'that shall be in those days.' Has R^d, then, dealt with P as he has so often dealt with JE? That would of course imply that R^d, at any rate, is later than P. For this view, however, no adequate evidence is forthcoming (cp *Introd ante* p 317), and such expansion of P by R^d has no sufficient analogy elsewhere. The clue to the explanation is found in 5, where precisely those passages which show the Deuteronomic tincture are lacking, viz ³ 'unawares,' ⁴ and ⁶ except the words 'until he stand before the congregation for judgement.' As there seems no reason why 5 should deliberately select the Deuteronomic elements for omission, it appears more natural to regard them as late additions to the text by a scribe who desired to incorporate references to D. But these additions were not always made with understanding; the time-determination ⁶ 'until the death of the high priest' is not identical with that in the preceding clause. The juxtaposition of the two seems caused by a confusion of Num 35²⁴ and ²⁵.

^{2a} M Or, through error.—168.

^{2b} Deut 19⁴ 4². (5 omits cp 1³).

⁴ M 5 gather.—Cp Deut 22² (5 = bring).

⁶ Num 35¹² shows that this clause belongs to ³.

^{7a} M 5 sanctified.—86^d.

^{7b} M 5 Galil.

JR'E

P'

23

23 Dent 4⁶⁶

27

†

31

1
123 35¹⁻²1 27 24 22 46
123 37¹⁻²22 24 46 17²cp 15⁶².

24.

r 21

p 1 Chron 6⁶⁰
22 23 46.

'Hebron) in the hill country of Judah. ⁸ And 'beyond the Jordan 'at Jericho eastward, they assigned 'Bezer in the wilderness in the 'plain out of the 'tribe of Reuben, and 'Ramoth in Gilead out of the tribe of Gad, and 'Golan in Bashan out of the tribe of Manasseh. ⁹ 'These were the 'appointed cities for all the children of Israel, and for the 'stranger that sojourneth among them, that whosoever killeth any 'person 'unwittingly might flee thither, and not die by the hand of the 'avenger of blood, 'until he stood before the 'congregation.

21¹ 'Then came near the 'heads of fathers' [houses] of the Levites unto 'Eleazar the priest, and unto Joshua the son of Nun, and unto the heads of fathers' [houses] of the 'tribes of the children of Israel; ² and they 'spake unto them at 'Shiloh in the 'land of Canaan, saying, Yahweh 'commanded by the hand of Moses to give us 'cities to dwell in, with the 'suburbs thereof for our cattle. ³ And the children of Israel gave unto the Levites out of their inheritance 'according to the commandment of Yahweh, these cities with their suburbs.

⁴ And the 'lot came out for the 'families of the 'Kohathites: and the 'children of Aaron 'the priest, which were of the Levites, had by lot out of the tribe of Judah, and out of the tribe of the Simeonites, and out of the tribe of Benjamin, thirteen cities.

⁵ And the 'rest of the children of Kohath had by lot out of the families of the tribe of Ephraim, and out of the tribe of Dan, and out of the half tribe of Manasseh, ten cities.

⁶ And the children of 'Gershon had by lot out of the families of the tribe of Issachar, and out of the tribe of Asher, and out of the tribe of Naphtali, and out of the half tribe of Manasseh in Bashan, thirteen cities.

⁷ The children of 'Merari according to their families had out of the tribe of Reuben, and out of the tribe of Gad, and out of the tribe of Zebulun, twelve cities.

⁸ And the children of Israel gave by lot unto the Levites these cities with their suburbs, as Yahweh 'commanded by the hand of Moses. ⁹ And they gave out of the tribe of the children of Judah, and out of the tribe of the children of Simeon, these cities 'which are here mentioned by name: ¹⁰ and they were for the children of Aaron, of the families of the Kohathites, who were of the children of Levi: for theirs was the first lot. ¹¹ 'And they gave them Kiriath-arba, [which Arba was] the father of 'Anak, (the same is Hebron,) in the hill country of Judah, with the suburbs thereof round about it. ¹² But the fields of the city, and the villages thereof, gave they to Caleb the son of Jephunneh for his 'possession.

¹³ And unto the 'children of Aaron 'the priest they gave Hebron with her suburbs, the 'city of refuge for the manslayer, and Libnah with her suburbs; ¹⁴ and Jattir with her suburbs, and Eshtemoa with her suburbs; ¹⁵ and Holon with her suburbs, and Debir with her suburbs; ¹⁶ and 'Ain with her suburbs, and Juttah with her suburbs, and Beth-shemesh with her suburbs; nine cities 'out of those 'two tribes. ¹⁷ And out of the tribe of Benjamin, 'Gibeon with her suburbs, 'Geba with her suburbs; ¹⁸ 'Anathoth with her suburbs, and 'Almon with her suburbs; four cities. ¹⁹ 'All the cities of the children of Aaron, the priests, were thirteen cities with their suburbs.

²⁰ And the families of the children of Kohath, the Levites, even the 'rest

j 2^b

k 165

l 188

m 145^ba 84^a

b 165

c 185^a

d 4

e 180^af 19^d

g 65

h 130^bi 127^b

10²⁰ These words are not appropriate here; (9) does not contain us; and they seem due rather to a copyist's reminiscence of mages like 13²³ || Num 34¹².

11¹ The allotment of the Levitical cities carries out the engagements prepared in Num 35¹⁻², and belongs therefore P².

(9) 'the priests' cp 19 and 130^a.

The awkwardness of this phrase leads Steuermagel to suspect corruption of the text; he conjectures 'with their suburbs.'

12 The double record of the gift of Hebron, 11. and 13, aken suspicion, and the contents of 11. show that the sage is an attempt to reconcile the view of Hebron as priestly city with the tradition which ascribed its capture 1 occupation to Caleb 15¹³.. In the older records Caleb held

too firm a place to be dislodged: he is here accordingly permitted to retain the city-lands and its dependent villages 13, though the 'pasture lands' and the city itself are handed over to the priests. The precise determination of the editorial words is uncertain; Dillm and Addis allot 'and they gave them' 11 to P cp 21, and claim the opening words of 13 (to 'gave') for E. With 13, however, cp 27 34; it seems simpler, therefore, with Bennett to limit the interpolation to 11. The final word נחלתו is not usual in this phrase in P, which commonly employs 'to give as an inheritance' נחלה cp 96^c.

11^b M ה אוק.

16^a (9) 'Ara, 1 Chron 6¹⁴ Aahan, cp 15⁴² 19⁷, generally adopted.

16^b Probably a remark of E; tribe = שבט instead of מטה 1 20 23 &c. Cp 22^b. Num 32³³ 36³.

13 Wanting in G.

	JR ⁴ E	P ⁴	
m 207			
n Ct 1610			
o 1948-45			
p Ct 1711			
q 208			
r 1918..			
s 1925..			
t 207 1925..			
u 1911..			
v 208			
w 1318			
x 1325.			
y 108			
z 2314			
1 Kings 1010			
a 2314 ^a			
b 11			
c Cp 58 ^a			
d 1118			
e Deut 1121			
f 2144			
g Deut 17			
h 8 Deut 167			
i 13 Deut 313			
j Deut 24 4 ^b 15			
24 ^b			
			j 107
			k 88
			l 98
			m 52
			a 82
			b 33 ¹
			c 1
			d 91
			e 21
			f 84
			g 82
			h 29
			i 74 ¹
			j 115

⁴³ So Yahweh gave unto Israel all the land which he ⁴³sware to give unto their fathers; and they ⁴³possessed it, and dwelt therein. ⁴⁴ And Yahweh ⁴⁴gave them rest round about, according to all that he ⁴⁴sware unto their fathers: and there ⁴⁴stood not a man of all their enemies before them; Yahweh ⁴⁴delivered all their enemies into their hand. ⁴⁵ There ⁴⁵failed not aught of any good thing which Yahweh had spoken unto the ⁴⁵house of Israel; ⁴⁵all came to pass^a.

²² Then Joshua called the ²²Reubenites, and the ²²Gadites, and the half ²²tribe of Manasseh, and said unto them, ²²Ye have ²²kept all that Moses the ²²servant of Yahweh commanded you, and have ²²hearkened unto my voice in all that I commanded you: ²²ye have not left your brethren these ²²many days ²²unto this day, but have ²²kept the charge of the commandment of Yahweh ²²your God. ²³ And now Yahweh ²³your God hath ²³given rest unto your brethren, as he ²³spoke unto them: therefore now ²³turn ye, and get you unto your ²³tents, unto the land of ²³your possession, which Moses the ²³servant of Yahweh ²³gave you ²³beyond Jordan. ²⁴ Only take ²⁴diligent ²⁴heed to do the ²⁴commandment and the law, which Moses the ²⁴servant of Yahweh commanded you, to ²⁴love Yahweh ²⁴your God, and to ²⁴walk in all his ways, and to ²⁴keep his commandments, and to

²¹ Wanting in (G).

²⁰ Apparently repeated accidentally from ²⁴. (G) ¹leBaḥā, Chron 6²⁵ Bileam, which suggests the reading Ibleam 17¹¹.

²⁷ 1 Chron 6²¹ Ashtaroth cp 13³¹. T perhaps an abbreviation of 'y rṣṣ.

³³ Wanting in (G): 1 Chron 6²⁷ Rimmon, cp 'Rimmon' 19¹⁵.

³⁶ M Verses ³⁶. are not in the Massoretic text, but are found in very many MSS and in the ancient versions. See also 1 Chron 6²⁸.

⁴⁵ The sequel according to R^a of 181^{0b}.

⁴⁵ (G) children of Israel. For 'house of Israel' cp ²¹b.

²² The dismissal of the Reubenites and Gadites and the half tribe of Manasseh 1-4 depends on 12-15. Its Deuteronomi affinities are indicated by the margins, but either editor or copyist has touched the words 'tribe' 1 105 ct ²¹2, 'possession' 127^b ct ²⁸8^a, while the unique phrase 'kept the charge of the commandment' seems to rest on a combination of P's 'keep the charge' ²⁹b, and D's frequent references to the 'commandment of Yahweh' ²⁹d.

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^a 22^a 'Now' - § and. Apparently a supplemental note explaining ^b, and preparing the way for the next section ^c-24. Cp 12^a 13^a.

⁷ Apparently an addition to 1-4 introduced by the frequent connecting-link of such supplements 'moreover,' = 'and also' cp Ex 3^a. (¶ §, however, omit the opening words of ⁸, and convert the rest into narrative 'and with much wealth did they return' &c. Some critics have preferred this reading, and suppose the passage to rest on an older basis. The compiler then altered the statement into a command, as an introduction to the recital in 9-24. But the long enumeration of the tribal riches lacks the simplicity of earlier style, and the late word for 'wealth' is surprising.

⁹ The narrative in 9-24 offers many perplexities. Its language, as the references show, is almost a cento of P's phrases; its story assumes P's institutions, the congregation, the heads of fathers' houses, and the Dwelling; and it makes homiletic references to specifically P forms of previous incidents 17 20. Further, it is noteworthy that Phinehas the priest ³⁰, who has already succeeded Eleazar, acts without Joshua: the secular power has no longer a military head. These characteristics suggest its place in the later group designated as P^r, where it forms a sequel to Num 32. But though among the most recent additions to P in its present form, it may be founded on some earlier account which it has superseded, cp Judg 20, Driver LOT¹ 168. The opening verses seem designed to explain the rumour ¹¹ with which the original story may have begun. (The first words of ¹¹ and ¹² are alike in §, and in ¹² they are omitted by (¶ §).) Traces of such a narrative have been found in the seemingly incongruous geographical elements combined in ¹¹, where Dillm and Oettli translate 'el māl (RV) 'in the forefront' 'over against,' and 'el 'ebher (RV) 'on the side that

pertaineth' 'on the other side of,' (¶ §) *iv rō wipar*. This interpretation would place the altar on the east side of the Jordan, while ¹⁰ undoubtedly located it on the west. The prepositions in this combination are not common, but their use in P shows that they chiefly express the situation of something on the surface or front or edge of an object to which it is attached ('el māl Ex 26^a 28²⁵ 37 39¹⁸ Lev 8^a Num 8^a 3 P, cp Ex 34^a Josh 8^a 9¹; 'el 'ebher Ex 25³⁷ 28³⁶ 39¹⁰ P, cp Deut 30¹⁸). In this view the rendering of RV is justified (cp W A Wright, *Journal of Philol* xiii 117-); the altar stood close to the river frontier, but on the western side, and there seems no ground of geographical discrepancy for distributing the present narrative between two or more sources. In other respects the literary usage of the story (like other portions of P^r) displays a wider vocabulary than is usual with P, approximating more to JE and D, cp 'build an altar' ¹⁰, 'altar of Yahweh our God' ¹⁹, 'now' (enclitic ²⁰). Most curious, perhaps, is the repeated intrusion of the 'half tribe of Manasseh' 9-11 13 15 21 (cp 30, 'children of Manasseh'). From 25 32 34 it may be inferred that the original story did not mention them: the addition employs the terminology of D, עַל הַיַּרְדֵּן, for מִצְרַיִם 14 165, and the name Manasseh with the article, Deut 31³ 20⁸ Josh 12^a 4¹³ &c. For similar indications of manipulation of a P section by the addition of material from D cp 20¹⁸.

¹⁰ § *giloth* cp 13^a 18¹⁷ Ezek 47^a Joel 3⁴. But (¶ §) reads 'Gilgal' in ¹⁰ and 'Gilead' in ¹¹; § *tumulos* in both. Perhaps some element of an older story may linger in these readings, which suggest that it was partly designed to explain the origin of some ancient monument.

¹⁹ So § cp Ex 25³. T *tabernacle*. ²⁰ Absent from (¶). ²² M Or, God, even God, Yahweh, § *El Elohim Yahweh*.—Cp Ps 50¹.

JR¹EP¹y 5† op 18
z Cp 110a† Cp 1 Sam 30¹⁶
b† Jer 49²⁵ Ezek
416 1216. Prov
1226†
c† Cp 48 21
d† Cp 1 Sam 18²⁹
5†
e† Cp 186^af† Num 15⁹g† Ex 25⁹h† Gen 18²⁸i† 9²⁶j† 14⁷a 22⁵
b 22⁴
c Deut 12¹⁰
d 13¹e Gen 18¹¹ 1 Sam
12¹ 5† op 26³f Deut 29²
g 21¹
h 13⁶i Deut 7²⁰
j 11²¹ Deut 12²⁹
k 14⁷l Deut 6¹⁹
m 15 Deut
30¹⁰ aln 5† = strong
106^bo Ex 23¹⁸
p Cp Jer 5⁷
Deut 6¹⁵q 10⁴
r Cp Deut 32³⁰s Deut 7³
t Gen 15¹³
u Is 8¹⁴v 5† = mare Ex
23²⁸w 5†
x Num 33²⁵
y 1 Kings 2²

rebellion, or if in trespass against Yahweh, (save thou us not this day.) ²³ that we have built us an altar to turn away from following Yahweh; or if to offer thereon burnt offering or meal offering, or if to offer sacrifices of peace offerings thereon, let Yahweh himself require it; ²⁴ and if we have not [rather] out of carefulness done this, [and] of purpose, saying, "In time to come your children might speak unto our children, saying, What have ye to do with Yahweh, the God of Israel?" ²⁵ for Yahweh hath made Jordan a border between us and you, ye children of Reuben and children of Gad; ye have no portion in Yahweh: so shall your children make our children cease from fearing Yahweh. ²⁶ Therefore we said, Let us now prepare to build us an altar, not for burnt offering, nor for sacrifice: ²⁷ but it shall be a witness between us and you, and between our generations after us, that we may do the service of Yahweh before him with our burnt offerings, and with our sacrifices, and with our peace offerings; that your children may not say to our children in time to come, Ye have no portion in Yahweh. ²⁸ Therefore said we, It shall be, when they so say to us or to our generations in time to come, that we shall say, Behold the pattern of the altar of Yahweh, which our fathers made, not for burnt offering, nor for sacrifice; but it is a witness between us and you. ²⁹ God forbid that we should rebel against Yahweh, and turn away this day from following Yahweh, to build an altar for burnt offering, for meal offering, or for sacrifice, besides the altar of Yahweh our God that is before his Dwelling.

³⁰ And when Phinehas the priest, and the princes of the congregation, even the heads of the thousands of Israel which were with him, heard the words that the children of Reuben and the children of Gad and the children of Manasseh spake, it pleased them well. ³¹ And Phinehas the son of Eleazar the priest said unto the children of Reuben, and to the children of Gad, and to the children of Manasseh, This day we know that Yahweh is in the midst of us, because ye have not committed this trespass against Yahweh: now have ye delivered the children of Israel out of the hand of Yahweh. ³² And Phinehas the son of Eleazar the priest, and the princes, returned from the children of Reuben, and from the children of Gad, out of the land of Gilead, unto the land of Canaan, to the children of Israel, and brought them word again. ³³ And the thing pleased the children of Israel; and the children of Israel blessed God, and spake no more of going up against them to war, to destroy the land wherein the children of Reuben and the children of Gad dwelt. ³⁴ And the children of Reuben and the children of Gad called the altar [Ed]: For, [said they], it is a witness between us that Yahweh is God.

²³ And it came to pass after many days, when Yahweh had given rest unto Israel from all their enemies round about, and Joshua was old and well stricken in years; ² that Joshua called for all Israel, for their elders and for their heads, and for their judges and for their officers, and said unto them, I am old and well stricken in years: ³ and ye have seen all that Yahweh your God hath done unto all these nations because of you; for Yahweh your God, he it is that hath fought for you. ⁴ Behold, I have allotted unto you these nations that remain, to be an inheritance for your tribes, from Jordan, with all the nations that I have cut off, even unto the great sea toward the going down of the sun. ⁵ And Yahweh your God, he shall thrust them out from before you, and drive them from out of your sight; and ye shall possess their land, as Yahweh your God spake unto you. ⁶ Therefore be ye very courageous, to keep and to do all that is written in the book of the law of Moses, that ye turn not aside therefrom to the right hand or to the left; ⁷ that ye come not among these nations, these that remain among you; neither make mention of the name of their gods, nor cause to swear [by them], neither serve them, nor bow down yourselves unto them: ⁸ but cleave unto Yahweh your God, as ye have done unto this day. ⁹ For Yahweh hath driven out from before you great nations and strong: but as for you, no man hath stood before you unto this day. ¹⁰ One man of you shall chase a thousand: for Yahweh your God, he it is that fighteth for you, as he spake unto you. ¹¹ Take good heed therefore unto yourselves, that ye love Yahweh your God. ¹² Else if ye do in any wise go back, and cleave unto the remnant of these nations, even these that remain among you, and make marriages with them, and go in unto them, and they to you: ¹³ know for a certainty that Yahweh your God will no more drive these nations from out of your sight; but they shall be a snare and a trap unto you, and a scourge in your sides, and thorns in your eyes, until ye perish from off this good land which Yahweh your God hath given you. ¹⁴ And, behold, this day I am going the way of all the earth: and ye know in all your hearts and in all your souls, that

i† 118
j† 117k† 76
l† 140^ba 2^a
b 42^b
c 57
d 67
e 83
f 12
g 1
h 45
i 99
j 112^a
k 39
l 91
m 82^b
n 190
o 114^bp 23^a
q 27
r 33^b
s 55^bt 108^b
u 74^bv 86^c
w 69^b
x 63
y 59

²² 26 5 = make or do (5 adds 'thus'), as though originally followed by some object which was intended to serve as the monument, but was editorially suppressed in favour of the altar (so Dillm). Others join the vb as an auxiliary to 'build' (so RV Steiner cp Ges-Kautzsch § 114 m).

³¹ 32 Probably a gloss; wanting in 5, the words are needless and are not attached to the name in 30.

³⁴ M That is, Witness.—In 5 the name is given by Joshua;

but in both texts the actual name has disappeared. 5 and several 5 MSS supply Ed. Most modern critics accept the conjecture 'Gilead' cp Gen 31¹⁷.

²³ 1 A Deuteronomistic exhortation, after the manner of the homilies in D. In 3 6 10 15 are parallels with Deut 28 29 31 32, which suggest a late date for this discourse.

⁷ Nor cause to swear, not in 5.

¹⁰ M Or, hath chased.

	J	E	R ^d	J	E	P ^r
12148			not one thing hath 'failed of all the good things which Yahweh your God spake concerning you; 'all are come to pass unto you, not one thing hath failed thereof. ¹³ And it shall come to pass, that as all the good things are come upon you of which Yahweh your God spake unto you, so shall Yahweh 'bring upon you all the evil things, until he have 'destroyed you 'from off this 'good land which Yahweh your God hath given you. ¹⁴ When ye 'transgress the covenant of Yahweh your God, which he commanded you, and go and 'serve other gods, and 'bow down yourselves to them'; then shall the 'anger of Yahweh be kindled against you, and ye shall 'perish 'quickly from off the 'good land which he hath given unto you.			34 ^a
d' Deut 29 ¹⁷ v Cp Deut 29 ¹⁸ d' 7 ¹¹ Deut 27 ⁸ d' Deut 27 ¹⁷			24 ¹ 'And Joshua 'gathered all the tribes of Israel to Shechem, and 'called for the elders of Israel, and for their heads, and for their judges, and for their officers; and they 'presented themselves before God. ² And Joshua said unto all the people, 'Thus saith Yahweh, the God of Israel, 'Your fathers dwelt 'of old time beyond the 'River, '[even] 'Terah, the father of Abraham, and the father of Nahor: 'and they served other gods. ³ And I took your father Abraham from beyond the 'River, and led him throughout all the land 'of Canaan, and 'multiplied his seed, and gave him Isaac. ⁴ And I gave unto Isaac Jacob and Esau: and I gave unto Esau 'mount Seir, 'to possess it; and Jacob and his children went down into Egypt'. ⁵ And I sent Moses and Aaron, and I 'plagued Egypt, 'according to that which I did in the midst thereof: and afterward I brought you out. ⁶ 'And I brought your fathers out of Egypt: and ye came unto the sea; and the Egyptians 'pursued after your fathers with chariots and with horsemen 'unto the Red Sea. ⁷ And when 'they 'cried out unto Yahweh, he put 'darkness between you and the Egyptians, and brought the sea upon them, and covered them; and your 'eyes saw what I did in Egypt: and ye dwelt in the wilderness 'many days. ⁸ And I brought you into the 'land of the Amorites, which dwelt beyond Jordan; 'and they fought with you: and I 'gave them into your hand, and ye 'possessed their land; 'and I destroyed them from before you. ⁹ Then 'Balak the son of Zippor, king of Moab, arose 'and fought against Israel; and he sent and called Balaam 'the son of Beor to 'curse you: ¹⁰ 'but I 'would not hearken unto Balaam; therefore he blessed you still: so I delivered you out of his hand. ¹¹ And ye went over Jordan, and came unto Jericho: and the 'men of Jericho fought against you, 'the Amorite, and the Perizzite, and the Canaanite, and the Hittite, and the Girgashite, the Hivite, and the Jebusite; and I 'delivered them into your hand. ¹² And I sent the 'hornet before			115
a Num 11 ¹⁶ b 23 ² c Num 11 ¹⁶ Deut 31 ¹⁴ d 7 ¹³ e Gen 6 ⁴ f Gen 11 ²⁶						
g cp 204 h Ct Gen 32 ² 36 ⁸ i Cp Deut 2 ⁸ j Cp 288 ^a k Cp Ex 14 ¹⁴ l Ex 14 ¹⁶ m Cp Ex 10 ²³ n Cp 243 ^d o Cp Deut 1 ⁴⁶ Num 20 ¹⁵ p Num 21 ²¹ q 11 cp 288 ^a r Num 21 ²⁴ s Num 22 ²						
t Ct Num 22 ¹² 5 u Cp Deut 23 ⁵						
v Ex 23 ²⁶						b 107

23¹⁶ (g) concludes here, connecting 16^a with 15.

24¹ The account of the national assembly at Shechem and the final address of Joshua are attributed to E with practical unanimity among modern critics. In contrast with the representations of P Joshua acts alone, instead of taking the second place after Eleazar: the scene is laid at Shechem in the centre of Ephraim: and some of the homiletic references to the ancestral traditions depend on E cp 14²⁰, 'Amorites' 15¹⁸, while further phraseological parallels will be found in 12 19 25 29. In the sequel the burial of Joseph's bones 28 carries out the plan of Gen 50²⁵ Ex 13¹⁸. But Joshua's exhortation belongs to the later type of prophetic passages in JEI, and supplies an interesting illustration of the approach of the more advanced style (cf 27) to the religious language of a great prophetic collection such as D: one or two phrases, such as 'forsake Yahweh' 16, 'incline your heart' 23, only find parallels in the later literature. Numerous additions (some of them absent from (g)) seem due to editorial activity, 1. 4 6. 8 11 13 17, 28 31. Some of the allusions, eg to the idolatries of Israel in Egypt 14 or Balak's attack on Israel 9, apparently rest on elements of tradition no longer preserved. It may be noticed that the person occasionally changes in the narration, eg 3-5 'I, 7 'he, 8-12 'I.' (g) has the third person in 6-12.

2a The introduction of Terah at the end of the clause, explanatory of 'your fathers,' seems a scribal gloss.

2b The language shows the style of D (whether by anticipation or sequence), though cp 14²⁰ 23; in Gen 35²⁴ the phraseology is different.

3 Lacking in (g).

4 (g) adds expansively 'and there they became a great and

numerous and mighty nation, and the Egyptians evil entreated them,' but omits 14^a 'and I sent Moses and Aaron.'

5 (g^a by the signs which. So Dillm and Oettli (with reserve) and Addis. Bennett following Ex 3²⁰ (where (g) however has θαυμασιος) reads בְּאֵימֹתָי 'by the wonders.'

6a An awkward addition after 'brought you out,' probably due to a corrector more distinctly conscious of the later view that the generation which marched out of Egypt died in the wilderness cp Deut 2¹⁴. (g) joins 5b and 6a 'and afterwards he brought our fathers out of Egypt,' with a characteristic confusion of persons.

6b Perhaps a marginal gloss, Stenern.

7 (g) 'we': the address in 6. suggests 'you.'

8a (g) omits this clause. Cp Num 21²⁵.

8b Probably an addition of R^d as the word 'destroyed' indicates P³⁴.

9a This clause does not correspond to anything in JEI, and the introduction of the name Israel seems to betray an annotator's hand (cp Stenern).

9b The description is lacking in (g).

10 Hollenberg (*Stud und Krit* 1874 487) regarded 9. as dependent on Deut 23¹. The parallel seems, however, rather explicable by D's use of E. (g), however, has 'But Yahweh thy God would not destroy thee.'

11 An obvious intrusion into the account of the capture of Jericho, as it can hardly be supposed that representatives of the 'seven nations' were all assembled in the city. Cp Ex 3¹⁸. The allusion to the 'lords' i.e. citizens of Jericho is not supported by any extant passage of E. Cp Judg 9² 6 E (Moore in Haupt's *SBOT*) 1 Sam 23¹¹. J (Budde *ibid*).

J E

R^d

J E P^r

w Gen 48²²
x Deut 6¹⁶

y Gen 35³
z Gen 22¹¹ 5

a' Gen 18²⁵
b' 20 Deut 32¹⁶

c' Deut 62² 7¹⁹
d' Cp 24³⁸
e' 5 = kept Gen 28²⁰ Ex 23³⁰
f' cp Ex 23²⁶ 25¹⁴⁸

g' Gen 50¹⁷ Ex 23²¹ 34⁷
h' Gen 35² Deut 31¹⁶
i' Ex 32¹⁰ 33⁵ 8

j' Prov 2³ cp 1 Kings 11² 4
k' 7¹³

l' 5 = made Ex 15²⁶

m' Gen 35⁴
n' Ct 2⁹¹
o' Gen 21³⁰ cp 31⁴⁵
p' Num 24⁴

you, which ^rdrave them out from before you, [even] the ^rtwo kings of the ^rAmorites; not ^wwith thy sword, nor with thy bow.

¹³ And I gave you a land whereon thou hadst not laboured, and ^rcities which ye built not, and ye dwell therein; of ^rvineyards and oliveyards which ye planted not do ye eat.

¹⁴ Now therefore ^rfear Yahweh, and serve him in ^rsincerity and in truth: and ^rput away the gods which your fathers served beyond the ^rRiver, and in Egypt; and serve ye Yahweh. ¹⁵ And if it ^rseem evil unto you to serve Yahweh, choose you this day whom ye will serve; whether the gods which your fathers served that were beyond the ^rRiver, or the gods of the ^rAmorites, in whose land ye dwell: but as for me and my house, we will serve Yahweh. ¹⁶ And the people answered and said, ^aGod forbid that we should ^bforsake Yahweh, to serve other gods;

¹⁷ for Yahweh our God, he it is that ^bbrought us ^rand our fathers up out of the land of Egypt, from the house of ^rbondage, ^rand that did those great ^csigns in our ^rsight, and ^cpreserved us in all the way wherein we went, and among all the peoples through the midst of whom we passed: ¹⁸ and Yahweh ^rdrave out from before us ^rall the peoples, even the Amorites which dwelt in the land: [therefore] we also will serve Yahweh; for he is our God. ¹⁹ And Joshua said unto the people, Ye cannot serve Yahweh; for he is an ^rholy God; he is a jealous God; he will not ^rforgive your transgression nor your sins. ²⁰ If ye ^bforsake Yahweh, and serve ^rstrange gods, then he will turn and do you evil, and ^cconsume you, after that he hath done you good. ²¹ And the people said unto Joshua, Nay; but we will serve Yahweh. ²² And Joshua said unto the people, Ye are witnesses against yourselves that ye have chosen you Yahweh, to serve him. ^rAnd they said, We are witnesses.

²³ Now therefore put away, [said he], the ^rstrange gods which are among you, and ^rincline your heart unto Yahweh, the ^rGod of Israel. ²⁴ And the people said unto Joshua, Yahweh our God will we serve, and unto his voice will we hearken. ²⁵ So Joshua made a covenant with the people that day, and ^rset them a statute and an ordinance^r in Shechem.

²⁶ ^rAnd Joshua wrote these words in the book of the law of God; and he took a great stone, and set it up there under the ^roak that was ^rby the ^rsanctuary of Yahweh. ²⁷ And Joshua said unto all the people, Behold, this stone shall be a ^rwitness against us; for it hath heard all the ^rwords of Yahweh which he spake unto us: it shall be therefore a witness against

c 96

d 136

24¹² Elsewhere only of Sihon and Og 23^c, and here, therefore, quite inappropriate. (Y twelve, a reading widely accepted, 'two' being probably an awkward correction in view of the later lists 12⁷ &c. But the appositional form of the clause suggests that it may be a later editorial note. On the other hand, the whole verse seems made up of fragments, and can hardly be original in its present form. Ex 23²⁸ shows that the phrase 'drave them' really refers to the peoples enumerated in 11; its introduction here may have suggested their insertion to justify it. To what, then, do the words 'not with thy sword' &c belong? They find a parallel in E's language Gen 48²², but they lack connexion here, and seem introduced by way of editorial reminiscence.

14^a For 5 cp 1 Sam 12²⁴ E (Budde in Haupt's SBOT).

14^b Cp 5 Judg 9¹⁶ 19 E (Moore in Haupt's SBOT).

17^a Perhaps a correction (Steuern); not in E.

17^b M 5 bondmen.—The use of this phrase by D cp 26¹ makes it probable that this is an addition, probably (as Y does not contain it) by a late copyist.

17^c Another clause absent from Y and strongly marked by D's phraseology cp 2101.

18 5 all the peoples and: Y the Amorite and all the peoples. The diversity of order seems to indicate that the reference to 'the peoples' is (like their enumeration in 11) due to later insertion, the words finding different location in different copies. E only recognizes Amorites.

19 On the pl adj here cp Introd XII 3 i 115. Elsewhere in OT literature cp 'living God' Deut 5²¹ 1 Sam 17²⁶ 36 Jer 10¹⁰

23³⁶†. On the other hand, 'jealous' is sing cp Nah 1^{2†} (and, slightly different, Ex 34¹⁴).

23² This clause is wanting in Y, and seems additional. It interrupts Joshua's address, and is needless in view of 24.

26^a The origin of the clause ascribing a written record to Joshua has been much debated. Kuenen (Hex § 816 p 156) attributed it to E (cp Elohim 1) with 'reference to some other book of law than the one we know.' But it may be doubted if the statement was really part of the original story. If a solemn account had been preserved in a sacred book, what need was there for the testimony of the stone? The record would be a much better witness, for though the stone might have 'heard the words,' it was powerless to reproduce or confirm them. This incident seems to belong to a more primitive order of conceptions, with which the writing is not homogeneous. In spite of Hollenberg's dissent, Dillm agrees with Noldeke in assigning the clause to E^d (for 'book of the law' cp 270^b), and supposes that the interpolator included the homily of 23 with the address and covenant of 24. Wellh (Comp² 135) regards the addition as probably later still, but gives no reasons. The nearest parallels of language occur in Neh 8⁸ 18 10²⁹, et 'law of Moses' Josh 8³¹. 23^c. Bennett allots the words to E^d. It may be doubted whether the interpolator meant to include more in 'these words' than the Covenant with its associated 'statute and ordinance.' Holzinger, Hex 179, Staerk, Deut 106 ff, Steuern, Josh 242, think this may have been the original place of the Judgement-book Ex 21¹., cp Ex 20^{22a} 26^b M Or, in.

	J	E	R ⁴	J	E	P ⁵	
			you, lest ye deny your God. ²⁸ "So Joshua sent the people away, every man unto his inheritance.				
1			²⁹ And it came to pass 'after these things, that Joshua the 'son of Nun, the 'servant of Yahweh, died, being an 'hundred and ten years old.				• 95
an 30 ²⁸ et 23 28			³⁰ And they buried him in the border of his inheritance in 'Timnath-serah, which is in the hill country of Ephraim, on the north of the mountain of Gaash.				
p 218 p 268 wt 117 p 228 len 3025 x 1318			³¹ And Israel served Yahweh 'all the days of Joshua, and all the days of the elders that 'outlived Joshua, and had 'known all the 'work of Yahweh, 'that he had wrought for Israel.				f 72 ^b
			³² "And the 'bones of Joseph, which the children of Israel 'brought up out of Egypt, buried they in Shechem, in the parcel of ground "which Jacob bought of the sons of Hamor the father of Shechem for an hundred pieces of money: "and they became the inheritance of the children of Joseph. ³³ "And Eleazar the son of Aaron died; and they buried him in 'the hill of Phinehas his son, which was given him in the hill country of Ephraim.				

24.²⁸ With ²⁹⁻³¹ cp Judg 2²⁻⁹. Moore, *Judges (ICC)* 4 and 65, proposes the passage in *Judges* to be the original, which was produced here 'perhaps in connexion with the division into 'ks.'

²⁹ This passage seems plainly to belong to E, but it can hardly be in its natural place. The house of Joseph would not be waited to bury their ancestor till after the funeral of Joshua, when they had been settled round Shechem for years.

^{32b} M See Gen 33¹⁹.

³³ The awkwardness of this clause and its absence from G row suspicion on it. The plural subject must include Shechem and the land, but this combination is unexpected: addition to G runs 'and he gave it to Joseph for an inherit-

ance,' cp G⁴ which is preferred by Kuen and Dillm. Steuern proposes 'and it became the inheritance of Joseph.'

^{33a} This statement was ascribed by some of the older critics to P. But the description of Eleazar lacks the distinctive term 'the priest' cp ^{32b}. Moreover, 'Gibeah of Phinehas' is not included among the cities of the Aaronite inheritance 21¹⁰⁻¹⁸. There seems no reason for separating the verse from its context cp ³⁰. Eleazar was recognized in E cp Deut 10⁶; and it was not unnatural to supplement the obituary notice of Joshua by that of another famous man of his time. For additions concerning the ark and the first apostasy of Israel see G.

^{33b} M Or, Gibeah of Phinehas.

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